THE WORD

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THE WORD

To Rouse The People, To Combat War, and To Speed Commonweal.

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CAPITALIST DEMOCRACY INDICTED

AMERICA'S COURSE OF EMPIRE

A STUDY IN CRIMINAL AGGRESSION.

"Shall we strut thro' the world and bluster and brag,
With the dollar-mark stamped on the brave old flag."

The crimes of Fascism cannot be overestimated. The criminal violation of the right of the individual, the suppression of freedom of thought and of speech, the destruction of the freedom of the press, barbaric torture and summary execution, are unpardonable outrages against progress and reason, against every instinct of human development. Ere long this barbarous reaction will compel its own destruction. Our horror at the barbarism of reaction is no excuse for supporting the hypocrisy of pseudo-democracy. The present situation of capitalism, the talk of social security, the call for conscription to resist Fascism, the demand for Popular Front Governments, are all so much political falsehood, so much mockery of the economic struggle of the common people in all lands under capitalism. It is the function of democracy to think. To think peace and resist war.

President Roosevelt has issued a peace-call to the nations of the world. It is possible that the call is genuine. President Roosevelt may be haunted by the horrors of war and may wish to see war end. This may be granted. It may be equally true that Mr. Chamberlain, at Munich, wanted peace and aimed at a peaceful settlement of the European problem. We are prepared to believe that so much is true of Roosevelt and Chamberlain. Equally, as an enemy of violence, we are prepared to rejoice at all that is done to preserve the world from war and to welcome all steps that make for the end of glorified murder. We are convinced that war serves no useful purpose and that bloodshed should be outlawed.

The first steps towards the outlawry of war is rigid truthfulness of approach.

Can we say that all this political talk about the democracies is true? The Communist Party, and now the Labour Party, insist that Russia must be part of the democratic alliance. Is the Soviet Union a democracy? Is not the Soviet Bureaucracy a foul, murderous dictatorship? It has assassinated the flower of the Socialist Movement, murdered in an atmosphere of lies and corruption, pioneers of Socialism. If it circulates Roosevelt's peace proposals, it is to serve the diplomatic ends of the Governing Bureaucracy. There is no free speech, no free press, no independent press in the Soviet Union: and the still-subsidised Communist Party, and subsidised press in Britain, dare to call the Soviet Union a democracy. The land of assassination a democracy! What nonsense!

It may be admitted that some democracy exists in Britain and in the United States. This democracy has been secured and is maintained by struggle. It is far from complete and does not necessarily obtain in the British Crown Colonies or in the United States dependencies or dominions. In the main, democracy does exist in Britain and the United States. Even so, property often proves greater than liberty, and in the matter of war, the power to make war and to dictate peace still do not belong to the common people. Finally, it is the function of the British and the American people to be conscripted for war, to be used in war, and to have peace made and concluded by elements over whom they have no control. The democracy is not too unreal and it may exercise some power. But it is not complete and there is no point in concluding that it is final and beyond the right to be questioned.

The present essay does not propose to discuss the history of the British Empire. It restricts itself to the story of the United States of Amer.ca. Italy invaded Abyssinia and Albania. Germany annexed Austria, Czechoslovakia, Memel-land. All this is not democracy. Italy and Germany shamelessly supported the traitor Franco. All this is not democracy. If the United States of America and Britain had not played at non-intervention, if the Soviet Union had not engaged in the same cowardly and disgraceful farce, Franco would not have succeeded, and the Italian and German aggression in Spain would have stopped; there would have been no seizure of Albania, and no Mediterranean question. The world-war menace, the menace of Fascism, has been created by the British and American "democracies," ably assisted by the Soviet Union, by the Conservative Government, seconded by the Communist and Labour Parties. In Germany and in Italy, and also in Britain, Socialist Parliamentarism has paved the way for the triumph of Fascism. To-day, the Communist Party wants us to support Capitalist Governments and to fight in Capitalist wars in defence of democracy. In the first stages of the Russian Revolution, Lenin and his disciples sneered at democracy, at free speech and a free press, as bourgeois illusions. Democracy, free speech, free press, the inalienable right of private judgment do not exist in the Soviet Union any more than they do in Germany or in Italy. We are to ignore this slight omission, to forget Lenin's slogans, and to shout, fight, and die for capitalist democracy, in the diplomatic interests of the Soviet Union, that betrayed, equally with the capitalist democracies, the workers' struggle in Spain.

Roosevelt's appeal for peace merely repeats the last of Wilson's fourteen points, which preceded the terribly dictated peace of Versailles:—

> (14) "A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and perpetual integrity to great and small states alike."

Woodrow Wilson got his idea of the League of Nations from the disgraceful Nicarauguan affair of 1916. With this in mind, one must agree that the Fascist dictators are not outwith their rights to sneer at President Roosevelt's gesture.

What is the truth about the United States of America?

Born of a justifiable revolt against the British Government, America's first aggressive war after the Revolution, which made her a nation inspired with a zeal for liberty, was with Mexico. America invaded Mexico without any cause or provocation whatever, and stole half her territory. General Grant, in his personal memoir says:—

> "The occupation and annexation of Texas were, from the inception of the movement to its final culmination, to acquire territory out of which slave states might be formed for the American slave holders. Even if the annexation of Texas could be justified, the manner in which the subsequent war was forced upon Mexico could not."

Abraham Lincoln, in the House of Representatives, voted against and denounced the war with Mexico as a great wrong.

America's next performance was the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands. During Harrison's administration, Mr. Stevens was minister to Hawaii and he asked that some naval vessels be sent there to protect American lives and property. In reality, he had entered into an understanding with a small group of missionaries to bring about a revolution, overthrow the existing government and annex the islands, so that their sugar and their products could come into the United States market free from duty. A naval vessel was ordered to Hawaii and, after it arrived, thirteen conspirators met in a room and decided to overthrow the government.

At night one hundred and fifty of the marines from the American battleship were landed and marched to a point seventy-five yards from and in front of the Government building in Honolulu. The thirteen men, having arrived at the front of the Government building, read their proclamation and were immediately recognised as the government of the Hawaiian Islands, by the American minister.

The Queen of Hawaii had 500 men at the arsenal, well armed with rifles and gatling guns, and she immediately asked the American minister if he had recognised the so-called new government and intended to sustain it. He stated that he had and would sustain it. She answered that she didn't believe that the government at Washington would approve of the transaction. Fifty years before, an English war vessel had landed marines and demanded that the king cede the islands to England and abdicate. The king, having done as requested, the commander of the vessel took possession of the islands, but the British Government repudiated his act and ordered the islands restored to their people. Therefore, the Queen supposed that the United States Government would do likewise. But she appealed in vain. The United States deprived her of sovereignty and took over Hawaii.

The annexation of Hawaii was a violation of the rights of a friendly government. The robbery did not inure to the benefit of the labouring people of the United States, but exclusively to the benefit of the exploiting speculators and plunderers. It was a wanton and inglorious act of piracy.

America's next act of aggression was the Philippines. This has been referred to constantly in American history books as a conquest from Spain. It was nothing of the kind. The full story of the Philippines, as a disgraceful episode in the history of American Imperialism, was given in a

NOT WAR, BOYCOTT!

Fascism is an outrage against human right and dignity. The way to destroy Fascism is to create economic conditions of struggle in the Fascist countries. The workers of Britain can do this. The consumers of Britain can do this. Boycott all German goods. Boycott all goods from Germany and what was once Austria, the Sudetenland and Czechoslovakia. Boycott all goods from Spain and Italy. Refuse to purchase goods from these countries. Boycott all traders who stock them. Dockers, refuse to handle traffic from or to these lands. Boycott forces the issue but murders no one.

speech made at the time, to the U.S. Senate, by Senator R. F. Pettigrew.

Before the Spanish war broke, Aguinaldo, the most capable patriot among the Filipinos, and the people of the Philippines had started a revolution against Spain. The Spanish officers had finally proposed to Aguinaldo that they would institute the reforms demanded and, as a guarantee, they gave him and his government 800,000 dollars. Aguinaldo and his counsellors retired to the English colony at Singapore to await the enactment of the reforms by Spain and were there, having the money on deposit, when the United States declared war against Spain.

Aguinaldo immediately communicated with the American consul, stating that Spain had failed to carry out her reforms and that he and his people were ready to join with America in overthrowing Spanish authority. The American consul communicated with Commodore Dewey, whose fleet was in Chinese waters, and Dewey thereupon sent an officer to see Aguinaldo and induce him to return to Manila and organise a revolution. Aguinaldo reached Manila on May 17, 1898, placed himself at the head of an army of 30,000 insurgents, and made wonderful progress. He took 9,000 prisoners, captured the islands of Luzon, Panay, Celu, and Negros, and organised suitable, mild and peaceful governments. He established schools and dispossessed the Spanish from all the islands except the city of Manila. He invested the city by land, and Admiral Dewey by sea. Finally Manila fell. Dewey praised Aguinaldo and embraced him as an ally.

After Manila had fallen, the U.S.A. ordered Aguinaldo to withdraw his troops from the suburbs. He agreed but asked that he might be permitted to retire slowly, as it was difficult to convince his comrades that it was right that they should surrender to the U.S.A. possession of territory which they had won on the field of battle and for which so many comrades had laid down their lives. He also urged that, since his government had conquered the island from, and driven out, the government of Spain, if the U.S.A. made a treaty with Spain, the territory conquered by him should be returned to him. The U.S.A. refused to consider this plea.

In October, Aguinaldo was asked by General Otis to retire his troops even beyond the towns adjoining Manila. Aguinaldo called the attention of Otis to the fact that these towns were not part of Manila. Otis replied:

> "You are right; the territory which I now demand I cannot find as embraced in the city of Manila or its suburbs, but that makes no difference; I insist upon the possession of the territory anyway."

On November 24, Otis again wrote to Aguinaldo, saying that he must retire beyond the village of Santa Mesa, and that if he did not he would attack him. On December 21, the President sent a proclamation to be published in the Philippines, telling the inhabitants that the United States had assumed sovereignty over the islands.

This proclamation was published in the Philippines on January 4, 1899. Aguinaldo declined to recognise the sovereignty of America; and so, on February 4, 1899, American troops attacked Aguinaldo's forces, and fired the first and second shots and killed three Philippinos. The next day Aguinaldo asked that hostilities should cease. The reply was that the fighting having commenced, it must go on to the bitter end. Finally, Dewey seized the ship of the Filipinos and the Philippines became an American possession.

The Republic of Colombia is situated on the north side of South America, and embraces the whole of the Isthmus of Panama. It has a government modelled after that of the United States, and is composed of several independent states, having governors and legislative bodies of their own. The Isthmus of Panama is the State of Panama on the Pacific side of the Isthmus.

In 1903, while Theodore Roosevelt was President, he negotiated with the French for the purchase of what they had done in the way of building a canal across the Isthmus, and approached the Republic of Colombia with a proposition to give them ten million dollars if they would cede to the United States a strip ten miles wide across the Isthmus, for the purpose of building a canal. The session was to grant sovereign rights. This session would cut the state of Panama in two. Colombia was afraid to deal with the U.S.A. for fear that, having obtained a foothold, America would take the whole country. Therefore, she declined to sell and endeavoured to negotiate some other arrangement whereby the canal could be built.

Roosevelt thereupon sent the navy and marines to Colon, which is the port on the gulf side of the Isthmus of Panama, and notified secretly the government of the state of Panama, that if they would set up a republic and revolt from the Republic of Panama, he would give them the ten million dollars for the canal strip, and would also see that Colombia did not send any troops to quell their rebellion. The Governor of Panama agreed to this arrangement, and at the proper time started a rebellion to set up an independent government. The Republic of Colombia sent sufficient troops to overthrow and suppress the rebellion without any difficulty whatever, but Roosevelt had instructed the American marines not to allow Colombia to land any troops in Panama, or to interfere in any way, and compelled them to turn back.

We have before us, as we write, copies of the following telegrams:—

(1) *November* 2, 1903. Department of State at Washington to the naval authorities at the Isthmus.

(2) *November* 3, 1903. About 3.40 p.m., Loomis, Acting Secretary of State, to United States Consulate at Panama.

(3) Consul to Loomis.

(4) Same day, 9 p.m., Loomis to Consul.

(5) Same day, 10.30 p.m., same to same.

(6) Same day, Commander of one of the U.S.A. vessels at Colon to the Secretary of the United States Navy, at Washington.

(7) Same day, 10 p.m., Vice-Consul of the U.S.A. at Panama, to the Department of State, at Washington.

(8) Same day, 11.18 p.m., Loomis to the Vice-Consul at Panama.

(9) *November* 4, 1903. Commander Hubbard, of one of the U.S. war vessels at Colon, to the U.S. Secretary of State for the Navy, at Washington.

(10) Same day, State Department at Washington to American Consul at Panama.

(11) *November* 6, 1903. Secretary of State at Washington to the Vice-Consul at Panama.

These telegrams, covering a period of four days, make amazing reading.

(1) The U.S. Naval Authorities at the Isthmus are ordered to keep the transit free and uninterrupted: to occupy the railroad line if necessary: to prevent the Government, equally with the insurgents, from landing troops at Colon, Portobello, or any other point: to occupy Ancon Hill and fortify it with artillery if necessary.

(2) Washington informs Consulate:—

"We are informed that there has been an uprising on the Isthmus; keep this Department informed of everything without delay."

(3) Consul replies:—

"The uprising has not occurred yet; it is announced that it will take place this evening. The situation is critical."

Telegrams 4 and 5 instruct that the Captain of the U.S. warship, the Nashville, *"must prevent the Government troops, which landed from Cartagena, from continuing on to Panama, or from assuming an attitude which might result in bloodshed."*

In other words, Washington knew of the uprising before it occurred, and sent warships to Panama to prevent the Government of Colombia from suppressing a purely mercenary and subsidised rebellion.

Telegram 6 is an answer to telegram 1. It reports that the Colombian Government landed 400 men from Cartagena at the Isthmus. This telegram adds:—

"There is no revolution on the Isthmus, nor any disturbance. It is possible that the movement to proclaim independence may take place in Panama this evening."

Telegram 7 announces:—

"The revolt took place this evening at six; there has been no bloodshed. The government will be organised this evening and will be composed of three consuls and a cabinet. It is believed that a similar movement will take place in Colon."

It should be pointed out that the Colombian General Tovar, had arrived at Colon, with a battalion of sharpshooters, a force more than sufficient to suppress the uprising.

Telegram 8 was a further instruction to the Nashville, at Colon, to prevent the Colombian Government troops from continuing to Panama. The Nashville Commander was ordered to use a special train if necessary, and to: *"Act with speed."*

Telegram 9 informs Washington that Commander Hubbard of the U.S. Navy has forbidden the troops of the Colombian Government to move in any direction.

In Telegram 10, Washington informs the Consul at Panama—*not* the Consul Washington *note*:—

> "We have the honour to inform you for your own knowledge and that of the Government which you represent, that on this very date there has taken place a movement by which the old Department of Panama has separated from the Republic of Colombia, with the object of constituting a new state by the name of the Republic of Panama."

Telegram 11 is a marvellous study in political hypocrisy. Washington advises its Vice-Consul at Panama:—

> "The people of Panama by an apparently unanimous movement, have severed their political bonds with the Republic of Colombia and have resumed their independence. As soon as you are convinced that a de facto government, republican in form and without substantial opposition on the part of its own people, has been established on the Isthmus of Panama, you will enter into relations with it as the responsible government of the territory, and you will address to it a request that it take the measures necessary for the protection of the persons and the property of citizens of the United States, and that it keeps open the transit on the Isthmus in accordance with the obligation of the existing treaties which govern the relations of the United States with that territory."

Here, then, was a rebellion which the "democracy" of America planned, of one of the states of a sister republic, and sent her troops and navy in advance to carry it through. Is there any more glaring chapter of infamous conduct in the treatment of one nation by another than this proceeding on the part of the United States? Has Fascism anything that exceeds in perfidy and infamy the annexation of Texas, the acquisition of Hawaii, the Philippines, and the separation of Panama?

Woodrow Wilson on January 22, 1917, said:—

> "No nation should seek to extend its policy over any other nation or people, but that every people should be left free to determine its own policy, its own way of development, unhindered, unthreatened and unafraid, the little along with the great powers."

This was the prelude to the dismemberment of Austria and Germany.

Central America is a country about four times as large as the state of Ohio, and has a little over five million people, divided into five republics, Guatamala, Honduras, Salvador, Nicaraugua and Costa Rica. During Taft's administration the United States intervened in a difficulty between some of the Central American States, in which Nicaraugua was involved. The United States thereupon said: "Let us have a conference," but the result was that all the states of Central America but Nicaraugua sent delegates to Costa Rica to attend the conference, which was to make perpetual peace in Central America. The President of Nicaraugua refused to send a delegate because the conference had been called by the United States, and he would not recognise the right of the United States to interfere in Central American affairs. Thereupon the United States sent down troops and drove him out of office and put a puppet in his place. Afterwards a meeting was held in Washington of the Central American States, and Nicaraugua participated, because that meeting was called by the Central American States themselves.

At that meeting a League of Nations was formed of the Central American Republics, and it was agreed to arbitrate all their difficulties and end war forever. It was to be an international court with regard to Central America. It was to deal with all questions that arose between Central American States and the outside world. Carnegie hailed the proposition with delight, and furnished a hundred thousand dollars to build a marble court building in Costa Rica. In the meantime, America had set up a puppet in the place of the duly and properly elected president of Nicaraugua, and this puppet who represented but a small frac-

tion of the population, began looting the treasury of Nicaraugua, and was finally forced to borrow money. The United States government thereupon notified their puppet that the New York bankers would let him have all the money he wanted.

In 1912, the people of Nicaraugua rose in revolt against the government set up by the United States of America. In order to support this man, America landed marines in the capital of Nicaraugua. By keeping a puppet government and piling up a state debt, the U.S. has controlled Nicaraugua ever since.

In 1916, Nicaraugua was very hard up, and America said to her: "Your case is practically hopeless. You cannot pay interest on your debt, let alone the principal. The United States may some time want to build a canal up the San Juan River and through Lake Nicaraugua to the Pacific Ocean. Give us San Juan River and the lake, with the privilege that we may build the canal when we get ready, and give us that splendid bay of Fonseca, and a little island for a naval base, and we will loan you the money to pay your interest and put things on a new basis." The result was that Nicaraugua, having a president of America's choice, maintained by American Blue Jackets who had been kept there since 1912, said: "Very good. We will give you the right of way and we will sell you the island, and we will take the funds to pay the interest on the money we owe you."

Costa Rica claimed the right to the San Juan River in connection with Nicaraugua, as it is the boundary between the two nations. Thereupon the United States said: "Here is a case for the Central American Court, the League of Nations."

Another nation now came into the case, San Salvador. The Gulf of Fonseca abuts Nicaraugua and it abuts San Salvador. An island in that bay commands the shores of San Salvador, and San Salvador said, "We object to giving away any naval base in Fonseca Bay, even to the United States, because it threatens our coast." So the case came before the court at Costa Rica, before the American League of Nations, and was thoroughly considered and a decision rendered, which was against Nicaraugua, United States and in favour of San Salvador and Costa Rica. Nicaraugua, backed by the United States, refused to recognise the decision of the court. The League of Nations, formed to produce perpetual peace, vanished in thin air. Woodrow Wilson's administration dismissed the League of Nations for the American continent, but imposed the idea of the League in Europe.

In 1917, the president of Costa Rica was overthrown, and another president took his place. The matter was referred to President Wilson, and he refused to recognise the rebellion which occurred purely over local matters. The question arose over judgment between different parties in the republic, and there can be no question but Timco, the new president, represented the majority of the people. But Wilson said, "I will not recognise him." Thereupon, the Porto Rican congress met and recognised the administration of the new president, but Wilson still refused, although the new president had been recognised by every Latin American country except Panama, Nicaraugua, and Cuba, all three dominated by the President of the United States, all three absolutely his puppets.

In 1919, despite the Wilson theory of democratic self-determination, the American Government purchased the Danish West Indies, which is an island out on the ocean side of the Caribbean Sea. Without asking the consent of the people of the island, it was transferred from Denmark to the United States. The U.S.A. took over Haiti and Domingo, and collected the customs of that country. The finest building in the republic is the American Customs House. Haiti, the other half of the island, which lies between Cuba and Porto Rico, without any declaration of war on the part of the United States Congress was seized by President Wilson and administered in every detail by the United States. America dictated who should be president of Cuba.

The Declaration of Independence says, "All men are created free and equal and endowed by nature with certain inalienable rights, such as life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and to obtain these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

What is there in all these disgraceful affairs to arouse the enthusiasm or stir the patriotic fire of the young men of America? Why should they enlist for the purpose of re-enacting these acts of piracy? What advantage can come to the two-thirds of the population of the United States who have no property, by these annexations? Why should young men go forward to fight to acquire more territory to be plundered and exploited by American millionaires? Why should they conceive American democracy to be something superior to German Fascism?

The American Red, White and Blue flag has taken its place by the side of the Red, White and Blue flag of England, as a pioneer banner of piracy. Wrote Labouchere, the famous Radical M.P., and editor of *Truth*, many years ago:

WHERE IS THE FLAG OF ENGLAND?

Let the winds of the world make answer!
North, south, east, west—
Where'er there is wealth to covet
Or land to be possessed;
Where'er are savage nations
To coddle, coerce, or scare,
You may look for the vaunted emblem—
The flag of England is there.

Aye, it waves o'er the blazing hovel
Whence its African victims fly,
To be shot by explosive bullets
Or wretchedly starve and die,
Or where the beachcomber harries
The isles of the southern sea,
From the peak of his hellish vessel
The English flag flies free.

The Maori full oft hath cursed it
With his fleeting, dying breath,
And the Arab hath hissed his curses
As he spat at its folds in death.
The hapless fellah hath feared it
On Tel el Kebir's parched plain,
And the blood of the Zulu hath stained it
With a deep, indelible stain.

It has floated o'er scenes of pillage
And flaunted o'er deeds of shame;
It has waved o'er the fell marauder,
As he ravished with sword and flame;
It has looked on ruthless slaughter
And assassination, dire and grim,
And has heard the shrieks of its victims
Drown even the jingo hymn.

Where is the flag of England?
Seek the land where the natives rot,
And decay and assured extinction
Must soon be the people's lot.
Go to the once fair islands
Where disease and death are rife,
And the greed of a callous commerce
Now battens on human life.

Where is the flag of England?
Go sail where rich galleons come
With their shoddy and loaded cotton
And beer and Bibles and rum.
Seek the land where brute force hath triumphed
And hypocrisy hath its lair,
And your question will thus be answered—
For the flag of England is there.

If anyone doubts whether this can be said of the flag of the United States, let him read the discussions on the Nicarauguan Canal in the United States Senate from the Congressional Record, for January 21 and February 24, 1899. Let him read the speeches of Mr. Pettigrew, pages 910, and pages 2295-6.

TO OUR READERS:

We had no wish to start a new paper. Critical times require we should not be silent unless silenced. If you sympathise with our stand for freedom, conscience, rationalism, and anti-violence; if you feel that at long last the word should triumph over the sword: you will support our work. Without the active support of every individual reader, this paper cannot continue. Our aim is to appear monthly. Send your opinion —and donation—to the Editor personally, at his private address: GUY ALDRED, 5 BALIOL ST., GLASGOW, C.3.

THE MURDER RACKET

Astounding figures of the profits made by the aviation companies were given by the Rt. Hon. A. V. Alexander, in the House of Commons, on November 15, 1938.

"The Handley-Page Company," he said, "has issued bonus shares which mean that for every £1 of ordinary shares held in 1935 the shareholder now holds £22."

The 1938 final dividend was 20 per cent., paid on this inflated capital. Describing this as "wicked profiteering," Mr. Alexander explained that the Handley-Page company paid, in 1938, a dividend at the rate of 365 per cent. on the capital of 1935. And the British Aeroplane Company was piling up huge reserves for a capital bonus issue.

Nine days later, in the same House of Commons, Willie Gallacher, as Member for West Fife, seized an opportunity to preach the kind of military-panic-patriotism which the Handley-Page Company moulded into profit. Mr. Lawson, the Miners' M.P. for Chester-le-Street, moved the Second Reading of the Public Health (Coal Mines Refuse) Bill. Lawson made an excellent speech in furtherance of this excellent measure. Another good speech in support was made by Mr. Mathers, the Labour Member for Linlithgow. But Gallacher had to seize on the opportunity to preach war and panic. He said he represented a constituency which possessed the worst slag heap in the world and probably the most dangerous in Great Britain.

Anyone who travelled into Fife on an evening would see a red glow which gave one an impression of Piccadilly Circus.

The illumination sent out by this conical heap could be seen for a long distance and over a very big area.

> "When the war was in progress," continued Gallacher, "the Germans used numerous agents and spent large sums of money trying to get damage done to the Forth Bridge. If the Forth Bridge could be destroyed the greatest possible damage would be done to the defence forces of the country, yet the Forth Bridge is only a mile or two away from this illumination. There is not an airman from any part of the world who could not come on a dark night and drop bombs right on the Forth Bridge."

In addition, there was a great munition dump near-by which might be endangered.

The profiteering members of the Commons listened with approval to this argument, whereas the health argument urged by Lawson and Mathers left them cold. It turned from the class struggle to class collaboration, and pretended that the workers had a country to defend. It raised the right fear, the proper degree of panic that profiteers welcome and applaud with glee. Gallacher's speech was reported at length. He had found a sounding-board. So did Robert Blatchford and Horatio Bottomley during the 1914-1918 war. They also supported the murder-racket, which subsequent Labour Governments left undisturbed.

When we became an Anti-Parliamentarian in 1906, we declared that it was the business of parliamentarism to support the business of armaments. In those days, when the Labour movement was applauding Ramsay MacDonald, we denounced him, not as an individual, but as an expression of what parliamentarism must prove to be inevitably. To-day, the parliamentarians scorn the memory of Ramsay Macdonald, but adopt a more imperialist attitude than Neville Chamberlain, the present leader of the National Government that MacDonald fathered. This fact makes it worth while to enquire what interest the Armament firms have in the propaganda and preparation of murder, and who's who in murder. For war is murder: not glory, but sordid, sadist, callous, mercenary murder.

In 1935, the Labour Research Department, ignorant of the fact that three years later the so-called Socialist movement was to be the movement of war-mongers, published an invaluable pamphlet entitled: *"Who's Who In Arms,"* compiled by W. H. Williams. Thanks to the mass of facts collected in this pamphlet, we are able to expose Vickers, Beardmore, Yarrow, Hadfields, Thornycroft, De Havilland, Handley-Page, Fairey, and Rolls-Royce. These firms are engaged in the armaments business and racket. Every year the

chairmen of each of these companies meet their shareholders. Their business is to report progress, which means increasing profit from the manufacture of death. It is then that the armament racket is exposed.

"My Lords, Ladies, and Gentlemen . . " The chairman speaks. Let us hear what this gentleman has to say, of concern to humanity even more than to his shareholders. The reports are taken from the *Times*, that most accurate official organ of staid British Capitalism, for dates mentioned at the end of each paragraph, unless where special reference is made to some other journal.

Sir Herbert Lawrence addressed the Vickers shareholders from 1927 onwards to 1934.

The armament business is a special trade that must go on because its workers have specialised in war-work and profits must be made. Such is the burden of Sir Herbert's addresses in 1927, 1928, 1930, and 1931.

1927.—"It is no good disguising the fact that we are an armament firm, dependent largely on armament orders. . . . If there is to be a further limitation of armaments . . . the future of the armament business of Vickers, like that of every other large armament concern in the country, may become difficult. . . ."—**April 30, 1927.**

1928.—"The manufacture of armaments is a specialised trade, requiring special plant and special types of staff and workers, and depending on a limited market determined by the policy of various Governments."—**March 30, 1928.**

1930.—". . . We cannot turn 'guns into ploughshares' without scrapping the whole of the plant required for the production of guns and substituting, for the workers accustomed to gun-production, other men trained from youth in the production of ploughshares. On that aspect of the question I can speak with authority."—**April 1, 1930.**

In 1931, Sir Herbert commented on the fusion with Arsmtrong Whitworth & Co., to create Vickers-Armstrong, the largest armament firm in the world. He explained that "disarmament policy" had adversely affected the company's trading results. He returned to this theme in 1932 and complained that the world-wide depression and public opinion had been a malign influence. But in 1931, the company *"was fortunately able to secure a satisfactory order from the Portuguese Government in addition to work from other foreign powers."*

1933.—"It is true that Vickers-Armstrong, Ltd., relies very largely on armament orders for its existence."—**April 4, 1933.**

1934.—". . . as an armament firm, we are the subject of opprobrium in certain quarters. . . ."
". . . In addition to work for the Air Ministry our aviation companies succeeded in obtaining orders from foreign countries."—**March 27, 1934.**

Quite impartial! Quite indifferent as to how the foreign orders are used! Quite proud to have the orders—and the profits from murder.

On December 22, 1927, and October 25, 1928, Lord Invernairn delivered the chairman's address to William Beardmore & Co. He described how the company's works were extended during the war, and how, *in deciding to take them over, the Board was influenced by substantial orders, which were then in hand for armament work. Unfortunately, most of this Government work was cancelled following upon the Washington Conference, coupled with the slump in trade which occurred in* 1920." And so *"the extending manufacturing facilities possessed by the company"* became *"a heavy financial burden on the company and detrimentally affected earnings."*

On October 25, 1926, Lord Invernairn referred even more bluntly to the Washington Conference:

1928.—"We were very expensively equipped for the manufacture of warships, armour-plate, guns and other war material and for the production of steel far in excess of the possibilities of the market to absorb to-day. . . . Then the Washington Treaty further curtailed armament expenditure. . . ."—**October 26, 1928.**

Lord Invernairn was merely the chief shareholder. In 1931, and subsequent years, the speech was made by Mr. H. A. Reincke, Chairman and Managing Director. In 1931 he spoke of the closing down and sale of the shipyard and locomotive works at Dalmuir, and explained this disaster as being due to *"the discontinuance of Admiralty orders as a result of the policy of disarmament."*

In 1932 and 1933 his speeches were more optimistic. And he explained the part played by the banks in financing murder, those banks whose directors are religious, and whose religion would not finance a scheme for serving humanity.

1932.—"At Dolwin, the principal item of work has been the machinery for the Flotilla Leader, H.M.S. Duncan. . . . A set of twin-screw machinery for a small special service vessel. . . . H.M.S. Skylark is also in process of manufacture. A number of Vulcan hydraulic couplings have been completed for important Naval and Merchant vessels. . . ."—**May 19, 1932.**

1933.—"The results at Parkhead for 1932 as compared with 1931 do not show an improvement, but the reason is to be found in the fact that the 1931 Admiralty building programme was postponed, thus seriously affecting the volume of work passing through the shops. This programme having now been embarked upon, and having been followed up closely by the 1932 programme, the volume of Admiralty work passing through both Dalmuir and Parkhead in 1933 is considerably in excess of what it has been during any one of the three preceding years. In addition to the contracts for the machinery for the two cruisers, the Ampion and the Apollo, which, as has been announced in the newspapers, have been secured by Dalmuir. Parkhead is now engaged upon the manufacture of armour, guns and the largest types of forgings and castings as part of the company's participation in the present Admiralty programme. . . .

"It would not have been possible for the company to finance the orders received . . . but for certain loan facilities granted to the company by Lloyds Bank and the two Scottish Banks—the Royal Bank of Scotland and the National Bank of Scotland. Without this measure of confidence, at a moment when for the first time since 1929 the prospect appears on the horizon of securing a volume of work commensurate with the capacity of the company's establishents, we could not have carried on."—**July 13, 1933.**

The famous firm of Yarrow and Company Ltd. was founded in 1897. The speeches of its chairman, Sir Harold E. Yarrow, were cheerful because of the firm's success in selling war craft to the British, Dutch, Yugo-Slav, Colombian, Japanese, Portuguese, Italian, Peruvian, Finnish, and South African Governments.

1927.—"Reference has been made in the report to the building of H.M.S. Ambuscade. This vessel is one of the two special destroyers ordered by the British navy and represents the most up-to-date and efficient destroyer afloat and the first post-war torpedo-boat destroyer to enter the navy. Since the report was printed, two of the four river gunboats built for the Admiralty have successfully completed their trials and have been handed over to the navy. The remaining two vessels will be finished at an early date. The Dutch Government has decided to lay down two further torpedo-boat destroyers of the Yarrow design, making eight in all." — **December 13, 1927.**

1928. — The torpedo-boat destroyers built in Holland for the Dutch navy, of the Yarrow design, and under the supervision of the company, have proved highly successful in service."—**December 15, 1928.**

1929.—"Since the conclusion of the company's year, important contracts have been secured for a large and powerful flotilla leader for the royal Yugo-Slav Navy, three gunboats for the Colombian Government, a shallow river draught gunboat for the British Navy, and other small craft." — **December 19, 1929.**

"Three gunboats built for the Colombian Government had been delivered and are now in service in Colombia. . . . During the year the firm had undertaken the supply of a boiler of 1,000 lbs. pressure for the Imperial Japanese Navy."

"It was considered necessary to take an interest in a small shipyard in Kralijovica, Yugo-Slavia. . . . At present it is engaged in the completion of a number of ships for the Yugo-Slav Navy, the machinery and boilers for which are under construction in the company's works at Scotstoun. . . . At the present time the company has in hand a gunboat for the British Admiralty; a flotilla leader for the Royal Yugo-Slav Navy, representing the largest and most powerful base of its kind ever built in this country."—**December 16, 1930.**

1931.—"The flotilla leader **Dubrovnik**, which the firm is constructing for the Royal Yugo-Slav Navy, was launched on October 12th last by H.R.H. Princess Olga. . . . H.M.S. Falcon, the latest gunboat built for the British Admiralty, has been handed over at Shanghai. . . . With regard to new work, one of the most important orders recently secured by the firm is from the Portuguese Government for four torpedo destroyers. . . . It is satisfactory that, during the last four years, the Dutch, Yugo-Slav, and Portuguese Governments have all selected destroyers of the Yarrow design. Following the success of the latest Italian cruisers equipped with Yarrow boilers designed by the company, an order for Yarrow boiler designs for a new aircraft carrier has been obtained from an Italian firm. . . . The company has sufficient work in hand to remain fairly well occupied until 1933." **December 22, 1931.**

1932. — "The work on the four Portuguese destroyers is making good progress. . . . The company has received an order for the complete designs of the boilers (in the new cruiser which is being built by the Dutch Government). . . . The plant at the shipyard at Kralijevica, Yugo-Slavia, is being maintained at a high standard."—**December 30, 1932.**

1933. — "During the year the torpedo-boat destroyers Vonga and Lima were handed over to the Portuguese Government. . . . An order for a fifth destroyer was secured during the year. . . . Orders have been received from places as far apart as South Africa, Peru and Finland."—**December 19, 1933.**

Addressing the shareholders of Hadfields Ltd., the famous Sheffield steel firm, Sir Robert Hadfield described the salesmanship methods of armaments dealers; the publicity value to his trade of the State-subsidised visits to this country of foreign potentates; and the manner in which the political views of the die-hard materialists follow the commercial interests of the munition mongers.

In 1928 he expressed his pleasure at "the recent various visits of King Amanullah" to Hadfield's yards and works, and added: "In this changing world, it is highly desirable not to relax our efforts, notwithstanding all the talks about League of Nations and peace propaganda which are still very well in their way . . . ."

Sir Robert attacked the Geneva Conference and added: "When naval matters are being discussed we do not want any weak-kneed individuals." He then eulogised the Hadfield gun: "In the Hadfield armour piercing projectile, we have the monster 16-in. weighing over a ton, which would satisfactorily perforate, and emerge unbroken after performing the ordeal of perforating, the best and latest quality of hard-faced armour of some 14-in. thickness not merely at normal impact but under specially difficult conditions of extremely oblique impacts."

In March, 1930, he spoke of Sheffield always having "been to the fore in the supply of naval requirements" and complained of works being "closed down and skilled men walking the streets in unemployment."

In 1931, he said: "I think it is possible to go too far with the policy of naval limitation."

In 1933, he stressed the need for battleships in place of light cruisers.

The firm of John I. Thornycroft & Co., Ltd., has built up a reputation throughout the world as builders of torpedo-boats. Sir John E. Thornycroft, K.B.E., told his shareholders, in March, 1927, that the trials of the experimental destroyer, Amazon, which had been built for the British Admiralty, *"proved her to be the most economical and fastest post-war destroyer in the British Navy."* As a result of her successful trials, Thornycroft's *"had received from the Chilean Government"* an order *"for six destroyers."* He added, *gleefully, that this was "the first important order for foreign warships placed in this country since the war"* and it had been *"secured in the face of severe international competition."*

In November, 1930, Sir John Thornycroft stated that the six destroyers had been delivered to the Chilean Navy, and the company had delivered also three motor torpedo-boats to the Siamese Navy. The company was "engaged upon the Acheron, the special experimental destroyer for the British navy, and the Saguenay and Skeena, for the Canadian navy.

On April 29, 1935, in a Jubilee Supplement to the *Daily Telegraph*, Captain C. De Havilland claimed that the British exports of aircraft material from 1924 to 1934 exceeded those of any other country in the world. Captain De Havilland is connected with the aircraft company of that name. The buoyant tone of its chairman's speeches, Mr. A. S. Butler, indicates the interests of its shareholders in developing this most damnable side of the armament racket.

In December, 1930, Mr. Butler told the shareholders that the branch in India was progressing, and business was increasing throughout the South African Union from the Johannesburg branch. They had a complete chain of associated companies throughout the four great dominions, and were arranging sales and branches in the wealthy countries of South America.

A year later, Mr. Butler rejoiced in the substantial orders received for "moths" from China, Iraq, Egypt, Brazil, and the Royal Air Force at home.

Exactly another year later, he announced further orders from the army and navy of Brazil for training purposes, *"although we encountered the very fiercest foreign competition."* More "moths" had been supplied to China and Iraq. *"No fewer than nine different countries"* had been supplied by the De Havilland company, *"with Tiger Moths for training purposes."*

"Twelve Puss Moths have been ordered from Japan. . . . Persia ordered a large quantity of Tiger Moths, with additional engines, and spares to be used for training purposes."

In December, 1933, the chairman reported further progress. "Dragons" of a military type, with machine-guns and bomb-gear, had *"been purchased by the Iraq Government."* Quantities of this machine had been supplied to Britain, Africa, Algiers, Australia, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, France, India, Iraq, Persia, and Spain.

Handley-Page Ltd. also record an impartial story of supplying the means of murder to the governments of Britain, Canada, the United States, France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, Sweden, and Spain. Mr. F. Handley-Page told his shareholders in July, 1927, that the British Air Ministry had "decided to adopt and fit the slot and aileron control"—a Handley-Page patent—"on the British fighter aircraft," a type that was "one of the most widely used by the R.A.F."

In April, 1928, Mr. Page was able to say: *"The slotted-wing is adopted throughout the British Air Force . . . Licences have been granted in France, the United States, and Germany . . . negotiations are proceeding in . . . Japan, Italy, Belgium, Sweden and Spain."*

In April, 1929, he repeats this story and adds: "Four of the squadrons of the R.A.F. are equipped with our twin-engined type of bomber as standard."

In April, 1930, Mr. Handley-Page reviewed his orders from the Air Ministry—"the production of our large twin-engine bomber, known as the "Hinaidi"—and "Clive" machines *"equipped with troop-carriers . . . delivered for use in India."*

In May, 1931, Mr. F. Handley-Page waxed lyrical: *"Considering the times of intense depression which exist in the world to-day, I think we may congratulate ourselves upon the strong position which our company has achieved."*

And so, inspired with the knowledge that the murder trade flourished even under depression, Mr. Page invited his shareholders to *"look forward with some measure of confidence towards the future."*

Not a future for humanity but for the armament-dividend-hunters.

Fourteen months later, Mr. Page said that his company primarily depended *"upon orders from the Government"* and: *"If it were decided, materially, to reduce the Air Force,"* the company would have to consider its position seriously.

Mr. Page lamented that *"the whole aircraft position"* was overshadowed *"to a very large extent, by the Conferences now proceeding at Geneva and Lausanne."*

A similar cheering tale is told by the chairman at Fairey Aviation meetings.

On December 29, 1930, Mr. C. R. Fairey said:

"Our turnover has always shown a marked increase. . . . Within the last few months the company has obtained important contracts in Belgium and Greece. . . . Foreign contracts will form a considerable proportion of our turnover for next year. The aircraft industry is one of the very few showing an increase in export business at the present time. . . . I am pleased to say that our excellent relations with the British Air Ministry are being maintained."

On December 29, 1933, Mr. Fairey reported:

"Our foreign business has continued very satisfactorily, and has reached our record figure, our best successes being in Belgium and South America. . . . The company are also engaged on another important activity with a view to strengthening our business, with the knowledge and approval of the Air Ministry. . . If it is decided to complete or enlarge the original programme, the result should reflect on this company's prospects."

Dividends from fear! This intriguing optimism was received by the shareholders in murder from the sky with applause.

The *Stock Exchange Gazette*, reviewing the company's 1933 reports, declared that it had "had the benefit of a large order from the Belgium Government for military aeroplanes . . . . the trading profit of the company has increased from £174,165 to £185,640 . . . . The success of the company may be attributed to sound organisation.

"Incidentally, of course, Fairey's have to keep an eye on Geneva, but disarmament seems a long way off, and I cannot imagine such a handling of matters at the Conference as would damage the prospects of this company."

"Sound organisation" means propaganda and intrigue against peace. It means failure for all peace conferences and approaches under Capitalism.

Many workers identify the name of Rolls-Royce with the famous plutocratic car. They do not realise that a more sinister activity of this firm is the manufacture of aero-engines for war aeroplanes. The speeches at the Rolls-Royce Limited annual meetings reflect not merely the idle wealth-loving instincts of the ruling class, but also chauvinism of those who buy their motor cars from this firm and invest their capital in its war interests.

Lord Wargrave, a magnificent name for the part, presiding at the annual meetings rejoiced in the necessity for war:

1927.—"The era of an ideal when universal peace shall reign seems a vain dream. Warlike operations have been necessary during the year in many parts of the world, and in every case the aeroplane has proved essential. It cannot be neglected with any prudence whether in peace or war."—Feb. 22, 1927.

1929.—"During the past twelve months a further number of their new Faero engines had been fitted to a large number of experimental types of Royal Air Force aircraft. . . . There could be no two opinions with regard to the national character of the property of Rolls-Royce Ltd. They had only to recall the invaluable services rendered by the company on land and in the air during the War to give proof of that statement."—Feb. 23, 1929.

In 1931, Lord Wargrave boasted of "the pre-eminence of the Rolls-Royce aero-engines." The following year he enthused over the "number of 'Kestrel' and 'Buzzard' engines" that has been supplied to foreign countries. He mentioned, particularly, the large orders received from the Belgian Air Force.

We have heard the chairman address his shareholders. Who are these directors and shareholders? On enquiry, we shall find them to be the leading banks of England, Scotland, and Ireland; the Insurance Companies, headed by the Prudential; leading members of the Church; even the great Quaker families and industries. The network of murder and armament intrigue known as the British Munitions Industry is a romance of widespread crime, greater and more marvellous to study than any detective story, intimately supported and controlled through a thousand ramifications by the entire life and activity of British Capitalism. The most peaceful capitalist has an interest, direct and immediate in the murder racket. And the Labour and Communist politician discovers that it is impossible to pursue the course of parliamentary careerism without substituting the idea of national war for social war, murder for progress.

A GREAT PACIFIST

On September 3, 1938, Bart de Ligt died at Nantes in France, at the age of 55. His body was cremated in Paris and the ashes conveyed to Holland. On Saturday, September 10, they were placed in the columbarium of the crematorium in Westerveld, near Haarlem. Thus passed the man, whose writings, without exception, are banned among members of the Dutch army and navy.

Bart de Ligt was born in 1883, in Rhenen, where his father was a Protestant minister. He studied for the ministry, but was influenced by Socialistic ideas at an early age, and he believed that a hired ministry was unscriptural. He entered the ministry, however, but delivered Socialistic sermons and attacked severely the ruling politico-economical system and its ethical foundations. He published two pamphlets dealing with the office of the prophet in relation to the national festivals and the people's distress. On the outbreak of the world war he issued a pamphlet which caused a stir throughout all Holland. It was entitled: "The Guilt of the Churches." This pamphlet was circulated widely by the League of Christian Socialists, to which he belonged. At Nuenen he preached a sermon, on the theme, "Veni Sancte Spiritus," in which he attacked boldly the militarist system. In one passage he said:

"The soldier is subordinate to the corporal, the corporal to the sergeant, the sergeant to the officer, the latter to the field-officer, and finally comes the general. But he, too, is but a tool in the hands of the government which directs him. . . . If the government moves the general, they all move. It is the one machine. And if the general says 'Shoot!' they all shoot, at whatever it may be, and even though it were the heart of Jesus Christ, that sacred heart of God."

As De Ligt persisted in delivering Anti-Militarist sermons and addresses, the Government banished him on June 23, 1915, from Brabant and Zealand as well as other places. This banishment remained effective till May 1, 1920. On March 6, 1916, he seceded from the Church and threw himself heart and soul into the movement for refusing military service which had developed in Holland. He gradually became an Atheist and an Anarchist. This year, 1916, he was convicted of being a "seditious agitator" and imprisoned. From the prison library, he obtained an original French edition of Tolstoy's "The Christian Spirit and Patriotism," which the great Russian published in 1904. The clear arguments of Tolstoy convinced De Ligt that during the war days of mortal peril, a fervent and tireless fight against militarism was even more necessary than it was when Tolstoy wrote.

Five years later, Bart de Ligt referred to this conviction and imprisonment when he championed the cause of the Dutch conscientious objector, Herman Groenendaal, who refused military service, and answered imprisonment with a hunger-strike.

On Sunday, June 26, 1921, he addressed a huge meeting at the Hague, in defence of Groenendaal, and incited all who attended to refuse to build barracks and prisons, to refuse to manufacture war materials, to refuse military service, and to secure Groenendaal's release from prison and military service by a general strike. De Ligt incited in the name of Jesus, Marx, Bakunin, Tolstoy, and Groenendaal.

An important passage of his speech, for which he was indicted, was as follows:—

"I have come here to-day to stir up resistance to the authority of the State! In the name of Jesus! In that name I appeal to all primitive Christian feeling which still survives in these days; to the spirit of sacrifice and will towards Communism which radiates from original Christianity, and continues through heretics, sects, so-called saints, and revolutionaries till the present time!

"In the name of Marx, who brought us the science of Socialism and spoke the words, 'Workers of the world, unite!

"In the name of Bakunin, that hero and poet of liberty who attacked so passionately all official authority!

"In the name of Kropotkin, who opposed his doctrine of mutual aid with its Socialist foundation to Darwinism with its bourgeois foundation!

"In the name of Tolstoy, because he summoned to rational life and declared that to act in the light of truth is the only infallible method of revolution!

"And in the name of Groenendaal, for he has assimilated the quintessence of all this and defends it at the hazard of his young and noble life!

"I incite you—to what? To do not destructive but productive work; to make nothing which is an assault upon body, soul or mind. This means to refuse service to war, direct or indirect. For war is a bad, irrational, immoral, inefficacious method of deciding conflicts. Besides, the conflicts in question are only to the material, and by no means to the moral, advantages of small ruling classes or groups. And why? **Because we are threatened by a new world war."**

On his trial before the Court of Justice at the Hague, De Ligt defended his speech and attitude with fearless vigour. Since his conviction in 1916, he had accepted the name "seditious agitator" in the same way as the adherents of Fox accepted the name "Quaker." Stating that his speech had been delivered at 1 p.m., De Ligt challenged the Court to convict him:

"As Socrates and kindred spirits corrupted the youth of Athens, so I corrupt youth by spoiling it for militarism; by arousing its sense of responsibility in relation to Imperialism and War. So I act in a criminal fashion by putting god, spirit and conscience above church, authority, and state. So I appeal to the despised masses and tell them that they have nothing to expect or hope for from the ruling classes, but that they must bring about their own emancipation by new, non-bourgeois, non-feudal, or pre-feudal methods; by methods higher than those of the brute; by human methods. In this light, all my work, from day to day, from hour to hour, is entirely 'seditious,' sometimes systematically so, sometimes spontaneously. This was so, is so, and is likely to remain so. When I said on Sunday, June 26 last, in the Hague, at or about 1 p.m., 'I have come here to-day to stir up resistance to the authority of the state,' I acted rightly. I felt and knew from the tension in the audience that I was thoroughly understood: that my hearers realised these were no irresponsible words. I felt—for one feels these things when one is accustomed to public speaking—that the meeting understood the spirit in which I spoke, and realised that I was about to say such things as elsewhere might be considered most base, but which among us at any rate, are considered best and highest."

In his work on "Anarchism and Revolution," De Ligt explains why a great percentage of the best revolutionary workers were at first very religious. "All later moral and cultural values," he declares, "arise in mankind from preceding ones." Denials, to mean anything, must be moral as well as intellectual. They must be positive and not negative denials. He who denies must have gathered to himself the intrinsic value of that which he denies. Christianity, in its original form, is unthinkable without Judaism, the ethics of the Stoics, the wisdom of Plato and Heraclitus, and the worldly wisdom of the Persians. The urge towards human and cosmic solidarity is "the deepest source of Anarchism and Socialism." Bakunin, especially, "realised the historical connection between all social and cultural phenomena."

De Ligt's views on Anarchism approached those of Gustav Landauer, the German Anarchist, murdered during the Munich Soviet Revolution. Man should strive to become his own providence, and so attain an increasing consciousness of his "responsibility in the cosmic-historical process." Marx and Engels are right when they say that history has not begun. Tolstoy and Bakunin also state that mankind is passing through the preliminary stages of history. So long as man is dominated by social conditions, so long as he is unable to command circumstances, the historical development of mankind has not commenced. History will begin when social action is the free expression of the human spirit. Schelling declared that the significance of history was that the world was developing from object to subject—from thing to personality; from nature to spirit. Human personality becomes increasingly important with the development of history, and the freedom of that personality is the aim and the foundation of the technical and economic processes of civilisation. Anarchism, in appealing to the spontaneity of man, restlessly stimulates man's power of developing by and through himself. It keeps in view the ultimate object of all revolutionary struggle: conscious control of oneself and of the world. Recognising the world problem as being finally one of character, Anarchism fights for a new human personality in a new civilisation.

Bart de Ligt played an important part in founding the International Anti-Militarist Bureau in Holland in 1921. As a delegate to the Peace Congress of the International Federation of Trade Unions held in the Hague towards the end of 1922, he uttered words of warning that the workers should heed to-day:—

"I would warn the workers against every pacifist movement whose representatives have the intention of maintaining Capitalism and who, at the same time, think that they are fighting for the abolition of war. . . . As everyone knows, governments are the humble servants of the economic rulers. Whenever it is a question of war, they ignore parliament. . . . We always find the governments against those comrades, the unsubjugated, who refuse military service—those who make war on war, not with phrases, but with deeds. Governments are our enemies. Therefore it is impossible for anti-capitalist anti-militarists to collaborate with them. It is even more impossible to collaborate with the League of Nations, which bears such a noble name and which is such a dirty business. By calling attention to a possible democratising of the League of Nations, the revolutionary consciousness aroused in the proletariat by the experiences of the world war is confused. . . . If you would combat war effectively, comrades, trust only in the proletariat itself. It is true: the proletariat is still weak. It is morally under-fed. But do you think the proletariat would become strong if it were to join the bourgeoisie and its institutions for this most difficult and most dangerous fight—the actual war against war? Why is the proletariat internationally so weak? Because the proletariat is not only subject to the armed, but also the moral dictatorship of the ruling classes; because it believes in the god of the church, in the right of the state, and in the authority of leaders. . . . We revolutionary anti-militarists who collaborate within the I.A.M.B. recognise no official leaders. . . . We will not be dependent on modern leaders as on new priests of idolatry. The principle of our revolution is: **the liberation of the people, by the people itself."**

De Ligt was a delegate to the Anti-Poison Gas Congress and the Congress of the League against Colonial Oppression and for National Independence, both held in Frankfurt in 1929. At the first congress he appealed to scientists to organise themselves nationally and internationally for the purpose of bringing about responsible production. Science without conscience, he said, is ruining humanity. He conducted a tireless opposition at this congress of the League against the fatal bolshevik method of making every organisation subordinate to the interests of Moscow politics. He pointed out that the Russian policy and the tactics of the Third International were furthering the rise of brutal bourgeois dictatorships in the near East. He maintained that the League should take measures to prevent its becoming, consciously or unconsciously, the acolyte of the newly arising bourgeoisie in Asia and Africa.

He was most anxious that oppressed Colonial peoples should not form new states, but, instead, should "seek to renew social life in such a way that all class domination should be abolished."

"The international revolutionary movement must give up assisting unscrupulously the militarisation of the movements for the national independence of the coloured races. . . . To favour the creation of a military hierarchy is always something essentially counter-revolutionary. . . . Nothing is more baneful than to try and instil the common logic of violence into people who are already so sensitive to the logic and practice of non-violence. It is an attempt upon what is best in them, to seek to gain them over to the most abject and feeble cause of Western civilisation. . . . Instead of introducing Western militarism into the East, we should, on the contrary, suppress it in the West."

De Ligt was opposed to violence, which he deemed a counter-revolutionary factor. In "The Conquest of Violence," published in 1934, he declared that the social revolutionist must break with violence and hold only to those fighting methods that were in line with his goal of general reconstruction, or else accept the conclusion vociferously proclaimed by the Bolsheviks at the Anti-Gas Warfare Conference at Frankfurt in 1929:

"Against the armies of women reactionaries, we must have armies of women Reds. Against the poison gas of the Whites, the poison gas of the Reds! Against the White bacteria, the Red bacteria!"

De Ligt commented:

"Some revolutionaries of the last century were naive enough to think that war, political or national, might easily be turned into war, civil or revolutionary . . . nowadays war, thanks to the scientific means of slaying available, presents a character so negative, not to say nihilist, that to use it is impossible for a real revolutionary, unless he is willing to load his conscience with the mechanical mass murder of men, women and children and animals; the complete destruction of towns and plains and their inhabitants, and plants; the diffusion, impossible to regulate, of gas and microbes, which would blindly annihilate friends and foes, comrades and adversaries . . . and the odious crime that this would mean against Socialism and mankind in general."

MILITARISM STRIPPED TOO NAKED

"THE SPIRIT OF THE BAYONET."

By Coy. Sergt.-Major Franklin, M.C.

(Reprinted and abridged from "The Daily Herald," London.)

[Coy. Sergt.-Major Franklin, M.C., addressed the Inns of Court Officers' Training Corps, on July 19, 1918, on "The Spirit of the Bayonet." The following report of his speech was published officially in pamphlet form for circulation among members of the corps, but was withdrawn at the command of a higher authority. It was broadcast in pamphlet form by the No More War Movement, with an introduction by Lt.-Col. Arthur Osburn, D.S.O., after Hannen Swaffer reprinted the suppressed speech in the *Daily Herald*. The speech was denounced by Mrs. Naomi Mitchinson, Ethel Mannin, Havelock Ellis, H. G. Wells, Lord Ponsonby, Marley, etc.—Ed.]

"I wish to speak to you this evening about the spirit of the bayonet . . . I wish to recall something about the first Expeditionary Force . . . Those troops knew little or nothing about the bayonet . . .

"At first we had thought that we were going to polish off the old 'boche' in a few days. That was a fine spirit to have, but we found that the 'boches' who had been preparing for this business for the past forty years, were not to be settled so easily. Then we remembered that all our wars for the past 200 years had been won by the bayonet. And we intend to win this one with the bayonet too (Cheers).

"DELIGHTFUL FEELING.

"Don't ever forget that the bayonet as a real war-weapon is our invention. When I say our invention I am speaking of the Army Gymnastic Staff . . . Anybody with any experience of tackling the 'boche' knows that there is something more to be done after you have killed one; you must get it out damned sharp to kill somebody else. *It was a good thing to show Tommy how to kill a 'boche' and to get that delightful feeling of putting him out with a bayonet—to feel that he had finished off one of those dirty creatures that we call Germans.* But there is something more to be taught . . . We had to teach the bayonet-fighters that after killing their first man they had got to go forward and kill more, and still more.

"The only time the Germans know how to kill a man with a bayonet is when they catch him undefended; of course, that means when he is badly wounded and unable to take care of himself. When we teach you how to use the bayonet we know you will be able to kill a German whatever he has in his hand . . .

"We talk about artillery. Well, the artillery will do big things . . . The artillery has done its work to blot out everything. Now for our job. We have to go over that ground with the bayonet and I can assure you that you will find plenty of dirty work to be done.

"You've got to get down and hook them out with the bayonet; you will enjoy that, I can assure you. (Laughter.)

"You will want the bayonet to clear the trench. And it is because I know the value of the bayonet that I want you to forget sympathy.

"You should have no sympathy for any damned Germans; I have none, nor has anyone else that I know in France. If at any time you should be sympathetic, let it be to put a squarehead out of his misery—you will be doing him and yourself a good turn at the same time. (Laughter.) *You will certainly know what it feels like to drive that bayonet home and get it out again; you will feel that you will like to go on killing.* You are here to work on that idea and to work damned hard.

"PRETEND TO SURRENDER.

"At the moment I have in mind the case of a young officer who was with his men in a newly-taken position at Bullecourt . . . You may have run out of ammunition, and all you have to depend upon is the bayonet, and the next thing to happen is a counter-attack. In the case of this young officer, he was in that predicament, and he saw coming towards him no less than four lines of Germans.

"The young officer said, 'Well it's either them or us.' And this is where the eye and brain came in. He passed down the word that the moment the 'boche' got near they were to jump on the parapet and hold their hands and rifles up (a pretence of

surrender). When the word 'charge' was given, they had to fly into them with the bayonet.

"And they flew into them, too! They charged through the first line, into the second line, by which time the third and fourth line had got the wind up. What remained of the first, second and third, rushed back on to the fourth line; then the whole lot lost control and tried to rush back to where they had come from, made a mess of it, ran into their own wires and were annihilated by our artillery. That officer by his quickness of brain, saved the day and his men's lives as well. That's what we want you to be able to do . . .

"Don't forget that the Germans, when they advance, do not come on in tens and twenties, but in their thousands, and you have got to kill or be killed. Don't think, as the Rev. Meyer says, that 'two blacks don't make a white.' *Get sympathy out of your head. We washed sympathy out of the service years ago. We go out to kill. We don't care how, so long as they are killed, and so effectively put out of action.*

"I can assure you that it is a funny feeling that creeps down your spine just before you go over the top. (Laughter.) . . . Then came the order 'prepare to advance.' We caressed that bayonet between our fingers and we got ready to do things, and the moment that we were over the top all fear vanished.

"Bloody work had got to be done by us and we did it. (Cheers.) And it is always the case. Your main object is to meet the enemy. You go straight forward looking for somebody to kill with your bayonet—in the neck, in the eye, in the lungs—the whole job is to get the point in and get it out quickly.

"I have heard of one man accounting for thirteen Germans with his bayonet. I know a case of an N.C.O. in charge of a patrol surprised by Germans. The first thing that the N.C.O. did was to take a flying leap and get his man in the arm, then withdrew and went for the next and got him fairly in the heart. When it was over and he came back, his chums asked him if he knew what he had done. He said that he did not, but added that he believed he had killed one man and made the other wish that he had not come out. (Laughter.) Of course, he had gone mad, and he said, 'I felt that I could go on killing.'

'FINISH OFF' WOUNDED GERMANS.

"That is the spirit to have—to keep on killing. He had cut out sympathy. *And I say to you: if you see a wounded German shove him out and have no nonsense about it. We are going to have no sympathy with Germans at any rate.*

"What is the use of a wounded German, anyway? He goes into hospital and the next thing that happens is that you meet him again in some other part of the line. That's no good to us, is it? So when you see a German laid out, just finish him off. Don't trust him any further than you can see him. Remember that the next thing that will happen if you don't is that he will put a bullet into you or one of your chums while he has the strength to do it. The only time that a German can find pluck to kill with the bayonet is when he comes across one of our own wounded; he will plunge the steel into their hearts as they lie unable to defend themselves. When you see this done, can you have any sympathy for them? No! Ten thousand times no! *Kill them every mother's son of them. Remember that your job is to kill them—that is the only way — exterminate the vile creatures*! . . .

"Take this game seriously. Remember that there are men in France who are fighting and laying down their lives while, in comparison, we are here in clover, in safety, and are getting our eight hours' sleep each night. They curse a bit, but really they do their work most cheerfully. They know that you are coming out to help them, and when you go we want you to be able to teach them how to murder that vile animal called a German. Then try and experience what it is to have the feeling of the warm blood trickling over your hands . . .

"Get hold of your men; whatever you say, see that it is done. But whatever you do, see that these men are taught to kill. We are going to teach those German curs their manners, and we have to do it and will do it. They don't know them. The more of them we kill the better. If a Frenchman calls you 'comrade' he is a comrade. But when a German says 'Kamerad' you know that he wants to be put out of his agony. (Laughter.)

"GERMAN PRISONERS KILLED.

"I remember a corporal saying to me, pointing to some German prisoners close by, 'Can I do these blokes in, Sir?' I said, 'Please yourself.' He did. When the corporal came back he said, 'I felt something that I have never felt before—and I have been in Dartmoor too. (Laughter) *I felt what it is like to kill; but it's damned hard to get it out. God! He had a belly like iron.'* (More Laughter.)

"I remember once disobeying orders in France. I got permission to go salvaging in High Wood—actually I wanted to go up and see the show . . . When the show died down I carried on with my salvaging task, and I picked out no less than five German bodies with British bayonets still in them. The bayonets were in their guts! There is an unfortunate tendency with a Britisher to go for a German belly—I suppose that it is to let the lager out. (Laughter.) But it shows a lack of direction and withdrawal. When I saw this I thought that there was good food for reflection; I saw that one had not only put the bayonet right in, but he had got the nosecap in as well. (Laughter.) The spirit was there, but skill was not. It is always advisable to avoid the stomach, for you are not likely to get out quickly enough to deal with anyone else who is likely to be coming along.

"Now a closing word. Don't be afraid to die. Go forward, chance your luck; you will come out in the end. Keep your mind employed and you won't think of what might happen."

THE COMMANDING OFFICER (Lieut.-Col. H. L. Stevens, D.S.O.): "I wish to express my very cordial thanks to Sergt.-Major Franklin for his speech . . . I hope that you will all bear in mind what he has said to you and that you will all try and act up to it, not only in his department but in all the other departments while you are here. I call for three cheers for Sergt.-Major Franklin."

The Colonel's call was answered with three resounding cheers.

CONCERNING SPAIN

The following letter concerning Spain has been received by our Comrade Ethel MacDonald from Comrade Russel Blackwell (otherwise Negrete) who was arrested and imprisoned by the Stalinists in Barcelona:

Miami, Florida, U.S.A.
April 4, 1939.

Dear Ethel,

. . . As you know I spent 9½ months in the prisons of Cuenca, Madrid and Valencia, the Stalinists accusing me of everything from Mayhem to treason, and it is a near miracle that I got out at all. This morning's papers report the execution of Apellaniz, Stalinist Cheka chief in Valencia. He was the most infamous of the whole murderous crew and appears to have killed more than one of our comrades.

I could get no information about the Smillie case while in Valencia prisons, although I was informed that the British Consul was largely responsible, inasmuch as he knew about it and did nothing (this from an excellent reliable source). Consul's name was Sullivan, a Fascist sympathiser, so it seems. The prisoners in Barcelona were all freed by the comrades before the flight. The Stalinists were so anxious to save their hides that they did not take the necessary time out to kill them before leaving, as we feared they might. I feel the same as you do regarding the comrades that we have lost in Spain. At the same time, as you say, it is useless to shed tears over them. The best tribute is to carry on, not with stupid heroics, but intelligently, analysing what has happened, the why and the wherefore thereof. Next time it must not happen the same way. It need not have happened this time. I believe it can be prevented next time.

In the period after you left Barcelona, I was extremely depressed. It hurts to see a revolution cut to pieces before your eyes and feel helpless about it all. At that time I felt frustrated and helpless, and the future looked very dark. But the trip that I took to the southern and central provinces and the last weeks in Barcelona itself gave me a different impression however, and convinced me that the Spanish movement is NOT dead; that it is still one of the most powerful revolutionary movements; and that it is already commencing to draw the lessons that can bring it victory to-morrow. True, most of the older revolutionary generation has been killed in the struggle and the south of Spain has been decimated. But even so, those that are left, are not (I speak of the last weeks of 1938 when everyone knew that military defeat was inevitable) licked. Those that survive Franco's slaughter, both those that continue in Spain and those that get away into France—and for whom we must find a semi-permanent haven abroad—have a lot of fighting spirit left. Spain will continue to ferment. Franco cannot consolidate a true Fascist regime without tremendous internal convulsions. I know that you do not agree with us on the question of the party, although you did on the question of proletarian power—in general. It is necessary now to draw the final conclusion. Think of the different situation that we might have had if the FRIENDS OF DURRUTI, which held more or less your position, had understood the question of the vanguard party, and had stepped forward boldly giving active leadership in the struggle for power. Had this been done in May, history might have been of victory instead of defeat. We might have been defeated in the end anyway because of the international set-up, but even so, we should have gone much further on the road to workers' rule. There was a chance of victory if power had been seized in May. By rejecting the role of vanguard, the FRIENDS OF DURRUTI only contributed unconsciously to the perpetuation of a policy that meant inevitable ultimate defeat. I should not say ultimate though, for, as I have already stated, it is not finished historically.

. . . I have a hunch that the next *revolutionary* struggle in Europe will be in Spain . . . One of the main jobs of the international movement is to help the Spanish comrades reconstitute the revolutionary movement. The central task here is to create a vanguard organisation, through a regroupment. The real revolutionists of the F.A.I., J.J.L.L., P.O.U.M., and Left S.P. should be rallied around a new organisation, a new banner unbesmirched by class collaboration and betrayal. This task is generally understood by many Spanish comrades, including leading people in the F.A.I. I have spoken with many of them over the country and do not consider it an impossible development. Many of the comrades who have participated in the struggle at the front, especially the younger ones, would welcome such a development. It is the only road to victory to-morrow, but while it is open there is no room for us to be demoralised . . Revolutionary greetings to yourself and comrades,

RUSSELL BLACKWELL.

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Fascism or Democracy: Which?

THE STORY OF THE AUSTRIAN LOAN.

In Britain we enjoy democracy. Our administration expresses the civilized idea of Government by and through debate. We are opposed to violence and to annexation. The taking-over of Austria by Germany, the march of the Fascist army annoyed and startled us. It was not democracy. The Labour Party leaders, and the Communist Party leaders, wanted us to march to war on Germany to revenge this march into Austria. Chamberlain was condemned for surrendering or betraying Austria. Superficially, the argument seemed plausible. Fundamentally, it was false Not Fascist Germany, but democratic Britain, destroyed the independence of Austria. That destruction was supported in the House of Commons by Walton Newbold, when he was Communist M.P. for Motherwell. At that time, Willie Gallacher was not an M.P., he was a hanger-on of Newbold, always to be found on the terrace or in the lobbies of the House of Commons, getting notes for articles to prove that Newbold represented the interests of the working-class.

If the reader will look up Hansard for 1922, he will find an official report of the speech delivered in House of Commons in December of that year, supporting the Austrian loan. Newbold, at that time, spoke and acted in the same capacity as Gallacher acts to-day:—

(1) He was amenable to the discipline of the Communist Party, controlled from Moscow.

(2) He gave expression to the C.P. policy of attempting to secure affiliation to the Labour Party.

And he received the applause of Willie Gallacher, not yet a Member of the House.

Said Mr. Newbold to the House of Commons:—

"I give my general support to this matter of the loan to Austria."

Supporting the loan, he proceeded to show that he did not support the League of Nations:—

"I regard the League of Nations with disgust and abhorrence."

And so say all of us! At a later date, Moscow discovered that it was an error to regard the League of Nations with disgust and abhorrence. Its tame spokesmen were taught to eulogise the League of Nations, to view it with approval and regard.

Newbold proceeded to expose the corrupt character of the loan, and explained that Sir Henry Strakosch, the chairman of the Financial Section of the League of Nations, which became the supreme power, under the terms of the loan, in turning the screw upon Austria, was also a director of the Anglo-Austrian Bank, which was to benefit directly from the loan.

Newbold continued:—

"There is an attempt being made on the Continent of Europe to take away the State monopoly on tobacco and put it in the hands of two tobacco companies—one British and the other American—if it is possible to distinguish the two. They desire to exploit Austria, France and Italy in the same manner as they are exploiting Turkey, Greece, and other countries."

Read that passage and then consider the attitude of Germany towards the peace invitation of the United States President. Consider the attitude of the capitalist press in Britain and the United States towards the German invasion of Austria. Ask yourself what the working-class democracy in Britain and the United States has in common with the great tobacco companies of Britain and the United States?

In supporting the Austrian loan, Mr. Newbold, spokesman for the Communist Party, the elect of the working folk of Motherwell, *knew that he was aggravating the hardships and privations of the Austrian people.* The Government White Paper, containing the agreement and protocols respecting the loan, specifically averred that the position of the Austrian people would be rendered harder during the period of "reform" which the leading Powers — the Anti-Germanic Powers — would enforce. The Financial Committee of the League of Nations stated in this precious official document, which was read and approved by the elect and elected of British democracy:—

"The period of reform itself, even if the new credits are forthcoming, will necessarily be a very painful one. The longer it is deferred the more painful it must be. At the best the conditions of life in Austria must be worse next year, when she is painfully re-establishing her position, than last year, when she was devoting loans intended for that purpose to current consumption without reform.

"The alternative is not between continuing the conditions of life of last year or improving them. It is between enduring a period of perhaps greater hardship than she has known since 1919 (but with the prospect of real amelioration — therefore the happier alternative), or collapsing into a chaos of destitution and starvation, to which there is no modern analogy outside Russia.

"There is no hope for Austria unless she is prepared to endure and support an authority which must enforce reforms entailing harder conditions than those at present prevailing, knowing that in this way only can she avoid an even worse fate."

The purpose of this loan, supported by Walton Newbold, whilst Communist M.P. and the pet of the Communist Party was to impose a British financial stranglehold on Austria, and so revive Austrian Capitalism as the subsidiary of British Capitalism; to establish a British financial dictatorship over people, who were literally dying of hunger in Austria; over children whose physique was mortally impaired in many instances; and seriously undermined where they promised to survive actual death. Austria was to become a nation of organised corpses and impoverished invalids for the purposes of this loan and in the interests of absentee speculators.

Newbold realised that the loan was made to save Austrian Capitalism for British exploitation, and not to serve the starving poor of Austria. He told the House of Commons in this amazing speech:—

"Nothing worth mentioning has been done in this House to save the starving children of Vienna. But when it comes to a matter of saving the credit of the country, which has been aptly described as the nerve-centre of finance, immediately we find the League of Nations and this House all agog, at a moment's notice."

Realising all this, Walter Newbold, Communist M.P., with the blessing of Moscow and the earnest loyal seconding of Willie Gallacher outside the House, supported the Austrian loan of 1922.

The British White Paper made one of the conditions of the loan that Austria must establish *"an efficient gendarmerie."* The Austrian representative was forced to give this pledge to British Capitalism:—

"The Austrian Government will take all measures to ensure the maintenence of public order."

This Austrian loan was devised with a two-fold object: firstly, to stabilise capitalism in Austria with the aid of *foreign control and foreign money,* and so stave off European Revolution; secondly to retain Austria as the milch cow of the victorious Allied Capitalists, especially those resident in Britain and the British Empire.

This loan destroyed Austria's economic and political independence during the projected period of financial control, governed by the loan. No definite term was set to this period of control. The idea was to make it permanent. From the loan agreement, and the documents appertaining to it, we quote this passage:—

"The functions of the Commissioner-General shall be brought to an end by a decision of the League of Nations, when the Council shall have ascertained that the financial stability of Austria is assured, without prejudice to any special control of the assets assigned for the service of the loan."

The programme of reform dictated by the controlling authority and sanctioned by the League of Nations had to be adopted by the Austrian Government, as a condition of the loan, and voted by the Austrian Parliament, which was compelled to accept the programme, as an ultimatum, en bloc, and had no further say in the matter. The vote of the Austrian Parliament, thus given under duress, conferred on the Government *"full powers to take decisions of every kind in agreement with the controlling authority."*

The controlling authority saw the "Reform" programme carried out. It inspected the accounts of the Austrian Government departments. The controlling authority consisted of a committee of the guarantor Government and a Commissioner-General. The League of Nations was the Court of Appeal.

Every item of the Austrian public expenditure was dictated. Drastic reductions in pensions and social services were ordered. It was ordered, also, that the subventions to local authorities to assist them in paying their officials on the basis of the cost of living index were to cease.

The Austrian Government was made to surrender all right to issue paper money. It was not permitted to negotiate or conclude loans, except under the consent of the Commissioner-General. It was ordered that the Austrian State Bank of Issue be handed over entirely to private enterprise, and become autonomous in its relations with the Austrian Government. Through this bank the Austrian Government was compelled to carry out all its cash transactions. The bank had to present its balance sheets to the Commissioner-General.

The gross receipts of Austria's Customs, tobacco monopoly, and, *"if the Commissioner-General should deem them necessary,"* other assets also, had to be paid into a special account controlled by the Commissioner-General to assure the service of the annuity of the loan. All Austria's State industries were ordered over to foreign enterprise.

One of the first things to be done with the loan, for which Austria was compelled to surrender her independence, was to repay to the controlling Powers the loans they had already made.

As a result of these coercive measures, the usurious Powers hoped *"it may well prove that the guarantees eventually involve no actual cash liability upon the guarantors."*

In other words, a cheap dictatorship over Austria was established by Britain, through the medium of "Government by Debate" at Westminster, and to the entire ignorance of the working-class electorate in Britain.

Why was no protest made against such "Fascism," and such very real invasion of Austria?

A. R. P.

WHAT ARE YOU DOING ABOUT IT?

A.R.P. activity is endorsed and supported by all parliamentarians: by the Tory Party, the Liberal Party, the Labour Party, and the Communist Party. *A.R.P. can never protect the common people.*

Against aerial attack and poison gas there is no protection. Gas masks are useless. Cellars finally are death-traps and tombs, into which heavy poisonous gases must penetrate ultimately. Pacts and conferences and statesmen-exchanged scraps of paper can never stop war. The people can organise to resist war.

The only way to avert war is for the common people to let the Governments know that they will resist war.

The duty of the common man and woman is to live without fear. If death comes, accept it. But do not create death from fear of death.

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GLASGOW'S "SOCIALIST" LORD PROVOST

DOLLAN: THEN AND NOW

"Hoots, he's nae worth the heedin', that lad. He's anybody's dog for a biscuit."

In these terms of contumely and derision, the old Scot's saw defines the political opportunist. It expresses the limit of rural contempt for the type of man who uses radicalism as a stepping stone to a seat in the House of Lords, and Socialism as an excuse to become Prime Minister in the Westminster National pool. The phrase is used in times of crisis to point scorn at John Bunyan's Mr. Facing Both Ways. Lord Provost Dollan must have employed it more than once in those days, when, as "Myner Collier" he became an outside contributor to the columns of the *Forward*. To-day, reviewing his attitude during the Great War, as a conscientious objector; and his conduct now, as Lord Provost and recruiting sergeant; many Socialists recall the phrase and apply it to him.

Writing in *Forward* for April 22, 1939 Walton Newbold drew attention to the war-time attitude of Emmanuel Shinwell and Herbert Morrison, and also to the caption that appeared in the *Daily Herald*, for April 15 last:—"*Biggest Show By Military Since War.*" Newbold was prompted by this headline

"to enquire whether the Lord Provost, who is stated to be acting as 'co-ordinating officer,' is any relation to P. J. Dollan. If I remember aright, he must now be well over military age, but I have an idea that, some twenty-two years ago, he was seeking exemption from military service."

Since his election as Lord Provost, Dollan has been most active, reviewing territorial units, and recruiting for national service. *The Evening Times*, Glasgow, for Monday, May 29, 1939, published a small paragraph as follows:—

"SINGING FOR RECRUITS.

"Sir Harry Lauder Does His Bit.

"Famous Scots comedian Sir Harry Lauder is the latest National Service recruiting sergeant. When Lord Provost P. J. Dollan, of Glasgow, was addressing a National Service meeting in the Lorne Cinema, Kinning Park, last night, he saw Sir Harry in the audience, and insisted that he come to the platform.

"Then Sir Harry made his appeal in his own way. First of all he sang 'Put your faith in the Motherland.' Then he made a few typical Lauder remarks in which he told the Lord Provost to continue his work for National Service and 'Keep right on to the end of the road.' Then Sir Harry sang the song which he has made famous throughout the world."

Harry Lauder sang for recruits during the Great War. He also sang for conscripts. In those days, Thomas Johnston was busily engaged trying to persuade Socialists that George Barnes had not "sold out." When Barnes denounced "class-consciousness," and announced his willingness to leave the Labour Party, and identified himself with Lloyd George, Carson, Curzon, Milner, and Bonar Law, Johnston announced, in *Forward*, for September 1, 1917, that he felt it "*almost as a personal blow.*"

In the same "War Points," Johnston attacked Cunningham Graham who, in the *Glasgow Herald*, declared that Mr. Ramsay MacDonald is licking stamps for "his German friends." What wit! Johnston listed and ridiculed the Labour leaders who had been made Commanders of the O.O.T.B.E. for recruiting:—

"J. T. Brownlie and R. Young, of the Engineers; A. Bellamy, of the Railwaymen; Miss Margaret Macmillan, James Sexton, and (as sure as death!) Havelock Wilson, Jimmy Brown, and David Gilmour (of the Scottish Miners); F. Chandler (of the Carpenters and Joiners); E. L. Poulton (of the Boot and Shoe Operatives); W. C. Robinson (of the Beamers, described as 'a Labour candidate'); Stewart Bunning (of the Postmen); and Ben Turner (of the Textile Workers)."

Johnston culled from the *Daily Telegraph* some of the Statutes and Ordinances of the Order. The Labour Commanders were entitled to wear "upon all great and solemn occasions a purple riband and badge of the breadth of one inch and three-quarters passing from the right shoulder to the left side. 'The medal of the Most Excellent Order is to be silver, having on the obverse a representation of Britannia within the circle, and motto of the Order, and on the reverse Our Royal and Imperial Cypher, and shall be worn on the left side suspended by a ring to a purple riband of one inch and one sixteenth of an inch in width'."

And so Johnston felt that these persons were in the same category as the Roberts, the Thomases, and the Hodges. To-day, he does not seem to be in a much better category himself! Dollan was in a different category entirely.

The story was told partly in *Forward* for September 8, 1917, in the "War Points":—

"Everybody knows that the Glasgow Town Council Labour Party is being steadily and effectively cleared out. Dollan and George Smith are in jail: others are in the army: others again, like Angus McDougall, are in work of 'national importance.' . . . Some of the Labour representatives—P. J. Dollan and George Smith, for example—are temporarily absent through no fault or laxity of their own. . . .

"As we expected, the Court of Session has turned down Councillor P. J. Dollan's appeal against the importation into his military exemption certificate of a stipulation that he must find work 50 miles from Glasgow, or in other words, that he must get himself so far off that he will be unable to harry Town Clerks, Lord Provosts, Profiteers and the like.

"The trial is adequately summed up in the 'Glasgow Herald's' paragraph:

'The Court without calling on counsel for the respondent, dismissed the appeal, with seven guineas' expenses.'

"And the lawyers are £100 or thereby the richer, and the I.L.P. £100 or thereby the poorer, and Dollan hies himself off again to jail or to some work of national non-importance under a Home Office Committee. Until the war is over, the local Capitalists are relieved of his presence, and as a sort of final send-off the local Magistrates prohibit a public meeting of protest."

At this time, Harry Lauder was busy boosting the war, in company with the then Lord Provost of Glasgow, now dead and forgotten. When we read John S. Clarke's article, urging war, in the *Glasgow Evening News* for April 28, 1939, we recall the attacks he made on Lauder during the war years. Clarke continued his attacks when the war had concluded. In the *Worker* for October 9, 1920, before he had sold out to the Capitalist class via the Town Council and the House of Commons, Clarke denounced Lauder as

"The Knighted Clown"

and attacked the Glasgow papers for printing "nearly a whole column of the senseless drivel that Sir Harry Lauder vomited at his presentation in the Grand Hotel last Friday."

Clarke's comment continued:—

"Harry resembles a Labour fakir in lots of ways. Both are types of the working class who have used that class as a stepping stone into the class above. One pretends to represent the worker in the House of Commons or as a union official, and makes use of both positions to become absolutely bourgeois at the workers' expense.

"The other tickles the ears of the pious by preaching in various pulpits, and charms the impious by stimulating drunken debauchery on the stage ('I'm fou the noo') in order to do precisely the same. Both succeed, and succeeding, scorn the people to whom they owe their 'success.'

"Both flatter themselves that they have 'got on' by virtue of their own amazing brilliance (compare the brag of J. H. Thomas, for instance, with Lauder's assurance that 'all the good things of life wouldn't have come to him had he not deserved them'), and both cherish the belief that any twaddle they care to utter is accepted as the deepest of wisdom. Look, for example, at the callous self-sufficiency of a man who, after the bloody savagery responsible for millions upon millions of deaths, and in a time when millions upon millions are hungering in Europe, when a sordid, furtive war is being carried on against Ireland and Russia, when angry murmurs of complaint are arising from the industrial world and the poor of earth are poorer than ever they were, can talk like this:

"'Harry concluded with a "warm welcome" to his old friends to look him up at the Glen. He painted a glorious word picture of the pool where the water is as clear as crystal, and "man, the world's a bonnie place".'

"'Man, the world's a bonnie place.' What a host of comfort there is in such words to the broken ex-service men who followed Lauder's advice and fought for the 'bonnie place.' 'God's in his heaven, all's right with the world.' Sir Harry might live to see the day when he'll lose more than his hair."

The first Saturday in July, 1926, thousands listened in to Harry Lauder broadcasting. Introducing topical subjects, he regretted the miners' dispute and expressed the hope that it would soon end, as there were thousands of miners anxious to get back to work. Lauder forgot to mention the fact that the mine-owners were preventing the miners from working, because they refused to pay them sufficient wages to keep body and soul together. The mine-owners were responsible for the strike, not the miners. Harry, being a theatrical artist, and as such, an extreme reactionary, did not face this point. His sympathies were with the owners, although his theatrical success had depended upon the patronage of the workers. To them he owed his livelihood and the Glen!

This is the man whom Dollan, being Lord Provost, salutes at a public meeting and invites to the platform.

Says the *Evening Times* for May 29, commenting on its own news item:—

"When the Lord Provost, along with Sir Alex. Swan and Sir Harry Lauder, who were the speakers, left about 10 p.m. they were cheered by crowds in the streets.

"Mr. Dollan told me to-day that this was the most popular demonstration that has been witnessed during the A.R.P. campaign. But, he added, Kinning Park still needs 230 wardens to fulfil its quota."

There were no A.R.P. wardens then, but substantially, this is the kind of patriotic rallying that the then Lord Provost of Glasgow did in 1914, and during the years of the Great War in which Mr. Dollan refused to serve. At that time exactly the same arguments were waged in support of organising the maximum defence for the Clydeside as are put forward to-day by the present Lord Provost in the columns of *Forward* and on the various platforms on which he speaks. It is for Mr. Dollan to explain how he was right in scorning the defence of the country in 1914-18 whilst to-day he is so stern on the necessity of doing so. Either he is right to-day or he was wrong in 1914-18. There is another explanation, namely, that it is impossible to become the Lord Provost of a city, even a "Socialist" Lord Provost, without being caught up in the network of Capitalist Imperialism.

SOLVED IN WEST FIFE.

Willie Gallacher, not yet M.P., wrote in his "Political Notes," contributed to *The Worker* (No. 302) for September 6, 1924, with a parade of big type:—

"THE BIG QUESTION.

"The all-important question before every little creature who is parading around with a bellyful of shoddy politics is, 'How to get a constituency and a seat in Parliament'."

And now—the all-important question for Willie is how to keep that seat!

CONSCRIPTION—WITH CIGARETTES!

Down With The Conchies — New C.P. Line

The new C.P. slogan is: "Cigarettes for Conscripts." This is the neo-Leninist programme for a democratic army. Step by step, the Communist Party has moved towards its goal of a conscript army. Whereas Lord Roberts and the Anti-Socialist Union used to urge conscription, and the Socialists were opposed, to-day a Labour Party in Opposition, aided by Communist Party jingo propaganda, has driven the National Government forward to Conscription. To-day, Conscription is on the Statute Book, and the Communist Party solemnly assures that it is opposed to conscientious objectors, and that its policy is cigarettes for our boys, the conscripts! The Stalinist rendering of: "Workers of the world, unite!"

In the Soviet Union, the Bolsheviks crushed all factions of the Socialist movement and murdered the Anarchists, that they might establish a Conscript Army, and stamp out Communism. In Italy, the Third International hirelings betrayed and sabotaged the Syndicalist struggle. In China, they recognised Chian-Kai-Shek, after he had murdered thousands of Communists in cold blood. In Germany, the official "Communists" allied themselves with National Socialism, and only opposed Hitler when it was too late to be effective. Back in the Soviet Union, having exterminated by murder and exile all other Socialist groups, the Communist Party went heresy-hunting in its own ranks. It passed from Leninism to Stalinism, and treated Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Rykov, Bukharin, Rakovsky, etc., as Marx would have liked to have treated Bakunin. Properly Stalinised, the Party murdered its own leading members, men who had pioneered the revolution and served the party faithfully and laboriously for many years, in prison and in exile. Every murder was applauded by Gallacher, Pollitt, McShane, and the other hired hacks in Britain. In France, the C.P. United Front betrayed the workers in their strikes, and the Moroccans in their struggle towards freedom. The Spanish Revolution, despite all the rhetoric about the International Brigade, was sabotaged and betrayed directly by Moscow. The thousands who died in Spain, the masses now herded into French concentration camps, owe their situation to the cowardice and treachery of Moscow and its hirelings. The Soviet Union supplied oil to Franco, and supplied war material to Italy and Germany, knowing that these countries were actually conducting a Fascist and National Socialist invasion of Spain. The triumph of the Fascism they assisted was turned by the Communists into a pretext for a campaign in Britain for economic and military sanctions, a campaign bound to end in conscription. In the first years of the Russian Revolution, we had urged "Hands off Russia," meaning war against Capitalism in Britain in defence of the Soviet Union. The latter-day "Communists" replaced this with a cry for a "Peace Pact with The Soviet," knowing that conscription must result in Britain.

In the *Weekly Worker* for January 9, 1932, William Gallacher endeavoured to justify the C.P. disrupting the Glasgow Free Speech Council. The Anti-Parliamentarians wanted to organise this body into a genuine Council of Action. The effort was sabotaged by the "Communists" and their bogus organisations. Gallacher declared that *"all the rottenest opportunists and parasitic elements in Glasgow got associated with this Council,"* meaning the Anti-Parliamentarians, who pioneered it, and the I.L.P. Since he and his colleagues afterwards attempted to form a united front with the I.L.P., actually he meant the Anti-Parliamentarians, whose aim was to establish a "constitution."

Gallacher did not want a constitution, because that would have meant organised working-class democracy, and have prevented the trick domination of the C.P. through fake sports organisations. He proceeded to denounce the Anti-Parliamentarians as being *"of necessity enemies of the movement."* Gallacher added that *"when they saw they were going to be involved in a serious movement, the parliamentarians (meaning the I.L.P.—Ed.) and the anti-parliamentarians left the conference," etc.*

The truth is Willie Gallacher and his colleagues feared that a serious movement would be established, and proceeded to destroy it by attempting to organise a purely bogus movement. The bogus Council was self-evidently bogus and passed out. It served the purpose of disgusting the workers with struggle.

Willie Gallacher is a degenerate time-server and careerist. Ever since the foundation of the Communist Party, under cover of violent language and revolutionary phraseology, he had done nothing but advance the cause of Fascism. His revolutionary understanding led him to applaud and canvass for Mosley, against the latter's wishes even. To-day, Gallacher's time-serving reaction is apparent to every student of the social problem, to every thinking worker in the struggle. John MacLean estimated Gallacher rightly.

In March, 1934, the *New Leader*, organ of the I.L.P., described Willie Gallacher as the *"Professional Fierce Man of the Communist Party"* and accused him of being unable "to state a case for his political views without wholesale lying." The writer suggested that it was hopeless to expect Gallacher ever to suffer "from the horrid disease of intellectuality." Commenting on the distance Gallacher would "travel for the sheer pleasure of telling another lie," the writer declared: "Inability to get within one hundred miles of the truth has always been one of his weaknesses."

John McGovern attacked Gallacher in the columns of the *New Leader* for September 20 and 27, 1935. In the first article, McGovern asked: *"Will Willie Join Up?"* This heading is of particular significance now.

McGovern declared that the Communist Party believed in action being taken by a collection of Capitalist Governments that called themselves a League of Nations. Since this League had no army, navy, nor air force, Britain would have to supply these forces and close the Suez Canal, if military sanctions were adopted against Italy, as demanded by the C.P. This meant war. In this event McGovern wanted to know:—

> ". . . will the members of the C.P. be advised to join the British Army, and will Harry Pollitt and Willie Gallacher offer to serve in the British Army?"

McGovern declared that Gallacher "and his fellow Communists are *compelled* to back this outrageously anti-working-class policy of collaboration with Capitalist Governments." He then asked Willie three questions and demanded a straight answer to each. The first two questions enquired if the C.P. wanted the National Government to apply sanctions against Italy, and to make and continue war, if sanctions resulted in war. The third question read:—

> "3. If so, does the C.P.intend to advise its members to join up in the British forces, and will Harry Pollitt, Gallacher, and other C.P. leaders offer their services to the Power or Powers making war on Italy?"

Accusing the C.P. of trying "to put a Hallowe'en false face upon its policy" of war, McGovern declared that "before the end of the war, there will be no Communist Party in this country." He explained to Gallacher:—

> "Whenever I speak I do you and Pollitt credit by saying that your war policy was not decided by you or your members, but was dictated to you from outside, and that I believe you must know it to be fundamentally wrong. Surely I could not be fairer than that."

McGovern was quite right to say that the C.P. policy was dictated to it from outside. In February, 1928, the *Manchester Guardian* published a message from its special correspondent at Moscow, Arthur Ransome. He reported the decision arrived at by the Plenary Session of the Executive Committee of the C.I. at its meeting on Saturday, February 17, instructing the C.P.G.B. to run Communist Party candidates in opposition to Labour Party and T.U. candidates at parliamentary elections. The *Times* reported that, *"the British delegates, Mr. Campbell and Mr. Brown guaranteed that the 'Ikki' (the Third International Executive) would not be disappointed, and Mr. Gallacher promised to be loyal and energetic."*

This instruction, which was carried out, was opposed entirely to the policy pursued at that time by the C.P. in Great Britain. The then current issue of *The Communist* contained a long statement, "the thesis of the Central Committee of the C.P.G.B." which, after much quotation from Lenin, and dialetic against the sham "left elements of the Wilkinson, Maxton, Lansbury type," concluded that the party must not oppose but support even MacDonald, Thomas, and Henderson. The British Executive said it must support these Right Leaders to command popularity among the workers. To-day, the C.P. supports Conscription for the same reason, and has evolved its masterly slogan: *"Cigs for Conscripts!"*

In Moscow, Bukharin would have none of this: and as he had not then reached the execution stage, Gallacher, Campbell & Co., promised to obey him, and to pursue a policy which their contemporary monthly declared *"will strengthen the reformist leaders against the Communist Party."* What a party!

Gallacher attempted a reply to McGovern by declaring that the C.P. demanded *"that Britain becomes an effective part of a collective peace system."*

McGovern translated this reply, in the *New Leader* for September 27, 1935, as meaning that Gallacher stood for Imperial war. He warned Gallacher:—

> "Be very careful of the road you are travelling, Willie. It is a dangerous, slippery path that will lead to disaster. I cannot believe that your rank and file will follow you on it. . . .
>
> "You are lining up behind the National Government, the League of Bandits, the T.U.C. leadership, the Labour Party and the Archbishops in demanding sanctions and war against Italy. You are therefore supporting Capitalists in a war which will be conducted for their aims and ends, and not yours. . . .
>
> "If the Communist Party continues to pursue its line of sanctions and war, I am afraid that, if they are logical, **J. R. Campbell, Aitken Ferguson, Harry McShane, Peter Kerrigan, George Middleton, and many other C.P. spokesmen who served Capitalism in the 1914-18 war, will require to face the Italian workers in this prospective war."**

McGovern's reference to Campbell, whose war career and subsequent use of it when he was accused of sedition, were disgraces to the Labour movement—was a shrewd hit!

Gallacher took a further step on the road predicted by McGovern when he laid a stone, one fine Wednesday in 1938, on the Peace Pavilion Cairn, at the Empire Exhibition, Glasgow. Welcome to Gallacher was extended by Colonel John Johnston, Vice-Chairman of the Peace Pavilion Committee. The next day, the *Daily Worker* published a sob-interview with Gallacher, who explained that the cairn he laid was "not only a landmark in the history of Scotland, but a landmark in the history of the world. It is a symbol of peace in the midst of continually recurring crisis, crisis that brings the black shadow of war and dread across the face of Europe."

It would be a blasphemy against decency to reproduce the rest of the rubbish spoken by Gallacher and reproduced by the *Daily Worker;* sheer, nauseating, undiluted hypocrisy. All this time the C.P., with Gallacher as its parliamentary representative, was pursuing the policy leading up to conscription. Declaring its opposition to conscription, the C.P. intrigued to place it on the Statute Book.

"Down with Conscription," said the *Daily Worker* of April 28, 1939. But the Soviet Union has conscription. Lenin secured some rights for conscientious objectors in 1920, and mitigated the lot of Dhookobors, a Tolstoyan sect opposed to militarism. After Lenin's death, their persecution became terrible. The French Communists supported conscription in France and urged it in Britain. The French Communist paper *L'Humanité*, in its issue for April 27, 1939, published an article which said:—

"It is impossible to contest the far-reaching effect of the British decision. Until it was taken, the guarantees given by Great Britain to Poland, Rumania and Greece were more symbolic than practical."

When Mr. Chamberlain quoted this in the House of Commons on the day of publication, Willie Gallacher said that he repudiated the French Communist who wrote the article. On the same day, when Colonel Wedgwood suggested that the Russian Government wanted conscription in Britain Gallacher said that *"no matter what happens in any country I will stand by the workers of this country, and oppose conscription and oppose the Prime Minister."*

At last conscription came!

In the *Evening Times*, Glasgow, for May 23, 1939, Harry McShane wrote from the local C.P. headquarters a letter to the editor, declaring that instead of resisting conscription, we must insist on the peace pact with the Soviet Union. McShane added:—

"Many of us who fought against the last war realise that the position to-day is very different from the position in 1914, and yet we find ourselves inclined to react as if nothing had changed. This accounts for the inclination to carry on the fight against conscription. Now that conscription is here it should be our job to make sure that the new Army becomes a force for peace and a check to the Fascist danger.

"I know that this will be looked upon as treason by some Socialists. Their attitude can only be explained by an under-estimation of the Fascist danger or a refusal to break with tradition. They cannot see that the future of Socialism is bound up with the struggle against Fascism. Some of them will never see it until they land in a concentration camp."

Another patriot! After all the C.P. pamphlets ridiculing and attacking the British Empire!

Of course, this was "the Party Line"! Pretending criticism of the National Government, the *Daily Worker* in its issue for May 27, 1939, declared in bold type:—*"They are Our Boys."* Which was obvious.

Quite an Horatio Bottomley touch—to boldly announce the obvious in rhetorical challenging terms of pride! Then came the advice: don't resist conscription but send the boys cigarettes! More Bottomley!

Let this powerful sagacious Communist editorial speak for itself:—

"Next Saturday the Youth who are liable for military training will register at the Labour Exchanges. A few days later many of them will commence training. . . .

"The great mass of the British people should make clear to the Government that it cannot get away with any moves aimed to make these boys the tools of political reaction.

"'Keep in touch with our lads,' must be the slogan of the working class. Why should not every trade union and youth organisation have its committee which will keep in touch with the boys, send them cigarettes, books and papers, and give them all the news from the workshops, and from the organisations of which they are members.

"In this way the comradeship between the people and the conscript army will be strengthened, and the way of the reactionaries rendered more difficult."

In other words, accept conscription!

In the same issue of the *Daily Worker*, the Central Committee of the C.P. addressed a statement to the delegates to the Conference of the Labour Party, which opened at the Garrick Theatre, Southport, on Monday, May 29, 1939. This statement said:

"Further, the futile policy of individual resistance to conscription should be firmly rejected. . . . The Labour Party cannot support any policy which means the abandonment of the mass of the conscripts to the reactionary military machine. The paramount task to-day is to carry on the fight for the democratisation of the armed forces," etc.

To oppose militarism, to refuse to fight for capitalism, to denounce war, is—to betray the working-class! To support war and militarism, and to call conscription a democratic army, is—to believe in the class-war and emancipate the workers! What logic! What Communism! What magnificent and what sorry reaction!

WALTON NEWBOLD EXPLAINS:

HIS SPEECH—HIS OWN: HIS VOTE—MOSCOW'S!

[J. T. Walton Newbold, formerly M.P. for Motherwell, who resigned from the Communist Party in 1924, has replied to the article published in the last issue of "The Word," commenting on the strange fact that, whilst he denounced the Austrian loan in one of the most powerful speeches made in Westminster, he voted for the loan and announced his intention of doing so to a somewhat surprised House.—Ed.]

Dear Guy Aldred,

It was good of you to send me a copy of the second number of *The Word*. It was good because it is essential that you should not continue in error and attribute to Willie Gallacher actions and ideas which may injure him, and of which he is—as in so many other respects he has always seemed to me—innocent as a babe new-born.

First, let me revert to the curious episode that intervened between my speech *in opposition to* the Treasury guarantee of the League of Nations Loan to Austria and *my vote in its favour*.

Indeed, I am glad that you have raised the matter from the dead and given me the timely opportunity to expose one of the most shameful of the relations of the Soviet Government with international finance capital. It was the discovery of those relations which caused me to cock my ears about one month later when, for the very first time, I went to take my seat on the Presidium of the Comintern.

I had spoken most strongly against the giving of the Guarantee and, then, gone round to the head office of the Communist Party to see Tom Bell. In the street doorway, I met the *liaison* between the Trade Delegation—through which messages and money were transmitted for the Comintern to the Communist Party of Great Britain, viz., Andrew Rothstein. With him was one of the Inkpins and I told them of the business before the House of Commons. To my astonishment I was instructed by Rothstein to vote *for the Guarantee*.

Years elapsed and I was sitting in Vienna with one of the managers of the Austrian Credit Austalt. It was the summer of 1930. I was a member of the MacMillan Committee on Finance and Industry and travelling on the letters of reference of Philip Snowden and of the Bank of England. I had broached the same query I put that summer to bankers in fourteen countries from the manager of the Clydesdale Bank in Scotland to the Governor of the National Bank of Hungary. Could he see any sign of an alleviation in the crisis, any "let up" of the depression? He was one of the only two out of more than twenty who believed he could—and, next year by that time, he was one of the more discredited directors of a house that had collapsed and that had come near to bringing down the biggest merchant banks propped up by the Bank of England.

He was most communicative about the big business and the complete satisfaction the house—controlled by Rothschilds—had in respect of financing trade with the Soviet Union!

To my certain knowledge—I lunched with the British *liaison* officer at his private house the day it re-opened after the crash of 1931 — the Darmstadter Bank had extended huge credits at long term to the Soviet Union.

More than that. I was returning from Warsaw, *via* Bucharest, Istambul, Athens, Belgrade, Vienna, and Prague in the weeks of the political crisis of August and September, 1931. I was doing so at my own charge and had with me letters of reference from eight banks in five countries, not to mention the good offices of two Government Departments in London and one in Paris and the foreign offices of all the members of the Little Entente and of Poland.

Two weeks before, Britain had gone off gold and the banking economists "threw a party" for me in Berlin. Ivan Kreuger's chartered accountant and myself got the economist of the Deutsche Bank in a corner and had a quiet talk. We found the amount that "Germany" had borrowed at three months and lent at five years to the Soviet Government.

When I got home I told the managing director of a banking house that was very hard hit by the collapse of the Austrian and German banks: "My friend! You have had your paws caught in the ice-box by the Bolsheviks!"

And, remembering Andrew Rothstein and his aunt, Zelda Kahn-Coates, wife of W. P. Coates, when I had a book to publish I invariably laid down the rule to my agent: "You must not take it to that very great publishing house." Its name need not be mentioned but it is said in the book trade to be in credit with the branch of the tribe that spread from Frankfurt to Vienna more than a hundred years before it financed the mass production of "Marxism."

Andrew had instructed me to vote a guarantee to the house of Rothschild and so to cheapen credit to the Soviet Union.

Andrew was a queer lad, but then so was his father, Theodore Rothstein. Very few of us knew that he was simultaneously Lenin's representative in London and Russian expert at the Foreign Office to A. J. (later Lord) Balfour.

Gallacher had nothing whatever to do with that vote of mine on the Austrian loan. Like me, he was very uncomfortable about it. But, then, Gallacher was always very uncomfortable about Rothstein, *père et fils*.

Now to another point. You write in all good faith but yet in the most profound error:—

"Newbold, at that time spoke and acted in the same capacity, as Gallacher to-day:

(1) He was amenable to the discipline of the Communist Party, controlled from Moscow."

The secret of my election at Motherwell in 1922 was one that it has all along seemed to me must have been self-evident to every intelligent observer in the West of Scotland. It was identical with that of the election at North Battersea of the only other member of the Communist Party standing then, and for long afterwards, who did not forfeit his deposit, viz., Shapurji Saklatvala when he responded to my invitation to come to Motherwell in November, 1918, that happened which put us both into the Imperial Parliament in 1922 . . . and made us anything but "amenable to the discipline of the Communist Party" — or of the Labour Party. MacDonald and Henderson found us both to be men with the means to persuade them respectively—one of us took the one and the other of us the other—of the desirability of not unduly hindering our return.

A very remarkable telegram was shown to the Secretary of the Motherwell Labour Party. It came from the National headquarters of the Labour Party and, whilst expressing inability to confirm the local party's endorsement, went on to say: "but do nothing to repudiate him."

That was good for three thousand votes. The balance of some five thousand was made up in the main by those who received something stronger than an assurance that my election would be acceptable to the President and Government of the Irish Republic. That message was communicated by a priest of the Church. Much the same thing happened at Battersea. Shapurji Saklatvala moved and I seconded in Imperial Parliament, the rejection of the Treaty with the bastard Irish Free State.

In 1924, J. H. Thomas became Secretary of State for the Dominions and was going to continue to negotiate for the Labour Party when in office with the Irish Free State. He was receiving too much attention from a lady in the county of Derby whose family had always sought to control the M.P. for the county town of Derby. As Lady Cynthia Mosley joined the platform party I reappeared on the floor of the Labour Party Conference from the High Peak of Derbyshire. Eighteen months later, I talked money to the Treasurer and the Secretary of the Labour Party, and in August (on successive Saturdays) I was unanimously selected as Labour Party candidate for the High Peak and sailed from Southampton to see Canada and the banks (not of Newfoundland but of New York) with a letter of recommendation from the member for Derby. Did I go forward for Derbyshire? No. In September, 1927, the Irish Labour Party and Sinn Fein *failed by one seat to capture control of Dail Eireann and I dropped all attempts again to enter or influence the entry of others into your Imperial Parliament.*

Now my address is in Eire.

Yours very truly,

WALTON NEWBOLD.

SO HORRIBLY UNTHINKABLE!

J. Ramsay MacDonald, speaking at the Inter-Parliamentary Union Congress, held in London, on July 23, 1930, said:—

"No nation can contemplate war and prepare for it. Science has subdued war by making the conditions of the next war so horribly unthinkable."

If by nation, Ramsay MacDonald meant the common people, this statement is quite true. The common people never contemplate war and never prepare it consciously. The common people simply drift and never think. But they work at munitions, serve reaction for wages, and so actually do prepare the way for war. Their actions are directed by the Governments, who *do* contemplate war and who prepare it callously and deliberately. Mostly these Governments are controlled by the armament firms, who organise a trinity of criminal error: they contemplate war; they propagate war; they prepare for war. The business of the armament firm, and the status of the statesmen under capitalism, are based on the promotion and propagation of war. These people are not deterred from their purpose by any contemplation of the horrors of modern war.

They know there is no glory in war. They know that war is not merely hell, but a foul indecent hell. They know the depths of that hell: culture and knowledge turned to crime; organisation devoted to murderous profit; mankind lower than swine; the brain of gods controlled and directed by the mind and vision of something less than beasts. War means filth—starvation—disease—crime. Death from science—by death rays! Death from torpedoes—directed by wireless! Death from liquid poison; from tanks and poison gas; from disease germs. Pestilences methodically prepared and deliberately launched on man and beast. Men, called savants, receiving wages for pursuing such depravity in the laboratories of civilisation's great countries, the Powers of Christendom. Blight to destroy crops; Anthrax to slay horses and cattle; Plague to poison whole districts and not just to defeat armies: such is military science, pursued by Governments, applauded by statesmen, defended by divines, and extolled and made possible by the money-lords of the armament ring.

The Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill, enemy of the Bolshevik Revolution, advocate of the 1939 Soviet Pact, knowing that wars mean this and are prepared for in this way, urged conscription to this end. Major-General F. D. Swinton described the invention of lethal rays to shrivel up and paralyse human beings, and accepted such preparation as normal, the natural lot, purpose, and destiny of humanity.

The United States Chemical War Service has discovered a deadly poison liquid, three drops of which on the skin, will kill a man, sending him to his grave after imposing on him a terrible agony. And then, of course, there are torpedoes, *controlled by wireless*, guided from the air, and able to change direction to follow victims.

Major-General Fuller, whom we knew in our *Agnostic Journal* days, when he was only a Captain, is a remarkable man in many ways. He is a student and a writer of force, as well as a soldier. For some unearthly reason he believes in war. But he has no illusions as to the meaning of war. He depicts the next war:—

"Fleets of fast moving tanks, equipped with tons of liquid gas, against which the enemy will have no possible protection, will cross frontiers and obliterate every living thing."

This is what war means. All horribly unthinkable! But contemplated and prepared. Ramsay MacDonald must have known that he was speaking nonsense when he pretended otherwise.

Captain Wright, sometime Assistant-Secretary to the Supreme War Council, wrote of Sir Henry Wilson, who was director of military operations at Army Headquarters when the war broke out:—

"Sir Henry had predicted and prepared for this war all his life. He had been over the ground upon which it was to be fought, time after time, on his bicycle, and, for example, had chosen the billets our headquarters were to occupy in one place."

Ramsay MacDonald found a place in his First Labour Government for Lord Haldane, as Lord Chancellor. Haldane was War Minister in the Liberal Government of 1906. On pages 31-35 of *Before the War*, he described how the Great War was prepared in advance, having been fully organised and anticipated:—

". . . Anyhow, we fulfilled our contract, for at 11 o'clock on Monday morning, August 3, 1914, we mobilised, without a hitch, the whole of the expeditionary force, amounting to six divisions and nearly two cavalry divisions, and began its transport over the Channel, when war was declared six hours later.

". . . The navy was already in its war stations, and there was no delay at all in putting what we had prepared into operation."

The nation, meaning the ruling class, had contemplated and prepared for war.

The Glasgow evening press, on May 6, 1913, reported the speech made that day in Glasgow by Field-Marshal Lord Roberts, V.C., to the City Fathers. Here is an excerpt:—

"I seem to see in the near distance the gleam of the weapons and accoutrements of this army of the future, this Citizen Army, the wonder of these islands, and the pledge of the peace and the continued greatness of this Empire."

To-day, "Bob's" dream of National Service is realised. Britain is a conscript nation. The conscription is not seriously opposed by the Labour Party, the Communist Party, or the Trade Unions. Lord Roberts was supposed by the reactionaries to have made a great speech. Actually, he expressed an ugly common-place anticipation of horror and oppression, ending through misery, in hopeless calamity—the calamity of war-preparedness after war, and conscription for unending wars. The common people, even the so-called Socialists among them, have accepted the horror as inevitable, even though the interval between Lord Roberts' speech and its realisation, treated the world to a war, which during its course, and in the process of its aftermath, presented such astounding contrasts of reward for services rendered and sufferings endured.

Here are two cuttings from the *Sunday Express*, for October 12, 1932:—

"Attending the D.C.M. League rally at Blackpool was a hero who is now living on 13s. 6d. a week. He is the oldest living holder of the D.C.M., ex-Corporal Harry Hampton, aged 78, of Leicester St., Bolton."

"Viscount Byng of Vimy Ridge is resting quietly at his Essex home at Thorpe-le-Soken. He received a gift of £30,000 in 1919 for meritorious war services."

This gift did not include pensions, or normal reward due to rank, at time of retirement from the armed forces. Byng did not stand alone in his enjoyment of a special gift over and beyond his ordinary emoluments. His name is to be found in a list, which includes other persons of rank. Each person named received, apart from, and in addition to, his pension, a sum free, gratis, and for nothing, as the special gift of a "grateful country." The sums each received range from £100,000 to £10,000. Here are some of Byng's colleagues in the financial honours list:—

(1) £100,000—Admiral Beatty and Field Marshal Haig.

(2) £50,000—Admiral Jellicoe and Field Marshals French and Allenby.

(3) £30,000—Field Marshal Plumer and Generals Rawlinson and Home.

(4) £25,000—Lt.-Col. Hankey.

(5) £10,000—Admirals Madden and Sturdee; Rear-Admiral Keyes, Vice-Admiral de Roeback; Commander Tyrwhitt; Field-Marshal Wilson; Generals Robertson and Birdwood; and Air Vice-Marshal Trenchard.

In addition to the special gift mentioned, and the ordinary pensions of rank, many of these persons received titles and other honours.

Now consider what plain Tommy Atkins, Kipling's "good 'un" received at the conclusion of the war. He was not ennobled. He received no special gifts. He received no capital sum: only a *weekly dole*, served out in shillings. Here is Private Tommy Atkin's financial honours' list, to find a place in which he had to exhibit evidences of suffering:—

Shillings.	Disablement or Condition.
(1) 40	—Permanently disabled; totally paralysed; mad; blinded.
(2) 36	—Lost right arm.
(3) 32	—Lost leg; struck dumb.
(4) 28	—Lost nearly all leg; struck deaf; lost left arm.
(5) 24	—Lost half-leg; lost most of left arm.
(6) 20	—Lost less than half-leg; lost one eye.
(7) 18	—Lost toes above knuckles.
(8) 16	—Lost right thumb or four fingers.
(9) 12	—Lost left thumb or four fingers.
(10) 8	—Lost two fingers; lost toes below knuckles.

What a callous calculated gradation of compensation for misery! What finesse of brutality! In MacDonald's phraseology, so horribly unthinkable! But contemplated and prepared! Fact! For this doom are our conscripts being prepared.

MacDonald said no nation could contemplate a next war and prepare for it. Let us leave Britain out of our calculations and ignore all the Europeans who are contemplating and preparing for a next war. Let us consider the United States of America.

Take the post-war years, and note the increases:

Fiscal Year	War Department.	Air Corps.
1921	$292,886,375	$32,332,907
1930	$327,363,054	$59,981,778
1932	$344,610,560	$72,491,915
1936	$382,654,083	$85,836,332
1937	$394,095,800	$96,872,333
1938	$393,460,400	$101,851,424

What is this but contemplation of, and preparation for the horribly unthinkable?

If the world is to be redeemed from war, the peoples of the earth must rid themselves of statesmen and parliamentarians, who dabble in panics, that the horribly unthinkable might become commonplace, miserable, disastrous facts.

BART DE LIGT'S WORK

The last organisation Bart de Ligt started, in close association with his wife, was the International Peace Academy. The first Summer School organised by the I.P.A. in France suggested that there was much usefulness in this work. Mrs. C. L. de Ligt-van-Rossem is continuing the work, and is organising a new International Summer School in Switzerland. She hopes to have a good group present of English-speaking participants. The period is August 1st to August 12th.

The Château de Greng, by the Lac de Morat, Neuchâtel, has been chosen and the students will meet in lovely surroundings with splendid opportunities for exploring the beautiful country.

The aim of the Peace Academy is to discover what may be the general tendency of a new social order; how this tendency will express itself in the different aspects of social life; and what are the necessary conditions for the development of a new social order. The harmony of ends and means will form the background of the whole course.

"Towards a new psychological and social Outlook" is the subject given. Basic psychological, educational and moral factors will be dealt with, and also political, economic and social conditions.

The daily programme is very simple; and it is a fact that very moderate terms have been arranged for board and lodgings for the twelve-day course. There is accommodation for campers. Applications for enrolment should be made as soon as possible to: *Mrs. C. L. de Ligt, Petit-Lancy, Geneva, Switzerland*, or to *Mr. R. H. Ward*, 10 *Abbey Gardens, London, N.W.8.*

Bart de Ligt's work is being carried on through these Summer Schools and reaching out throughout the world as a result of the associations formed.

"THE CONQUEST OF VIOLENCE."

By Bart de Ligt.

Obtainable from the PEACE PLEDGE UNION, DICK SHEPPARD HOUSE, 6 ENDSLEIGH ST., LONDON, W.C.1.

Published at 7/6; now sold at *3/6*

This magnificent and most complete work by the famous Dutch anti-militarist will be reviewed at length in the next issue of "The Word." Those interested in the anti-war struggle should secure a copy of this work at its specially reduced price.

CONSCRIPT CUTTING AND COMMENT

Bailie A. H. Porter presided over a meeting of individual members and affiliated organisations of the No Conscription League held in the McLellan Galleries, Glasgow, on Tuesday, May 16. The meeting was reported fully in *Forward* for May 20. Emrys Hughes, who made a splendid stand as a C.O. during the Great War, and received much brutal treatment, has offered a strong opposition to conscription in the columns of *Forward*. Recent issues of this journal merit close reading on this subject: and reports of Scottish N.C.L. should be sent to the editor. Organisations affiliated to the N.C.L. should develop a live fellowship and an active inter-group and inter-party campaign.

The *Daily Worker*, for April 2, 1939, reported a speech made by William Gallacher, M.P., as follows:—

"I am absolutely opposed to conscription and to those who are behind it. I am pleased to see that the Labour Party has decided to fight this issue with all the power it can command. It is the cruellest thing imaginable for fathers and mothers who sacrificed for years to give their boys education and apprentice training to find them being handed over to the 'brass hats.'"

Conscription being law, the Labour Party is for it, Gallacher's eulogies are wasted, and his party slogan is, as stated in another column: *"Support Conscription—With Cigarettes*!"

The Rev. G. R. Maland, writing from 223 West Wycombe Rd., High Wycombe, Bucks., makes this statement as to the attitude of the Church in *Peace News*:—

"Whatever may be said about the attitude of certain clergy and ministers during the last war, may I say this, there are many of us to-day who will stand by the conscientious objector to the utmost of our ability both in his refusal to render military service and any service which may be regarded as making for war preparedness."

We welcome this statement and shall be glad to publish declarations by any ministers or churches that definitely oppose war and conscription.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain once again evades the war issue. Since this party conducts so much excellent propaganda, it is a pity it reduces truth to sophistry and develops cold feet at every crisis. In a pamphlet, entitled *The Socialist and Conscription*, the S.P.G.B. repeats what was written in its official organ, the *Socialist Standard*, in February, 1916, about the party's attitude towards conscription, then being introduced:—

". . . we are bitterly opposed to conscription. But what are conscription, war, unemployment, poverty, overwork and starvation wages but the direct results of capitalist class rule? What hope of any permanent amelioration so long as the workers are the underdogs? What hope, indeed, of even a paltry concession in this matter so long as the exploiters are masters of the State and feel their controlling position unmenaced? We, therefore, urge the workers to join in the real campaign against conscription; for conscription, on the part of the governing class, is only one item in the war upon the workers."

In a word, the S.P.G.B. is *not* opposed to conscription! Every Socialist, while realising the truth about economic conscription and the horrors of peace-time capitalism, must be opposed to conscription. To say that, because one understands Socialism, one must not resist conscription, is nonsense. Every Socialist should support the N.C.L.

Peter Kerrigan's report to the Congress of the Scottish "Communist"—meaning the dictated Stalinist Party of Hirelings—held in the City Hall, Glasgow, on the 25th and 26th February, 1939, is being sold as a penny pamphlet. On page 11, under the title "Combating Trotskyism," a bitter attack is made on *Forward* for maintaining the principle of the Free Press—an excellent principle to uphold in these days of stress. Here is an excerpt:—

"In dealing with the disruptive actions of Trotskyites and I.L.P.'ers it would be wrong to pass over the role of *Forward*. This paper has been going through a process of degeneration until now it is the first and generally the only journal to open its columns to Trotsky and his supporters. Its editorials contain each week a hotch-potch of spurious pacifism which is directly helping the Chamberlain War Policy, and supports Hitler's and Mussolini's claims for colonies, while it divides the workers' forces. Linked with this is its anti-Soviet bias."

Note that phrase, *not* war: but the *"Chamberlain* War Policy." The only thing the C.P. objects to is that *Chamberlain* showed direct the war policy of British Capitalism. The director should be Willie Gallacher: and Pete Kerrigan should be the stay-at-home War Chief, dining in style, and very important whilst the rank-and-file go to the battle-fields.

Against the "Fags for Conscripts" policy of the C.P., *Forward* has defended resistance and the C.O.'s. Let Kerrigan produce his record of war-resistance; let Willie Gallacher tell us his munitions-work during war-time, varied by Marxist dinner-hour lectures; and then read about the magnificent stand made by Emrys Hughes. Here is an extract from *Forward*, for February 16, 1918:

"A conscientious objector, Emrys Hughes, has served consecutive sentences amounting to 23½ months. The other day he got an additional six months. At his last Court-martial he claimed that no further sentence could be passed upon him as the Secretary of State for War had definitely stated in the House of Lords that there were to be no further successive sentences on Conscientious Objectors. He was told that what Lord Derby said was not law.

"But surely it is seditious to say a thing like that!"

We do not agree with Emrys Hughes' membership of the Labour Party, but we honour him for his war-resistance, his practising stand for a Free Press, and his fearless pen. We challenge his critics to compare, or contrast rather, records. Will their records stand the light of discussion?

Every C.O. should get our next issue. Reports will be published of N.C.L. activity from all over the country. There will appear an article, *"War Resistance: A Matter of Conscience,"* by Annesley G. Aldred. Accounts of the Tribunals from the 1916 Conscription will be a feature. Also a reply to R. Palme Dutt's disgraceful and ridiculous *Daily Worker* article, "Marxism and Conscientious Objectors." How the betrayers of Italy, China, Germany, and Spain hate the Anti-Militarist! What enemies of the workers, what mean, contemptible reactionaries and counter-revolutionaries these C.P.'ers are!

TWO BABES WERE BORN

Two babes were born one happy morn,
They came with love divine,
And a mother smiled by the River Thames,
And a mother smiled by the Rhine.

These children grew, so brave and true,
Each mother said, "How fine!"
And hearts were glad by the River Thames,
And hearts were glad by the Rhine.

But one sad day, so people say,
Their rulers tried to shine,
And one heard the call by the River Thames,
And another the call by the Rhine.

These two brave sons, they raised their guns,
As they marched in martial line,
And a mother sighed by the River Thames,
And a mother sighed by the Rhine.

On the battle plain where the bullets rain,
These lads formed into line,
And hearts were sad by the River Thames,
And hearts were sad by the Rhine.

They took their sight in the bitter fight,
Their aim was really fine.
And a mother prayed by the River Thames,
And a mother prayed by the Rhine.

Two noble sons fell by their guns,
Their names in glory shine,
And a mother weeps by the River Thames,
And a mother weeps by the Rhine.

So the Thames so fine, and the River Rhine,
Flow into the same great sea,
And they seem to say as they kiss the spray,
"If men were as wise as we."

—FRED EASTON.

HYDE PARK MEETINGS

Local papers, and the ordinary London Press, boycotted the important case, affecting the right of propagandists and public speakers, that was heard at Marlborough Street Police Court, on Tuesday, November 15th, 1938. Only one report appeared—in the columns of the *Scots Daily Express*, Glasgow, for November 16th. This was as follows:—

Collection "challenge": Guy Aldred fined.

Lengthy quotations from a number of law books were made by Guy Alfred Aldred when he was summoned at Marlborough Street Police Court, London, yesterday for soliciting donations at Hyde Park on August 30, and for collecting donations.

Aldred, who was convicted and fined 20/- on each summons, said that his address was now 5 Baliol Street, Glasgow, and his London address Addison Gardens, West Kensington.

He objected to the relevancy and competency of the cases, pointing out that it had been held that a by-law must be reasonable. The by-law, he submitted, was unreasonable in that it made an offence of something which was not otherwise an offence.

The magistrate (Mr. J. B. Sandbach, K.C.) overruled the objections, and Aldred pleaded not guilty to the summonses.

Police Constable John Wyatt said he kept Aldred's meeting under observation, and spoke to him about the alleged breach of another regulation.

Aldred immediately got back on the platform and said, 'I have just been summoned under Regulation 22 and I want all my comrades to rally round and subscribe to a fund to fight these regulations. You can give me the money here or outside.'

In evidence Aldred said he was a journalist, secretary, and lecturer. He felt very keenly about the right to circulate literature and to make collections, but he found himself in conflict with the park regulations, which he criticised.

Told he would be reported, he said, "This is a matter of public importance." Three people handed him money—a technical challenge to the regulation.

This report does not do justice to the bureaucratic nature of the proceedings or to the impertinence of the Court. It must be acknowledged that, subsequently, in the formal arrangements leading to the appeal, much courtesy was shown by the Court officials. Our contention is that the public behaviour should be courteous and respective to principles of democratic right.

The High Court proceedings were boycotted also in the London press. In a matter of supreme public interest to the common people of London, a matter of urgent democratic right, no report was permitted to appear in the London press. The Judges were the L.C.J. (Lord Hewart) and Justices Humphreys and Lewis. We shall deal with these judges and their court behaviour in a subsequent issue of this journal. We are determined to expose and to change the Hyde Park regulations.

No report appeared in the London press: but the case was reported in the Glasgow press. We have reports from *The Glasgow Herald;* the *News Chronicle* (Northern Edition); *Daily Record;* and the *Scots Daily Express*. All dated May 3, 1939. These reports can be held over to our next issue.

The Stated Case that was presented to the Court; the arguments; the Hyde Park Regulations concerned and the Park Acts governing them; the conduct and careers of the Judges will be dealt with fully in an early Free Speech Fighting number. Citizen rights of propaganda are being destroyed by complacent acceptance of invasion.

It is the right of every citizen to purchase or sell literature at public meetings.

It is the right of every citizen to announce literature at public meetings.

This Citizen Right is Denied by the Hyde Park Regulations! Change them!

United Socialist Movement

BAKUNIN HALL
29 CASTLE STREET, GLASGOW, C.4
(Opposite Royal Infirmary)

Group meeting ..... Monday, 8 p.m.
New Members Welcomed.

For Glasgow public meetings and list of speakers, see announcements in Hall windows and street advertisements.

SUNDAY AFTERNOON:
Glasgow Green Old Bandstand ..... 3 p.m.
SUNDAY EVENING: Albion Street ..... 8 p.m.

Organisations in other cities are invited to arrange meetings. A united platform should be organised against conscription.

AS OLD AS THE CONSCRIPTS

We have before us as we write a paper that is of the same age as the conscripts, who have been called to the colours. It is the *Sunday Pictorial*, No. 180, for August 18, 1918. Above the title, on the front page, is advertised the chief article of the issue in question: *"One Man—One Machine! By Horatio Bottomley."*

Turning to the article, we note the sub-heading: *"The Lesson of Our Splendid Victories in the West."*

The editor explains in an editorial introduction to the article:—

"Drawing a moral from the lesson of the recent brilliant offensive of the Allies in the West, Mr. Bottomley makes a powerful appeal to the Government to expedite the production of Aeroplanes, Guns and Tanks—thus 'substituting iron and steel for human flesh.'"

At the end of the article, eulogising war, the editor promised:—

"Another powerful article by Mr. Bottomley will appear next week."

The war was Bottomley's hey-day. We know what happened to Bottomley when the war was over. In our opinion, Bottomley was less a scoundrel when he was sent to prison, and his career was ended in infamy, than during this period that he played the role of recruiting-sergeant and war-commentator, whether he actually wrote these articles to which he lent his name, or only signed them.

On the same page as Bottomley's article, is a "leader" which asks: *"Will Omsk be Another Khartoum?"*

This article denounces *"the comparative smallness of the Allied exhibition in Siberia"* and, eulogising *"the Czecho-Slovaks in Western Siberia"* who were *"very hard-pressed"* declares that *"Omsk, the central rallying-point of these brave men, may become a second Siberia."*

It never occurred to the *Sunday Pictorial* "leader-writer," its editor, or publisher, that the Czechs had no right to be at Omsk, and that the Allies had no business invading Russia.

The leader proceeded to attack *"the Bolshevist leaders in Russia, who simply obey German orders"* and declared that they *"are nearing the end of their tether."*

The tether, whether we like it or not, seems to have survived very well; and what about the German orders and the present Soviet Pact? The conscripts of to-day are supposed to believe the journalist-hacks, just like the conscripts of 1918 were supposed to do!

On page 5 of this precious paper, appeared an article, referred to in the "leader," written, said the "leader," by *"Mr. John Albion, who knows what he is writing about."*

Did he? We wonder—and leave it there, being of a polite disposition, and not caring to express oneself too vigorously.

John Albion's article was headed: *"What We Must Do For Russia."* To-day the cry seems to be: *"What Russia Must Do For Us."* The sub-heading was: *"Open Letter to the British War Cabinet."* Summarising Albion's article, the editor says that the writer *"urges that far more troops must be sent to save the Czecho-Slovaks and to help Russian Nationalists."* By "Russian Nationalists" was meant the Russian Whites, the Czarist counter-revolutionaries.

Here is an extract from the article, which merits being recalled to-day:—

"There was only one course for you to have adopted regarding Lenin and Trotsky, and that was to have nothing whatever to do with them, either formally or informally. Why did you ever palter with these men, whose hands are so indelibly imbrued with the blood of their countrymen? Whatever his professed motives may have been, Lenin is in effect a German agent, and has been one for years."

Historians will notice that Stalin did not appear in the picture at this time. The enemies were Lenin and Trotsky. They symbolised the Russian Revolution.

Later on this article declares: *"that Germans and Austrians, aided by Bolshevists, are forcibly recruiting the people of Siberia"*; describes *"Lenin, a German instrument"*; and requests *the War Cabinet to "give Japan a freer hand"* in Siberia; and to *"send more English, Canadian, French, and United States troops to Vladivostok"* to fight the Bolshevists. All in the name of democracy!

The front page of the *Sunday Pictorial* carries two pictures of the banned Nationalist meeting at Omagh. Mr. Dillon, M.P., is shown entering the field for the meeting. Police and military are in the background. The second picture shows Mr. Dillon and his supporters retiring. There was no disorder. The meeting ought never to have been banned.

On the same page are pictures of *"Famous Italian Poet's Paper Bombs on The Austrian Capital."* One shows *"the first of the eight machines to return from the famous raid on Vienna"*; and the other, *"Major d'Annunzio with General Bongiovanni."*

Beneath the pictures appears the explanation:—

"Major Gabriele d'Annunzio, the famous poet and novelist, recently launched an effective 'peace offensive' when, as the Commander of a squadron of eight aeroplanes, he dropped a number of leaflets over Vienna."

When one recalls d'Annunzio's subsequent exploits on behalf of Fascism, the idea of the poet launching a "peace offensive" is somewhat Pickwickian.

Page 2 shows us that the class-struggle was a reality even in war-time. There was a bus strike recorded as follows:—

"WOMEN STRIKE FOR EQUALITY WITH MEN.

"Tram and Bus Stoppage Surprises Londoners.

"CONDUCTRESSES' DEMAND.

"Munition Workers Delayed—Holiday Folk Miss Trains.

"A tramway and omnibus strike developed unexpectedly yesterday delaying thousands of munition workers and business people in West London.

"The strike is an unauthorised one and has followed the demand of the women workers for an additional 5s. a week, similar to the advance recently granted to the men. . . .

"Last night it was reported that more omnibus workers were leaving their work, despite the telegrams of their union leaders that all should continue at work until the result of the conference on Monday with Sir Geo. Askwith at the Board of Trade."

We can leave the story here. Sufficient is told. Note how good Old Trade Unionism functioned in 1918!

The same page tells the story of four Australian V.C.s being decorated. It records the prosecution at Old Street Police Court, London, of Ida Carter, aged 19, of Lewisham, a clerk, employed by the Stepney Tribunal, who forged the signature of the clerk to the tribunal, and handed out 8,000 exemptions, including an absolute exemption for her brother! He did not seem to know how to use an exemption card, even though he had "secured" one!

On page 3, we have a long account of the experiences of three British prisoners-of-war, unnamed, intended to feed the war fever:—

"LIQUID FIRE ON OUR UNARMED MEN.

"Hun Officer's Foul Order to Man with Container.

"ORDEAL OF AGONY.

"Escaped Prisoners' Story — Britain's Protest to Berlin.

"'The officer appeared to give an order, and the man with the container turned a stream of liquid fire straight down the trench in which we were standing. He could plainly see that we were unarmed.'

"In these few simple words, a private in the Royal Highlanders tells the story of another German outrage on unarmed and wounded prisoners of war—a story of horror, which is authenticated by the sworn statements of the men concerned as follows."

We stop the record there.

In Germany, the Kaiser was doing his bit towards the same end. Also on page 3, we read:—

"THE GRIEVED KAISER.

"Denounces British Air Attack on Open Town of Frankfort!

"The Kaiser, says the 'Cologne Gazette,' has sent the following telegram to the Mayor of Frankfort,—'His Majesty the Kaiser and King deeply sympathises in the misfortune which has befallen the open town of Frankfort as the result of the enemy air attack, which is contrary to international law, and claimed many victims, and requests you to convey to the relatives of those who have thus fallen for the Fatherland and to the wounded the sympathy of the All Highest.'—Reuter."

On page 7, we have two pictures: "The Deformed Transformed." The first picture is the statue of "Germania" in New York, as she was. The second picture shows the same statue, transformed into "Columbia." The statue was provided with a new face, and the Stars and Stripes deposed and replaced the German Eagle on her shield. What nonsense such stupid alterations and mutilations are!

Then we come to page 8, "Nuts and Wine," being gossip for the after-dinner hour!

Here is an excellent wisecrack to recall to-day:

"History Repeats Itself. The Retreat from Moscow.

Alternatively Called—The Bolshevi ction."

On page 10, we see what the ruling-class do for the working-class in wartime:—

"My Lady Paperhanger. — Pretty Mrs. Ian Macpherson, wife of the Under-Secretary for War, is staying in town to help Lady Markham with the fitting up of the new club for service girls. Because labour is almost impossible to get they are nailing up and making the chintz hangings, doing the painting and even some of the paperhanging themselves in the big Eaton-square houses they have taken."

On page 11, the *Sunday Pictorial* published an imposing announcement by the Government, entitled *"Notes on Savings — No. 2 — How to Save on Laundry Bills."* This invited everyone to invest in War Savings Certificates. The strange thing is this advertisement carried a design of National War Savings, on a Swastika background.

PAMPHLETS FOR THE PROLETARIAT

By GUY A. ALDRED.

(1906-1936) are being re-published in popular form as the

SIXPENNY (6d.) REVOLT LIBRARY

Each volume includes several pamphlets, some revised and entirely re-written. The collection will be divided into Two Volumes. (For list of contents, see separate leaflet.)

Also, in this Library, will be published —BAKUNIN; WHY JESUS WEPT; etc.; and a revised and enlarged edition of AT GRIPS WITH WAR and RICHARD CARLILE, AGITATOR.

LOOK OUT FOR WALTER STRICKLAND'S ESSAYS AND HIS FOLKLORE TRANSLATIONS, CHEAP EDITION.

TO OUR READERS

We have reorganised the postal mission propaganda that we commenced in 1912. See the old *Herald of Revolt*. Our aim is to get *The Word* and our pamphlets into every English-speaking household throughout the world. Send us along the names and addresses of your friends; of anyone you know, who is interested in problems of peace and war, economic and cultural questions. *We will mail free literature to every address received.*

If you receive a copy of this paper, you are being asked to read it; to send us your opinion; and to help our work financially. Will you help us? Postal work costs money. So does the printing.

Send your opinion—and your donation—to the Editor personally *at his private address* to expedite attention:—

GUY A. ALDRED, 5 Baliol St., Glasgow, C.3.

The receipt of this paper by any journal published in the Labour or Progressive and Radical interest (words used in the correct American and not cant British sense) is an invitation to exchange, and to quote.

WE HAVE RECEIVED COPIES OF:

THE A.B.C. OF MARXISM — A Study Course. 25 cents.

CONSTITUTION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' LEAGUE. 10 cents.

THE NEGRO UNDER CAPITALISM. 5 cents. (All published by Demos Press, Box 141, Alfred Station, Detroit, Michigan.)

CHALLENGE, a Libertarian Weekly, P.O. Box 177, Sta. D., New York, N.Y.

RAMSAY MACDONALD:
A Commentary.

The Tragedy of Ramsay Macdonald by L. McNeil Weir, M.P., is sub-titled *A Political Biography*. The author was for eight years Parliamentary Private Secretary to Ramsay Macdonald. He was appointed to that position when MacDonald enjoyed the sweets of office for the first time. He resigned it on August 24, 1931, when MacDonald planned to destroy the Labour Government and to become the leader of the National Government. From that time on, McNeil Weir became the bitter enemy of his former leader and his biography is a scathing denunciation of MacDonald, whom he regards as having been everything politically evil and undesirable. It would be easy to understand his denunciation of MacDonald for betraying the Labour Government and for forming and defending the National Government. It is not easy to understand his invective against the entire career of Ramsay Macdonald, both during the time that McNeil Weir was his secretary and also prior to their association, when McDonald was a shining light of the Labour Party and the hope of the I.L.P. The denunciation of MacDonald does more than destroy MacDonald. It may even fail as a complete denunciation of Britain's first Labour Premier. If the denunciation of MacDonald is deserved, if McNeil Weir writes truly and usefully in his political biography, then his previous apologies for MacDonald in the columns of *Forward*, his studied denunciations of MacDonald's critics, and even his association with MacDonald for a period of eight years, condemn not MacDonald, but his political biographer and all those parliamentarians who rallied to MacDonald's defence when he was attacked by the anti-parliamentarians.

During the thirty years that the anti-parliamentary movement in Britain was pressing forward its criticism of MacDonald and of parliamentarism, its activities were ridiculed if not denounced by men like Thomas Johnston, who used the *Forward* to describe Ramsay MacDonald as being "the Covenanter, turned by a strange wheel of chance Prime Minister." To-day, McNeil Weir tells us, with the approval of Thomas Johnston and all those former parliamentary admirers of MacDonald, that Ramsay MacDonald never was a Covenanter, and never had any ambitions other than the ambition to arrive somewhere. His aim was to sell his birthright for a mess of pottage, to gain the whole world at the expense of his soul.

It is not my intention to analyse McNeil Weir's work, although it may merit analysis. I content myself with drawing attention to the author's description of a speech that Ramsay MacDonald made in Glasgow on Sunday, October 8, 1916, at a memorial gathering in honour of James Keir Hardie, convened by the I.L.P. McNeil Weir reports the speech at length and carefully examines it. He shows that MacDonald uses platitudes for eloquence; plays on the feelings of his audience, waits for its applause, says in general terms the things that the audience wants to hear; and concludes his speech actually having said nothing, yet leaving his audience feeling that a most important message has been delivered. In a word, MacDonald's speech on this occasion, like all his speeches during the war period, was so much charlatanism. Why did not the parliamentarians admit this at the time?

McNeil Weir gives us to understand that he knew how valueless were MacDonald's speeches, and that Ramsay MacDonald's parliamentary intimates were aware of their leader's careerism and demagogism all the time.

Assuming that McNeil Weir's picture is correct, and there is no reason to assume otherwise, then this most expensive book on Ramsay MacDonald serves no purpose except that of reminding us that parliamentarism is useless to the interests of the people. This is perfectly true. Parliamentarism has betrayed the working-class. If we look back to the end of the war and compare what has been achieved by parliamentary activity with the hopes that excited the people when they returned the Labour Party as the official Opposition and later as the Government, we must realise that parliamentarism has utterly failed the working-class. The workers have secured no reforms and they have not achieved power. Their leaders have obtained security and state incomes. Even they have paid the price of loss of reputation. To-day these leaders are older than their years, the price that the radical or socialist has to pay for selling his birthright for a mess of pottage. It is said that Ramsay MacDonald stuttered after he became leader of the National Government. He lost his capacity for eloquence. If this is a sign of treachery then the parliamentarians of the Labour movement must all be traitors. Since their first return to Parliament they have learned to stutter and to-day they have no power with which to address the people, and no wish to address themselves to the people. They do not even aim to retire into private life. The hero of a great war for liberty might retire into private life naturally and easily. But these politicians cannot retire. They have achieved nothing which justifies retirement. In every case they have betrayed the movement that made them public characters. Their days have reached their end and their desire is to shrink into private life. They are finished. Parliamentarism has finished them and destroyed the socialism they once espoused so loudly.

SOLDIER THOMAS PARKER

During the war Thomas Parker enlisted in the Notts and Derby Regiment. He was under the lawful age. The fact was discovered. He was discharged. He persisted in re-enlisting, was successful. At the end of the war, he had served in France with the Northumberland Fusiliers, and was demobilised. He re-enlisted and served three years with the Grenadier Guards. *At the age of 22, he was returned to civil life, stranded.* The years he had given to a grateful king and country ought to have been spent learning a trade. The best he could do was to become a casual worker. He worked as a miner and navvy. Mostly navvy. He got little work.

In May, 1933, Thomas Parker, having slept in a workhouse, started to tramp to Tamworth in search of work, *with no money in his pocket.* In England, if you sleep out when you have money or a home you break no law. If you sleep out because you must, and if you are penniless, you defy the law. Thomas Parker, when night came, hungry and tired, crept in under a steam-roller by roadside. He slept on 6-foot by 2 of the surface of the land he had fought for. The police woke and arrested him. The magistrates at Coleshill were lenient. They could have sent him to prison for three months. They gave him 14 days. Thomas Parker was conveyed to Winson Green Prison.

What happened at Winson Green no one knows. Parker is dead. And dead men tell no tales.

The official account is that Parker refused to keep his cell-door closed. On the second night he kept shouting that he had done no wrong and that he must get out of jail, even if it was in his coffin. Parker was right in his facts and as to the manner of his exit.

At exercise next morning, Parker fell out. He said he was done. From then, say the officials, he behaved like a man in a frenzy. *The prison doctor certified that Thomas Parker was a fit man and in a fit condition to undergo solitary confinement.* Parker was sentenced to 3 days solitary confinement on bread-and-water by the Acting Governor.

On being sentenced, Parker solemnly held up his hand and said to the Acting Governor: *"This is my death card! How are my relatives to know that I am dead?"*

Thomas Parker was taken from the Governor's Room, and went, with two warders, on a short but fateful walk towards the silent cell which was to be poor Parker's death-house. Within a quarter of an hour he was dead.

(Continued at foot of next column)

The two jailers walked on either side of him. They released his arms for a moment. At that second, they afterwards said, Parker took a flying jump forward down a flight of stone steps. He landed at the foot of the steps in a sort of spread-eagle fashion and then struggled up to his knees. The warders left him and locked the cell-door. A few minutes later, a warder looked through the peep-hole. Parker was lying in a crumpled heap on the floor of the cell, with a wound on the back of his head. He was dead.

At the inquest, the prison doctor admitted that Parker might have been suffering from claustrophobia, as a result of his war services. This is a nervous complaint which makes it impossible for the sufferer to submit to confinement in a narrow space. The Under-Secretary for Home Affairs told Brig.-Gen. Spears in the House of Commons that any enquiry was not necessary nor desirable.

Thomas Parker "died" in jail, neglected, on June 2nd, 1933.

AMERICAN DEMOCRACY!

Uncle Sam Censors Karl Marx

Central Office,
R.W.L. (U.S.A.),
Box 141, Afred St., Sta.,
Detroit, Mich., U.S.A.
May 14, 1939.

Dear Friend,

Each issue of the REVOLT is held up in the Post Office pending a ruling by the Solicitor of the Department, Vincent B. Miles, as to its mailability. This follows a ruling declaring the January 7 issue unmailable.

On February 24 last, we received the text of passages in the January 7 issue, which the Post Office claims violate the U.S. Postal Laws and Regulations and Title 1 of the U.S. Code. According to the ruling all issues containing these passages will be unmailable. Until the Post Office is compelled to cancel this ruling, REVOLT can be mailed only with the approval of the Post Office censor, Solicitor Vincent B. Miles. The passages involved occur in two articles in the barred issue: an instalment in the Study Course, A.B.C. of Marxism; and the statement of principles and aims of the league, headed "WHAT WE STAND FOR," which was published prior to January 7, in the May 21 and June 24 issues, 1938; and since then, in February 5, 1939, issue.

In order to give a clear picture of the stupid character of the action of the Post Office, we draw attention to the fact that the Post Office did not object to certain passages in our statement of principles describing the lot of the worker under Capitalism; the reality of the class struggle; the need for proletarian dictatorship, the construction of communism and the establishment of a classless society based on collective work and ownership of the means of production; the establishment of a council or soviet form of administration; and the building of a revolutionary party, pioneering the Communist Fourth International.

The Post Office censored a paragraph stating our belief that the only solution for the poverty condition of the working class was a revolutionary one; and it censored another paragraph describing our revolutionary goal. It took objection to a third paragraph declaring that the league's policy would be that of revolutionary anti-militarism during an imperialist war.

The passage from the Study Course to which the Post Office objects, quotes the historic words of the closing paragraph of *The Communist Manifesto* of Marx and Engels, which boldly proclaims the refusal of the communists to conceal their aims and methods of attaining them.

We believe that this is a matter which concerns the Labour press of the world. Will you give this case publicity?

Fraternally,
CARL COWL,
Business Manager, R.W.L.

WALTER STRICKLAND'S MESSAGE.

The *Malton Messenger* has devoted considerable space to the life, work, and wishes of the late Walter Strickland.

In its issue for April 8, the *Messenger* published a letter from us, detailing the last wish expressed by Strickland, in relation to the struggle against war, which he described as *"The European Menace."*

In its issue for May 6, the *Messenger* published Strickland's last letter to us, dated Buitenzorg, Java, Asia, December 14, 1937. This is a very long and very interesting epistle and the *Messenger* placed it beneath the appended headings, spread across the page:—

SCIENTISTS AND SAVANTS ALONE CAN END WAR

The Late Sir Walter Strickland's Last Letter—On International Problems

AN APPEAL TO STOP "THIS MARCH OF HOMICIDE"

"IS NOT YOUTH TOO GLORIOUS TO BE MAIMED AND MURDERED?"

The editor of the *Messenger* introduced this letter with the following explanation:—

"'The end of war depends upon the robustness of the men of science and of thought in every country,' wrote the late Sir Walter William Strickland in one of his last letters. Written in Java in December, 1937, this letter, which we publish below was addressed to Mr. Guy A. Aldred, of Glasgow, an old associate of Sir Walter's, and by his permission we print it, as containing a great deal that touches on the international problems of to-day.

"A quarter of a century ago the late Sir Walter Strickland, life-long traveller and student of politics and contemporary thought that he was, foresaw and foretold the beginning of problems that would inevitably lead the world once again to the verge of war. This letter, one of the last penned by him, touches on the crux of modern problems."

Elsewhere in the same issue, the editor of our contemporary commented on "Sir Walter Strickland's Last Message":—

"In this issue we publish a most interesting letter written by the late Sir Walter William Strickland, the Yorkshire Baronet who became famous for his wanderings over the world. Sir Walter was more than a wanderer for the sake of wandering, he was a thinker and a student of peoples. A quarter of a century ago he saw that the Versailles Peace must inevitably lead Europe to the verge of another conflict, he then foretold that Germany would not for long be content to remain disarmed and dismembered.

"Sir Walter's letter, written in December of 1937 from Java, where he died, was almost his last message, and it contains a great deal of interest in the light of international events of the past few months. He believed that the world's scientists and scholars alone could bring about lasting peace, if they had the determination to do so. Sir Walter was never a lover of politics or diplomacy, and was forever asking that secret diplomacy should be abolished; otherwise wars were bound to continue."

In its issue for May 20, the *Messenger* published a "life" of Walter Strickland from our pen. All comrades interested in Strickland's thought and activity should write direct for copies of these papers to *The Malton Messenger, Messenger Office, Malton, Yorks.* Each issue costs 3d., post-free.

Strickland's last letter, slightly abridged, was reprinted in *The Varsity*, The Cambridge University Newspaper, for May 13, under the heading, *"This March of Homicide."*

WHEN DOLLAN RESISTED

The front page article records the result of Lord Provost Dollan's appeal—when he was a Councillor and a C.O.—to the High Court of Justiciary, at Edinburgh. From *Forward* for June 2, 1917, we cull the following report of the police court proceedings:—

COUNCILLOR DOLLAN HANDER OVER.

Deputy Town Clerk's Interest.

"The trial of Councillor P. J. Dollan was robbed of much of its interest because of the refusal of the Stipendiary to pronounce upon the contention of the lawyer for the defence that the importation of a stipulation into Dollan's exemption that he must work 50 miles from Glasgow was illegal. That question is to be fought out in a higher court. Meanwhile Dollan is fined £2 and sent to the non-combatant corps at Hamilton Barracks.

"The trial was long and mostly technical, but there were some interesting intervals, as when Lieut. Young from Bath Street declared he had gone out to post the calling-up notice himself; and when Lieut. Sellar—no, plain 'Mr.' Sellar, Depute Town Clerk, and Clerk to the Tribunal, admitted that he had written to London asking how Dollan's case stood, as he Dollan, was still attending Corporation meetings. He had written this letter because Dollan's presence in the Municipal Buildings after he had been turned down by the Tribunal was a matter of comment in the Municipal Buildings.'

"And again, when Dollan, in giving evidence, spoke of some period during which he had been ill, Mr. Sellar was observed to signal over to a policeman and hand him a list of Dollan's municipal activities, which document was promptly taken up to the Fiscal. All this anxiety to secure Dollan's removal 50 miles from Glasgow surely proclaims the Municipal Buildings as a place from which every eligible has already volunteered. But we are none too sure of that. The Stipendiary, while finding that Dollan was technically an absentee, was doubtful if he had been properly arrested, but that in view of the military urgency, it was not desirable that proceedings should be narrowly construed. The Police Court was not competent to review decisions of the Central Tribunal. He agreed to a stated case for appeal."

CONSCRIPTION IN NEW ZEALAND

In 1912, the *Manchester Guardian* opened its columns to a very full discussion on "Conscription in New Zealand and Australia." The correspondence was published in the following issues:—June 19 and 26; July 1, 2, 5, 10, 11, 12, 13 16, 18, 20. The complete debate might be worth re-reading at the present time. Below are some points made against the Conscript Act.

INTERNAL PASSPORTS.

The Defence Act compelled the conscript to carry his Military Manual. This book contained the youth's history, age, birthplace, employment; his people's history, character. He could not leave the district in which he was registered anytime without first obtaining a passport from his chief officer. An offender against the conscript law could not get a situation, as he had to produce his Military Manual. Resisters, apart from suffering recurring imprisonment, lost their right to vote—*for life*, according to the first terms of the Act.

MORALS OF MILITARY TRAINING.

The moral aspects of military training should be studied by every woman. Books to read are:—*The Queen's Daughters in India*, by Dr. Elizabeth W. Andrew and Katherine E. Bushnell, issued by the British Committee for the Abolition of Vice; and *Personal Reminiscences of a Great Crusade*, by Josephine E. Butler, issued by the Friend's Purity Association. Also, study Cantonment Arrangements in Gibraltar and elsewhere.

NEVILLE ANTICIPATED.

Chamberlain's method of introducing conscription, after pledging himself to the voluntary system, was anticipated by Sir Joseph Ward, the Prime Minister of New Zealand. The *Evening News*, Christchurch, N.Z., on November 14th, 1911, published a long "leader," headed:—*"Our Phantom Army."* It quoted Sir Joseph Ward's opinion, *"that the people of New Zealand would never stand Compulsory Military Training."* The "leader" commented that, Sir Joseph well-merited the title given him of *"The India-Rubber Prime Minister"* as he subsequently introduced and carried the Defence Act, without a mandate from the people.

During the election at the end of 1911, which resulted in the defeat of the Ward Government, *prosecutions under the Defence Act were dropped.*

JUDGING CONSCIENCE.

The Defence Act provided that *"those whose religion forbids them engaging in military service"* might substitute some other form of public service.

Under this clause, a magistrate decided that a young man who objected to military service on religious grounds, as a Christian, was not a conscientious objector within the meaning of the Act, because some Baptist Ministers acted as chaplains to the forces. This excluded the Baptist religion and the objector went to prison.

NATIONAL SERVICE LEAGUE.

The Defence Act was a triumph for the National Service League. On page 174 of *The Briton's First Duty*, issued in 1901, this organisation avowed that its aim was the formation, under compulsion, of a *"Pan-Britannic Militia, consisting of all able-bodied Whites throughout the Empire."*

In the *Round Table*, for May, 1911, it was pointed out that the New Zealand National Defence League was modelled on the lines of the National Service League of Great Britain. The Australian National Defence League came from the same source.

IMMIGRANTS NOT TOLD.

Immigrant were not told. The free official circular issued by hundreds of thousands to the emigrants from Britain, said nothing on this question. The Emigration Information Department, at 34 Broadway, Westminster, was ashamed of over-seas conscription.

THE NO CONSCRIPTION LEAGUE.

GLASGOW AND WEST OF SCOTLAND COUNCIL
HEADQUARTERS—
S.S.P. Rooms, 70 Robertson St., Glasgow, C.2.

Hon. Secy. — BERT VALLANCE.
Chairman — Bailie A. H. PORTER.
Hon. Treas. — D. MENZIES, 50 Craigie Street, Glasgow, S.2.

This is a League of Individual Members and Affiliated Organisations to oppose Military and Industrial Conscription. Its members strive within the organisations to which they belong, and particularly within their political parties, for the creation of an individual and corporate opinion unfavourable to the continuation of Conscription by any Government.

THE NO-CONSCRIPTION LEAGUE appeals to all who are opposed to conscription and war to join its ranks.

IT APPEALS SPECIALLY to young men who are conscientious objectors and who come within the scope of the Military Training Act, with a view to assisting them in their resistance against this attack upon their liberty.

Finance is urgently required. Send donations to the Treasurer.

If you do not wish to spoil your copy of this paper, copy this form and send with a minimum subscription of one shilling (two shillings, if possible) to the **SECRETARY, GLASGOW BRANCH, N.C.L., S.S.P. ROOMS, 70 ROBERTSON STREET, GLASGOW, C.2.**

Please enrol me in the No Conscription League.
I donate herewith: £ : : .

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

.....

I will try to influence my organisation to affiliate to the League. (Give its name and address of Secretary.)

Branches of Trade Unions, Co-operative, Religious, Ethical, and Political bodies can affiliate to
THE NO CONSCRIPTION LEAGUE

Affiliation Fee, 2/6.

If you do not live in Glasgow and the West of Scotland, and do not belong to a body that is affiliated to the N.C.L., and are a conscientious objector and enemy of militarism and war, you write direct to the **LONDON HEADQUARTERS: JAMES H. HUDSON, Hon. Secy., 17 Prescot St., London, E.1.**

Printed by Kirkwood & Co., 152 Clyde Street, Glasgow, C.1.

THE WORD

To Rouse The People, To Combat War, and To Speed Commonweal.

An Organ of the United Socialist Movement, Edited and Published by Guy A. Aldred, for the Bakunin Press and the U.S.M., at **Bakunin Hall, 29 Castle Street, Glasgow. C.4.** All unsigned matter is from the pen of the Editor. Annual Subscription, 2/6, post free.

Vol. 1. No. 4. AUGUST, 1939. Price: TWOPENCE

What He Did During The Great War!

SCOTS M.P.'s CHARGES AGAINST GLASGOW'S LORD PROVOST

ONE MUST RESIGN

AN OPEN LETTER TO
THE RT. HON. P. J. DOLLAN, Lord Provost of Glasgow.

My Lord Provost,

I have published the facts concerning your attitude in 1917, when you were conscripted for military service. You obtained total exemption from combatant service from the Central Tribunal, and conditional exemption from non-combatant service. You stressed your conscientious objection to war. At that time you were a Councillor and Chairman of the Glasgow Labour Party. You were of military age, and you declared that you had no country for which to fight. The Glasgow papers, which published reports of your case in the Central Police Court, Glasgow, and the High Court of Justiciary, Edinburgh, in adjoining columns published portraits of Glasgow men who had responded to recruiting appeals and had gone to their grave as to their bed in consequence. Your 1917 Anti-Militarism preserved you for the position of Militarist Lord Provost in 1939.

Harry Lauder was recruiting in 1914-1917, and you were bitterly opposed to him. Sir Harry Lauder is recruiting still, and you are associating yourself with him on the recruiting platform. Now you are over military age, you are busy persuading the youth to enlist. By your conduct, you paved the way for conscription in 1939, as did Lord Kitchener and Lord Derby in the first stages of the Great War of 1914-1918. As you escaped danger by asserting your conscientious anti-militarism in 1917, so you are securing honour by stressing your vigorous militarism in 1939. Sir, your conduct is a scandal. It disgraces you as a citizen. And you would be saluted as First Citizen.

My Lord Provost, if the only terms on which you could secure election to the position of chief magistrate were that you forswear your principles and betray your past, you ought never to have been elected. You had no right to pay such a price: and your duty now is to play the man and surrender the honour. Give up your dreams of a knighthood and resign your magistracy. What is the value of a knighthood if one enjoys the title and has no knightliness of soul, no sense of worth or chivalry? The title is barren and the honour unseemly. The salutation is a satire. Its mention turns the citizens from gravity to comedy. They do not smile but guffaw, until they remember the dead of 1914-1918 and witness the parade of youth to be sacrificed to-morrow. Then their humour grows more sober and turns to anguish and to anger. My Lord Provost, in disregarding the feeling of the common people, and their reaction to the knowledge of your contradictory conduct, you are playing with fire. As Abraham Lincoln so well remarked, the people will not be fooled all the time. Events are good schoolmasters, and calamity is a great teacher.

Suppose, my Lord Provost, the impossible and the unthinkable: suppose your recruiting is right to-day, suppose war and militarism are causes we should espouse in the twentieth century of the Christian era; your position is untenable still. You should be humble and not aggressive. You should stand before the Cenotaph and recall your conduct in 1917. Apology, not aggression, should be your attitude. War means that so much of the youth of the nation shall be sent to its doom. What right have you, who declined to respond to the recruiting call in 1914, who evaded the war-demands made upon you from 1914-1918, to assist in persuading the youth of a later generation to go to its doom to protect you in your honours? Your resignation as Lord Provost should be demanded by every citizen, whether conscientious objector or militarist, whether Socialist or Conservative. I ask the Labour movement of Glasgow, and I ask every citizen of Glasgow, whether inside that movement or not, to unite in that demand. The conscientious objector of 1917 should have remained the conscientious objector of 1939, or he ought to have retired into private life.

At Kinning Park, on Sunday, May 28, 1939, you invited Sir Harry Lauder to come forward and appear on your recruiting platform. You left the meeting together, elated with your success. You did this, knowng the part played by Sir Harry Lauder in the Great War, and how bitterly opposed to him you were at that time.

For many years you have been associated with "Forward." You were connected with that journal during the war years, during that period when Thomas Johnston was making his Clydeside reputation with his "War Points."

"Forward" for June 1, 1918, headed a part of the editor's "War Points" as follows:—

"HIS NAME WAS HARRY LAUDER."

This was set out in bold type. Below this heading your colleague, editor Thomas Johnston—who had no idea at that time that he would become a Cabinet Minister and Rt. Hon.—wrote:—

"Mr. Harry Lauder, the Scots low comedian, has been airing his views upon the war at a swell gathering in Ferguson & Forrester's swell restaurant in Buchanan Street, Glasgow. Harry has made quite a bit of money out of singing about the 'Bonnie Lassie up at Tobermory,' and 'Row Me in the Heather,' and in telling stories about landladies and sausages. So he has become what is called 'a National Asset,' and he has recently been doing War Aims propaganda in America. The 'National News' (3/3/18) assured us that a great patriot then in America doing his propaganda bit for us was being remunerated by the British Treasury at the rate of £1000 per week, or, as we figure it out, at £66 per oratorical hour.

"If this patriotic hero was Harry, he is by no means the 'Saftest o' the Faimily' or the 'Simple Johnnie Raw'."

Remarking that, "anyhow, Harry is back," Thomas Johnston complained that Lauder's speech at the F. and F. gathering was not reported in the Glasgow daily papers, although the speech defined the British war aims. The "Evening Times" for May 25, 1918, reported the speech, however, under suitable sub-headings. Here is an extract:—

"KILL EVERY GERMAN.

"We are not fighting the Kaiser and his Junkers; we are fighting the whole German nation; and the man in the street is just as bad as the Kaiser is, and there would be no peace until we killed them all. (Applause.) There would be no peace, and they were not going to parley for peace. We are going

"TO KILL THEM ALL."

Thomas Johnston commented:—

"The bloody-minded auld Herod!

"All the German babies are to be food for the wee skean dhu in his tartan stocking.

"Liebknecht, we suppose, is to be murdered in jail. Lichnowsky is not to be spared. The women buddies — yes, he would kill them too. All. All. Strike and spare naught.

"They put the Clincher temporarily in a restraining institution for less than that.

"But how is it to be done? What if the heathen Huns object?

"Will Harry sing them to their long sleep?

"Will he tell them rib ticklers so that they get lock-jaw through immoderate laughter?

"The craziest of the Pan-Germans, the Huns, do not propose to kill all the British women and children."

You approved of this criticism, my Lord Provost. You know that Harry Lauder never replied to Johnston's charge that he was receiving £1,000 per week income for this kind of oratory. You know that the oratory Johnston condemned is the disgraceful "stuff" that earned Lauder his title of "Sir Harry." Why did you, knowing this, invite him to the platform at Kinning Park to speak by your side, on May 28, 1939?

I pass to another and more serious charge, **made by William Gallacher, M.P.,** the member for West Fife, that you were not genuine as a conscientious objector, **and that you advocated and defended the war until conscription came.** It was then that you turned pacifist and C.O., says this M.P.

I have no admiration for Willie Gallacher, who made munitions during the war, and atoned for this conduct by delivering Socialist lectures in the dinner hour. "Dinner-time Marxism" does not fascinate me. Since November, 1935, Willie Gallacher has represented West Fife in Parliament, when he captured the seat from Willie Adamson. He polled 13,462 votes and defeated Adamson by 593 votes. He may have obtained his votes by trickery, but do not all M.P.'s do the same? In any case, he is a representative person under the system whose honours you enjoy. He charges you with cowardice, and he ought to be answered.

Since his return to Parliament, Gallacher has spoken repeatedly in Glasgow under the auspices of the Glasgow Trades and Labour Council. If his charges are correct, you have no right in public office. If his charges are not correct, the Glasgow Trades and Labour Council ought to repudiate him, and the Fife miners should demand his resignation from Parliament. Either Gallacher ought to resign his seat in Parliament or you should demit office as Lord Provost. It is the business of the entire Labour movement, both in the East and the West of Scotland, to demand the fullest enquiry, and the resignation from public life of the one who is in the wrong.

GALLACHER'S ACCUSATION.

When William Gallacher made the charge against you, he was not M.P., and had no immediate thoughts of becoming one. He has never withdrawn the accusation, and you never asked him to do so. He still maintains that his charge is true. You were a Bailie at that time. Gallacher made his accusation in the columns of "The

Worker," the Clydeside organ, for August 26, 1922, under the heading—

"THE BAILIE."

Gallacher opened his article with four paragraphs that condemn both you and himself. He wrote:—

"What a wretched organisation the I.L.P. has become. In the midst of all the poverty and suffering that is pressing so heavily on the working class, the only concern of this one-time Socialist organisation is to get its representatives returned to the local Council or to Parliament if an election should come upon us.

"Hibernating for long enough, it now wakens into life with the approach of November, and decides to launch a most respectable campaign in the hope of snaring a thoroughly respectable vote when the Municipal elections take place.

"What a gang of candidates, each one more orthodox than the other. Petty, trivial, little reformists, they will do nothing to stir the workers into protest against those who oppress and exploit them; sufficient for the I.L.P. if they can wheedle votes out of them; sufficient for them if they can get their 'careerists' helped on towards their goal.

"It would not matter just as much if those who are responsible for inaugurating this so-widely advertised campaign were not so indiscreetly scrapping everything they have hitherto stood for. It seems to be inevitable, that when a Socialist one goes back on his faith in order to play up to bourgeois respectability, that nothing can stay his downward course, until he hits right down at the bottom.

"Take the case of Maxton and P. J. Dollan, a truly weird combination"

Gallacher then comes to his charge against you. He writes:—

"But Dollan, ye gods: what a man since he became a bailie! When the war started, Dollan believed in force all right. He was a 'war' man, was all out for the smashing of the Germans (by proxy, of course) till Conscription was introduced, and that in P.J.'s opinion was going a bit too far. When it came to Pat having to do a share of the fighting, he thought it time to wind up the trouble. From being a stay-at-home warrior he became a pacifist, and got packed off to Wakefield detention camp. This, to Dollan, was the greatest crime ever committed. The enslaving of the workers as a class was as nothing compared to the imprisoning of Dollan.

"He became the most ferocious of ferocious revolutionaries. In all the discussions that took place in Wakefield he outdistanced everybody as an extremist. He was of opinion that the workers ought to arise and bomb, bayonet, or otherwise get rid of the wicked Militarists and Imperialists who had laid P. J. by the heels.

"But now—well, he's a Bailie with prospects of a Parliamentary constituency; and, of course, that alters things. Force might be of use to the workers, but it obviously isn't of any use to one who has his mind built up on a Parliamentary career."

Gallacher proceeds to attack you for sitting "on the bench administering capitalist laws," and concludes:—

"We want a campaign—we want a campaign badly —but it must be a live, inspiring campaign that will direct the workers to the goal of Revolution, not an insipid vote-catching dodge such as is contemplated by Dollan and Company."

If you tell me that Gallacher should take his concluding words to heart himself to-day, I will agree. But that does not refute the charge he makes against you., I ask you: Is that charge true? Is it a fact that you were a "war" man until conscription came, and that you then became a C.O.? If it is not true, please refute the charge and let your refutation be circulated throughout West Fife. If it is true, resign your position as Chief Magistrate and First Citizen of the City of Glasgow. That is your duty.

As Chief Magistrate of the City, on Sunday, June 25 last, you received the members of the Commissionaires Corps. You congratulated Capt. Cameron, Commander of the Corps, on the efficiency and excellent appearance of the men. You praised up discipline and presented five medals to members of the Corps. Your speech was reported in the Glasgow "Evening News" and "Evening Times" next day.

What right had you, as a conscientious objector during the Great War, to review these men and to make such a speech?

The Corps of Commissionaires were founded in 1859 by Capt. Edward Walter, K.C.B. Its principal object was to provide employment for men who had served in the Crimea War or Indian Mutiny. Each year its role augmented steadily, and its ranks are composed to-day of time-expired soldiers and sailors mainly, with, perhaps, a few ex-policemen.

If Gallacher's charge against you is true, you had even less right reviewing these men than if you had opposed the Great War from the beginning. If the charges are not true, let the Labour movement, to which you belong, demand an explanation or apology from the member for West Fife, or drive him from so-called public life, for slander. He has labelled you a coward. Refute the charge, and I promise the widest publicity for your refutation. It will give me pleasure, despite my criticism of your present activity as war-recruiter, to be able to state that when you were a war-resister, your inspiration was Socialist idealism, and that your conduct did not proceed from cowardice. But you must either reply or resign.

My Lord Provost, you would be news. Your conduct has made you history. Your immortal epitaph:—

"We do want to lose you,
And we think you ought to go!"

I am,

Yours faithfully,

GUY A. ALDRED.

COUNCILLOR DOLLAN, 1917.

On Tuesday, May 15, 1917, Councillor E. Shinwell was acquitted at the Central Police Court, Glasgow, by Stipendiary-Magistrate Neilson, on a charge of having, on April 14, 1917, at the entrance door of Charing Cross Halls, Sauchiehall Street, assaulted Francis John Logan by striking him on the body with a piece of metal gas pipe or similar instrument. The hearing of the case occupied the greater part of two days. John Scanlon gave evidence for the defence and was described as a plater. This meant that he was pretending to do National Service as an alternative to conscription. Scanlon stated that the *meeting at the Charing Cross Halls had been called by the National Council of Civil Liberties for the purpose of considering National Service as possibly leading to Industrial Conscription.*

Evidence was also given by James Maxton who was described as a plater's helper; William Shaw, described as delegate from the Glasgow Trades Council; and *Councillor P. J. Dollan, Chairman of the Glasgow Labour Party, who stated that he organised the meeting.*

The meeting was described in the Glasgow *Evening Times* report as *"Ramsay MacDonald meeting."* Immediately beneath the report appeared the following paragraph:—

"COUNCILLOR DOLLAN.

"Arrested As An Absentee.

"Councillor P. J. Dollan, who was a witness at the Central Police Court, Glasgow, to-day, in the case in which Councillor Shinwell was charged with assault, was arrested at the close of the proceedings by Detective McGimpsey on a charge of being an absentee under the Military Service Act."

The Police Court proceedings were reported in the *Glasgow Herald* for Thursday, May 24, and Friday, May 25, 1917.

The Thursday report was as follows:—

"MILITARY SERVICE.

Councillor Dollan Charged As Absentee.

"Evidence was heard at the Central Police Court, Glasgow, yesterday, in the case against Councillor P. J. Dollan, Glasgow, who was charged with being an absentee, or deserter under the Military Service Act. A plea of not guilty was tendered. The evidence by the military representative was to the effect that Mr. Dollan had failed to comply with the conditions laid down by the Central Tribunal in granting him exemption from combatant service, and that he had failed to appear at the recruiting office on April 30 to answer to a calling-up notice issued on April 28.

"Mr. Dollan stated in his evidence that the grounds of his exemption were that he was to undertake work of national importance under the direction of the Committee on Work of National Importance. He wrote suggesting five different forms of occupation, but the Central Tribunal refused him permission to undertake any that he had offered. In a note to a letter he had received from the Committee on Work it was stated that the conditions laid down by the Central Tribunal were that work be obtained in a district at least fifty miles from Glasgow. This seemed to Mr. Dollan like a sentence of deportation, and he had only heard of such things being done under the Defence of the Realm Regulations. He stated to Inspector McGimpsey that he was still in communication with the Central Tribunal at the date of his arrest.

"Stipendiary Neilson postponed his decision until to-day."

The Friday report read:—

"MILITARY SERVICE.

Decision Against Glasgow Councillor.

"Councillor P. J. Dollan, Glasgow, was found guilty at the Central Police Court, Glasgow, of being an absentee under the Military Service Act. In his judgment, Stipendiary Neilson stated that this process had been raised in consequence of Mr. Dollan having failed to join the colours.. He was not sure that the apprehension of Mr. Dollan was in perfect accordance with the military instructions issued. Perhaps it might have been better had Mr. Dollan been summoned. In any event, Mr. Dollan was now before him competently charged at the instance of the Procurator Fiscal with the offence of being a deserter, or absentee without leave. It seemed to him that that Court was not a competent place to over-rule the procedure of the Central Tribunal. It was Mr. Dollan's duty to appear for non-combatant service, for which he was liable, seeing that he had failed to undertake work of national importance under the direction of the committee to which he was referred for that purpose. As it was Mr Dollan's duty to present himself to the military authorities, it was equally the duty of the military authorities on his so presenting himself to give effect to the exemption from combatant service.

"Mr. Dollan had established no sufficient excuse within the meaning of the Act. The judgment of the Court was that Mr. Dollan, being a person liable to non-combatant service, was guilty as an absentee without leave as libelled.

"The magistrate imposed a fine of 40 shillings, with the alternative of seven days' imprisonment, and allowed 60 days in which to pay the fine. An agent intimated that it was Mr. Dollan's desire to ask for a stated case with a view to appeal. Mr. Dollan was then taken in charge by the military."

It is interesting to note that the issue of the *Glasgow Herald* containing this report also carried, under the heading *"Entertainment,"* the following notice about Harry Lauder:—

"Harry Lauder retained for another week at Empire. Enormous success of revue. 'Three Cheers.' The Great Whitehall scene. Including a squad of discharged soldiers. The boys who have done their bit."

This was the sixth week of Harry Lauder's revue at the Empire.

Councillor Dollan made desperate efforts to secure his release. The following is extracted from the Glasgow *Evening Times*, 6th edition, for Wednesday, May 30, 1917:—

"THE CASE OF COUNCILLOR DOLLAN.

"Liberation Refused.

"An application was presented to Stipendiary Neilson at the Central Police Court this morning on behalf of Councillor P. J. Dollan who was dealt with by the Court last week for being an absentee under the Military Service Act.

"An appeal against that decision has been taken to the Court of Justiciary, and the application made to-day was for the interim liberation of Mr. Dollan, who is at present detained by the military authorities. After having heard Mr. George Phillips, Mr. Dollan's agent, on the application, and the Procurator-Fiscal, Mr. McIntyre, in reply, Stipendiary Neilson refused the application on the ground that Mr. Dollan was not in custody on a commitment made directly by the Court and that

the applicant had been unable to show that the Court had power to grant liberation from the custody of the military authorities."

Despite this ruling, the Home Office released Councillor Dollan pending the hearing of his appeal.

The following report of his appeal appeared in the "Evening Times" of Glasgow, for Friday, August, 31, 1917:—

"COUNCILLOR DOLLAN.

"Important Points at High Court.

"National Service.

"Conscientious Objector's Position.

"The Appeal Dismissed.

"EDINBURGH, Monday. — At a sitting of the Justiciary Appeal Court in Edinburgh to-day, before the Lord Justice General, Lord Scott Dickson, and Lord Cullen, Councillor P. J. Dollan, of Glasgow Corporation, and Chairman of the Glasgow Labour Party, appealed against his conviction as an absentee without leave.

"THE CASE.

"Mr. Gentles, Counsel for Appellant, said this was a case in which the appellant was a conscientious objector, and in accordance with procedure under the Military Service Act he was exempted from combatant service only, and he also got exemption from the Central Tribunal, subject to a condition—viz., that he should, within a specified period, undertake work of national importance that was in accordance with the direction of a certain National Committee. The question was whether he had complied with that condition, and whether, if he had not, it was because, although he had offered and been willing to comply with it and did everything he could, he was prevented from complying with it by the National Committee because they over-ruled the terms of the Tribunal's exemption by adding a condition of their own for which there was no warrant in the Statute. The appellant did not wait for the National Committee to specify the work he was to undertake. He went about and looked for work and approached them again and again offering to do work which he had ascertained had been approved as of national importance in the case of other people. The National Committee said: 'We will not allow you to take any of these jobs. We will only agree to you taking work more than fifty miles from Glasgow.' That was not in the judgment of the Court, and when the certificate came to be issued afterwards; that was not in the certificate, and the question came to be whether the Tribunal, who had jurisdiction in the matter, ever imposed such a condition, and whether, if they did, they had any power to do so.

"**Lord Cullen**—Did the Central Tribunal endorse the decision of the Committee?

"**Counsel** — There is nothing to show that they ever did. Under the Statute the conditions have to be set out in the certificate, but they had no certificate by the Tribunal that any such condition was ever imposed by the Tribunal at all. He had complied with the conditions so far as they had been possible, and he had been prevented from getting the work which he was, under the Statute, compelled to undertake, not by any fault of his own, but by the unreasonableness of an outside body, which went beyond its rights and powers. His contention, accordingly, was that it was not a good conviction. **Conscientious objectors were not considered desirable to have associated with the colours, provided real good useful national service could be got out of them elsewhere.**

"**Lord Cullen**—The National Committee professes to communicate one of the established conditions of the Central Tribunal.

"**Counsel**—That is to say, it was a general condition unanimously applicable. In fact, it was not, because the evidence of the appellant was that he found these jobs were being filled by Glasgow people, conscientious objectors, and he said: 'If they can get these jobs, why does it cease to be work of national importance when I am willing to take them?'

"APPEAL DISMSSED.

"At the close of Mr. Gentles' speech, and without calling on Counsel for the respondent, the Court unanimously dismissed the appeal.

"The Lord Justice General said the certificate was a certificate of conditional exemption from non-combatant service. It appeared that when the Central Tribunal issued their decision on January 10 they made it quite clear that the man must obtain employment in work of national importance, subject to the condition of the Committee and of the Central Tribunal. On January 29, and again on February 10, they explicitly said that whatever work he obtained must be outside a radius of fifty miles from Glasgow. That was a very reasonable condition to impose, and in many circumstances an essential necessary condition. At all events, it appeared to His Lordship to be well within the Statutory powers of the Central Tribunal to impose such a condition. The appellant did not challenge the finding of the Central Tribunal. He did not, for he could take no exception to it. He obtained, or professed to obtain, certain work which he knew would not be sanctioned by the Central Tribunal and accordingly, it appeared quite plainly on the face of the documents, that the finding in fact in the special case, behind which they could not go, that the condition mentioned in the certificate of exemption had not been complied with. Accordingly, they must answer the first question — Were the objections to the case rightly repelled? — in the affirmative. Question No. Two—Was the notice to appellant to join the colours a competent requisition which he was bound to obey? The answer was in the affirmative. The Third question — Had the magistrate any right or any duty, to review the conditional exemption founded upon or the procedure adopted in the giving thereof? The answer was in the negative. The Fourth question—Was the appellant rightly convicted of the offence charged. The answer was in the affirmative.

"The Lord Justice Clerk and Lord Cullen concurred.

"£7 7s. Expenses Allowed.

"The respondent was allowed seven guineas expenses.

"FUTURE PROCEDURE.

"It is understood that Councillor Dollan was released by the Home Office pending his appeal and that in the event of its being decided against him he was told to hold himself at the disposal of the Home Office Committee dealing with conscientious objectors.

"A demonstration demanding his release is to take place on Glasgow Green on Sunday, and, although the magistrates have prohibited the demonstration, it is the intention of the promoters to carry through the arrangements."

There were other reports of the appeal to the High Court of Justiciary published in the Glasgow and Edinburgh press. The report that appeared in the Glasgow *Daily Record* on Saturday, September 1, 1919, was set out somewhat differently from what appeared in the *Times*.

Reporting Mr. Gentles' opening speech for Dollan, the *Record* report sets out the following statement by Counsel and discussion with the Court:—

"**Mr. Gentles**—If a conscientious objector did his bit, what was the sense of not allowing him to do it in one place and compelling him to do it somewhere else?

"**Lord Cullen**—I suppose that the idea is that a conscientious objector might have a certain established sphere of influence which it was not desirable he should exercise, and that he should remove to some place where he was a stranger.

"**Mr. Gentles**—I think your Lordship has put your finger on the crux of the case. Is this the proper procedure to secure deportations? It amounts to deportation.

"What is Deportation?

"**The Lord Justice Clerk**—What do you mean by deportation? Every man who has to join the colours has to leave his wife and family.

"**Mr. Gentles**—A soldier cannot serve in combatant service without leaving his wife and family, but of course one who is not doing combatant service can do his work as well in one place as another."

It should be explained that the Lord Justice Clerk referred to in this report is mentioned in the *Times* report as Lord Scott Dickson. The *Record* described the dismissal of the appeal in much the same terms as those employed in the *Times*. The following extract from the *Record's* summary of the Lord Justice General's speech makes very clear reading:—

"The Lord Justice General said the appellant was of recruitable age and otherwise eligible. After some procedure, the Central Tribunal granted him a certificate of exemption from combatant service on the ground that he was a conscientious objector. That certificate was absolute; but it further proceeded to say that, if within seven days of the date of the certificate, April 2, 1919, the appellant undertook work under the direction of the Committee on Work of National Importance and the Central Tribunal, he should also be exempted from non-combatant service. That, his Lordship took it, was a certificate of conditional exemption from non-combatant service."

The following excerpt is from the Glasgow *Daily Record and Mail* for Monday, September 3, 1917:—

"COUNCILLOR DOLLAN.

"Speeches having for their main theme a condemnation of the action of the Military Authorities with regard to Councillors P. J. Dollan and George Smith were delivered from two platforms at Nelson's Monument, Glasgow Green, yesterday afternoon.

"As the gathering was held despite an order of prohibiton from the magistrates, the names of those actively participating were taken by the police.

"The resolution, which was carried unanimously at both meetings, called upon the Government to release both men."

The back page of the *Record* carried a picture of the huge gathering on the Green, headed *"Gathering of Sympathisers with Councillors Dollan and Smith."*

Forward, for October 6, 1917, published an account of what was happening beneath a big caption as follows:—

GLASGOW COUNCILLORS AND MILITARY SERVICE.

"In connection with Councillor Shinwell's case, some technical mistake has been made in the proceedings, and Shinwell has been summoned for a re-hearing. The following letters shew the sort of evidence that the Tribunals gaily over-ruled when turning Shinwell down. . . .

"Mr. James O'Grady, M.P., a member of the Central Tribunal, has written to Mr. Geo. Galloway, the Secretary of the Govan Labour Representation Committee, stating he was present when Dollan's exemption was granted, and there was then no 'Fifty Miles' condition spoken of. In fact he 'knows nothing about it.' Presently Dollan is ill, the result of prison treatment, and has been ordered by his doctor to do nothing for a month, but along comes the Home Office and says he must go to Wakefield, whether he is ill or not. When the Central Tribunal interviewed Dollan in prison, the chairman informed him they had not imposed the fifty miles condition. Who imposed it?

"An amusing feature of the Dollan case is that the Home Office people have asked him to refund £2 12s 3d, being the amount expended on his railway fare and maintenance, on the journey from Wormwood Scrubbs to Glasgow. This request will take some beating for audacity.

"Councillors James Welsh and James Walker, who did not appeal for exemption, were rejected on medical grounds."

In our next issue we shall deal with Lord Provost Dollan, 1939; his National Service parade in Hyde Park, his Paris visit and speech, and his activity in New York.

"CONCHIES" — 1916-1918

Full records of those who resisted the Military Service Acts, 1916, were never secured. The following under-statement was issued in June, 1918:—

Number resisting	5459
Number Court-martialled	4884
Court-martialled once	3623
Court-martialled twice	604
Court-martialled thrice	464
Court-martialled four times	181
Court-martialled five times	12
Number discharged (Medical)	362
Number accepting Non-Combatant Service or F.A.U. after arrest	291
Number dead since arrest	22
Number working H.O. Scheme.....	2951
Number exceptionally employed (H.O. Scheme)	209
Number disappeared	220
Number at liberty	124
Number imprisoned	1179

The "Daily Mail" for June 15, 1918, reported the proceedings of the South Yorkshire Appeal Tribunal the previous day:

Lord Wharncliffe (to conscientious objector)—Do you enjoy the privileges of a British citizen?
The Appellant—By God's grace I do.
Lord Wharncliffe—Oh, leave that out.
The Appellant — I cannot; I am subject to God first.
Lord Wharncliffe—You are going into the Army. They know how to deal with silly boys like you.

With our next issue, we shall introduce cartoons and illustrations.

HYDE PARK CASE.

The Dollan exposures have compelled us to hold over the reports of the Hyde Park case and the expenses incurred. Although we conducted this case in person, both in the Police Court and the High Court, we have to pay the expenses of the other side. Our own expenses were insignificant. The total expenses we have to pay the Crown are £40.

Full reports of the Hyde Park Free Speech struggle were intended to be published in this issue. They will appear next month. Meantime readers can help. **Our intention is to establish the right to circulate literature and take collections at public meetings in Hyde Park.** Every sympathiser should contribute to our fund **now.**

The United Socialist Movement holds meetings in Hyde Park every Sunday. Support them.

EMRYS HUGHES' STAND

When Conscription was introduced into Britain in 1916, Emrys Hughes, the son of a Nonconformist minister, was a school teacher and member of the I.L.P. He became Secretary to the Aberdare No-Conscription Fellowship and a member of the South Wales Anti-Conscription Council. In due course, he appealed, under the Military Service Act, to the Mountain Ash Local Tribunal. He was asked no questions as to his principles but was quizzed by the Tribunal because of his association with the *Merthyr Pioneer*. His appeal was dismissed and he appealed to the County Tribunal. His appeal was dismissed by the County Tribunal also; and he was arrested, brought before the local magistrates at the Abercynon Police Court. *Sitting on the Bench were the Chairman of the Local Tribunal, the Military Representative, and another member of Local Tribunal.* These persons had neither the decency nor the justice to retire from the Bench. They sat, literally in their own cause, to uphold their own decision, and fined Hughes 40/- and costs, *to be deducted from his army pay*! What magistrates!

Hughes was taken to Cardiff, under military escort, with three other conscientious objectors, Smith, Morgan, and Kendall. They were taken to the recruiting office. Here Sergeant-Major Ashton called out their names. Each replied: "Here." Ashton said: "We'll teach you to say "Here, sir; you b—."

They were taken upstairs to the stripping room, where they gave names, addresses, and other particulars about themselves. They were ordered by Sergeant-Major Ashton to strip for medical examination. They refused. Whereupon Ashton called them: "B— swine." Several times Ashton used foul and indecent expressions to them and egged privates on to do the same. One soldier said to Smith: *"Before God, if there were no one else present, I would tear you limb from limb."*

Major Lucas was sent for, and the situation was explained to him. He said to Hughes: *"You will have hell at the depot, and will be fed on bread and water."*

Encouraged by the attitude of Major Lucas, Sergeant-Major Ashton, the private soldiers, and a civilian clerk also abused Smith, Morgan, Kendall, and Hughes.

After this, they were taken into the doctors, who were courteous. Major Lucas was present at the ordered medical examination and he was courteous here also. One doctor took charge and said it was a request and not a command. Hughes replied that he did not view it in this light. He added: *"Without any disrespect to you personally, I refuse to obey military orders."*

The doctor forgot what he had said about a request and not a command. He told Hughes that he was liable to be shot, and Hughes replied: *"You can bring in your firing party."*

This took the doctor back a bit and he asked the four "Conchies" to go downstairs and think it over. At the end of that time they saw the doctor again, and explained that it was their intention to refuse to obey military orders. An armed escort of 16 men, *carrying fixed bayonets*, escorted them to the depot where they were treated both civilly and courteously.

On April 25th, 1916, Smith, Morgan, Kendall, and Hughes were marched to the recruiting office, under escort. Ashton again was present and used abusive language. They were ordered to strip and attest by Major Lucas. As they were leaving under escort, Sergeant-Major Ashton remarked: *"I hope you will get shot."* Hughes replied: *"We will meet again."*

In reporting this conversation, Ashton said that Hughes added: *"If I do not do you in someone will do it for me."*

The case of Emrys Hughes was reported in the *Merthyr Pioneer* for May 20, 1916. A fuller report was published in that journal the following week. Hughes admitted two charges of refusing to obey military orders. He denied the third charge of using threatening language to Sergeant-Major Ashton. Evidence in support of this denial were given by Kendall and Morgan, who were present when the alleged conversation occurred. The utterance can be dismissed as untrue, without such evidence, for two reasons:—

(1) The statement is entirely untrue to type. We had met Hughes just before his arrest in the office of the *Merthyr Pioneer* and we had discussed his opinions and approach to life with his closest intimates. The expression did not fit in with his ideals or conversation.

(2) The words said to have been employed do belong to the daily conversation of Sergeant-Major Ashton, *and are true to type.* The Sergeant-Major was an ignorant and uncultured person; *incapable of truthful report yet not intending always to report falsely*; unable to stand contradiction; and given, under such unusual conditions to brooding. Contradiction he regarded as an outrage. Hughes delicate phrase *"We will meet again"* would sound sinister to his ears, and would suggest assault and battery unto death. The phrase suggests retribution. Ashton's statement was false, but the falsehood may have been less deliberate than it seems on the surface.

The President of the Court Martial objected to Hughes describing how he came to be in a situation where he was made subject to military commands and so compelled to disobey them. Hughes contended that the recital of these events formed the background of the charge against him.

Captain Cremlyn conducted the prosecution. He cross-examined Hughes.

CAPTAIN CREMLYN: "Your statement is an admission of the charges, barring the third, in which you are accused of using threatening language? Do you deny having used the expression, 'If I don't do you in, someone else will do it for me'?

HUGHES: "Most decidedly I do; I never use such Billingsgate."

CAPTAIN CREMLYN: "With the exception of that particular charge, you admit that you refused to obey military orders?"

HUGHES: "I do."

In his opening statement to the Court Martial, Hughes said: *"I hold that all war is detrimental to the interests of the working class."*

In his later defence, Hughes thanked the Court for its courtesy towards him.

"Not being a lawyer I have felt handicapped in defending myself, but I must say that I have been treated with more toleration than at the Mountain Ash Tribunal, the Appeal Tribunal, or the Police Court.

"As to the first two charges, I admit having disobeyed military authority. I had intended doing so.

"The inevitable result of Conscription was to make a soldier of me, but I was not prepared to become a soldier under any circumstances whatever. When the law declared I was to be a soldier, I could do nothing but disobey the law. I did so and intend to do so. I am one in a minority: a minority which is unpopular. I am not perturbed about it.

"In all the warring countries of Europe men of my persuasion are opposing the military machine. Dr. Liebknecht and his comrades in Germany; the Socialists in Russia; the Socialists in Italy; and the minority among the Socialists of France are taking up this attitude of opposing war. I am taking the same attitude in this country.

"I am not going to be a soldier. Whether it means being sent to your prisons; whether it means a dark cell or irons, or any other of the new methods of torture which are being revived; whether it means being sent to France to be shot for disobeying orders, I am prepared for it."

Hughes denied the third charge and stated that Ashton had used violent language throughout. Hughes added:

"The whole atmosphere of the recruiting office was one of bullying and cowardice. The stripping-room was a den of bullies, blackguards and liars."

PRESIDENT: I am not sure whether the two first charges matter more to you than the third.

HUGHES: The third matters more to me because it is an attempt to vilify me in the movement with which I am connected.

PRESIDENT: Do you deny the charge?

HUGHES: I do.

Captain Cremlyn closing the case for the prosecution referred somewhat ambiguously to the third charge. Without wanting to admit its falsehood, he seemed to think it was rather thin. He asked for a conviction on the two charges of disobeying military orders.

Captain Cremlyn said:—

"The first two charges are admitted by the prisoner, and his own defence only confirms the case against him. The Court had a full opportunity of listening to him. He is an educated man, fully aware of what he was saying. He admits to deliberately attempting to propagate his Socialistic and other opinions even in defiance of the law of the land. . . .

"I must ask the Court to take a serious view of this case. No matter how sincere, how honest, the prisoner might be, these people cannot be allowed to resist the law, because history shows that revolutions are easier to promote than to control; and revolutions had nearly always been promoted by misguided and fanatical people who believed they had a mission to perform."

The sentences on Smith, Hughes and Kendall were promulgated publicly from the Barracks Square, Cardiff, on Saturday, May 20, 1916:—

Gwlym I. Smith (22), school teacher — 2 years' detention, commuted to 6 months.

Percy Kendall (23), platelayer — 2 years' hard labour, commuted to 6 months.

Emrys Hughes (21) — 2 years' hard labour, commuted to 9 months' detention.

Beth Morgan's sentence, made public the same week, was 6 months' detention.

United Socialist Movement

BAKUNIN HALL
29 CASTLE STREET, GLASGOW, C.4
(Opposite Royal Infirmary)

Group meeting ..... Monday, 8 p.m.
New Members Welcomed.

For Glasgow public meetings and list of speakers, see announcements in Hall windows and street advertisements.

SUNDAY AFTERNOON:
Glasgow Green Old Bandstand ..... 3 p.m.
SUNDAY EVENING: Albion Street ..... 8 p.m.

Organisations in other cities are invited to arrange meetings. A united platform should be organised against conscription.

LONDON U.S.M. APPEAL

As the Great War of 1914-18 exposed the corrupt Second International leaders and bankrupt parliamentarians, so the new 1939 war crisis revealed once more to the working-class movement, the hopeless political bankruptcy of the Labour Party and the Communist Party.

Taking the form of Anti-Fascism, the new war psychology has brought in its train a wave of patriotism that will eventually lead these two parties into becoming the chief recruiting sergeants of the National Government.

As Labourism, supported by the careerists of Westminster outdo each other in crying for more and more armaments to defend "democracy," so do the Stalinists of the C.P. wave their Red Flag and shout louder for democratic A.R.P., democratic territorials, and collective armaments to defend capitalist democracy. "Defend Britain's Honour!" "Bomb-proof Shelters!" "Youth for the Militia!" These, and many similar slogans, are the battle-cries of the degenerate C.P. This political hypocrisy is directly the outcome of Stalinism, the complete abandonment of the Class Struggle in favour of the alliance of Imperialist governments to oppose the Rome-Berlin-Tokio axis.

No longer do these chauvinists rely on the power of organised labour; no longer is it a question of "turning imperialist war into civil war"; but they are prepared to sacrifice the workers to justify Stalinism and "Socialism in One Country."

We who refuse to be stampeded by these tricksters, we who believe in Socialism through the Social Revolution, will stand firm by our principles, resolute in our determination to fight this perversion of Socialism and we will build a movement of workers pledged to overthrow Capitalism, Parliamentarism, and the bureaucracy of Social-Patriotism. Our cry is "End Capitalism and so end Fascism and War."

All comrades who are anxious to assist in uniting the United Socialist Movement in London, should communicate with

A. KAYE,
58 Nicholas St., Mile-End,
LONDON, E.1.

W. KNIGHTSBRIDGE (*Secy.*),
20 Westbourne Square,
LONDON, W.2.

LAW, CONSCIENCE, AND THE MILITIA

Famous United States Case

The written constitution of the United States of America but defines the unwritten Constitution of the United Kingdom. It is important to recall this fact in connection with the famous Brief on Behalf of the Plaintiffs-in-Error, Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, against the United States, Defendant-in-Error, presented to the Supreme Court of the United States, October Term, 1917, by Harry Weinberger, Attorney for Plaintiffs-in-Error, 261 Broadway, Borough of Manhattan, City of New York. Case No. 702.

PRELIMINARY STATEMENT.

The preliminary statement of this Appeal set forth the *indictment* against Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman. We abridge the indictment and eliminate legal repetition in order to simplify reading.

The *indictment* charged the defendants, (described in the appeal as Plaintiffs-in-Error) with conspiracy as accessories before the fact for violation of the Draft Act. This Act was similar to the Military Service Acts of Great Britain passed in 1916, and fundamentally the same as the Military Training Act of Great Britain of 1939. There is an age difference which is immaterial. In each case the Act replaces a voluntary army with a conscript militia. In his argument for the Supreme Court, Attorney Weinberger deals with the constitutional importance of this difference and its relation to the rights of citizens. The argument is both brilliant and fundamental. It applies equally to Great Britain as to the United States and merits careful study.

THE INDICTMENT.

"The Grand Jury of the United States of America, within and for the 'Southern District of New York' on their oath present that:"

(1) On May 18, 1917, the President of the United States issued the Proclamation, as provided by the Act of Congress he had approved that day, entitled "An Act to authorise the President to increase temporarily the Military Establishment of the United States."

(2) This Proclamation gave notice to all persons subject to registration in the several States and in the district of Columbia, in accordance with the said Act, that the time and place of such registration was between 7 a.m. and 9 p.m. on June 5, 1917, at the registration place in the precinct wherein they may have their permanent homes.

(3) Those who had attained their twenty-first birthday and who had not attained their thirty-first birthday, on or before June 5, 1917, were required to register, excepting only officers and enlisted men of the Regular Army, the Navy, the Marine Corps, and the National Guard and Naval Militia, while in the service of the United States, and officers in the Officers' Reserve Corps, and enlisted men in the Enlisted Reserve Corps, while in active service.

(4) Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, both late of the City and County of New York, from May 18 to June 15, 1917, when the indictment was filed at the Southern District of New York, unlawfully, wilfully, knowingly, and feloniously did conspire together and agree between themselves, and with divers other persons whose names were unknown, to commit an offence against the United States, the divers unknown persons being male persons between the ages of twenty-one and thirty, both inclusive, subject to registration for military service.

(5) The defendants conspired to aid, abet, council, command, induce and procure divers unknown persons, male and subject to registration, unlawfully and wilfully, to fail and refuse to present themselves for registration and to submit to regulations made by the President under the Draft Act.

(6) The defendant, Emma Goldman, on May 13, 1917, addressed a public meeting in the Harlem River Park and Casino, Second Avenue, New York. She began her address with the words: "We don't believe in conscription."

(7) The defendant, Alexander Berkman, on June 1, 1917, published in New York, a periodical, entitled *The Blast*, Vol. 2, No. 5, in which he attacked conscription.

(8) The defendant, Emma Goldman, on June 2, 1917, at the office of the No-Conscription League, 28 East 125th Street, New York, gave to James A. Hegarty, a copy of the periodical *Mother Earth*, Vol. 12, June, 1917, No. 4. This paper attacked conscription.

(9) The defendant, Alexander Berkman, on June 4, 1917, addressed a public meeting at Hunts Point Palace, Southern Boulevard, New York, against conscription. He began with the words: "Comrades, friends, and enemies." He ended with the words: "You know that after all, the cause of the soldiers and of the workers is a common cause."

(10) The defendant, Emma Goldman, addressing the same meeting in company with the defendant, Berkman, began her address with the words: "Men, don't you know the soldiers came here to disturb the meeting?" She ended with the words: "And you will all raise one mighty voice just going to drown militarism."

The indictment concluded: "Against the peace of the United States and their dignity, and contrary to the form of the Statute of the United States in such cases made and provided (ss 37 and 332 U.S.C.C. and s. 5 of the Act of May 18, 1917)."

Weinberger's brief commented on the indictment: *"Nowhere is there any allegation of an actual violation of the Draft Act or of any principle who may have violated the act."*

This comment is very important as a foundation for the Counsel's argument that conscription was used for the purpose of suppressing free speech and the constitutional right of discussion generally, without the State being called upon to make specific accusation.

ASSIGNMENTS OF ERROR.

The official report of the original charge seems to have been an extensive volume, running into several hundred pages. The "Assignments of Error," or objections taken in law, are stated *in extenso* on pages 534-539 of the transcript of record. Their nature is indicated by the arguments put forward in the Brief of Error. These arguments may be summarised under the following four points:—

(1) No crime charged in the indictment. This argument is that although conscription has become law the citizen has a constitutional right to attack conscription and cannot be charged with causing people not to register as conscripts merely because he seeks to overthrow the act and makes clear his personal opposition.

(2) No evidence of the defendants' guilt under the indictment. This point defines the application of the first point. The Counsel argues that a person cannot be charged with inciting another to evade or to refuse obedience to the conscription act merely by making a general attack on the principle of conscription or even of the act introducing conscription. The charge must be specific and the prosecution must produce a person who is able to declare without committing perjury, that he would have registered as a conscript but for the accused person molesting him and inciting him not to register or to obey.

(3) Conscription is unconstitutional. The Counsel in this case based his reasoning on several amendments to the United States Constitution. As stated in the precise terms of the American amendments, this argument does not apply in Britain. But the constitutional law defined in those amendments to which appeal is made, does operate in Britain. Fundamentally, therefore, the appeal is to the same principle. The argument is that conscription implies involuntary servitude; and deprives the citizen of life, liberty and property, without due process of law. The Counsel also argues that in practice conscription prohibits the free exercise of religious belief, because it sets up peculiar concepts of conscience invading the right of the individual to decide.

(4) If conscription is unconstitutional, no citizen can be charged with a conspiracy to violate it. The activity, therefore, of the No-Conscription League, and of its speakers, was constitutional and expressive of their citizen rights.

THE EVIDENCE.

The evidence upon which Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman were convicted, and upon which the Counsel relied for his appeal on the ground of error, were stated concisely by him in support of his second point. They are abstracted and stated separately here by way of introduction because their actual recital does not affect the argument. If the reader has them before him he can follow the reasoning better.

Mother Earth and *The Blast* were published on two different floors at the New York address already mentioned. The work of the No-Conscription League was done mostly from the office of *The Blast*. The League was a voluntary association of which Goldman and Berkman were members. Berkman was editor of *The Blast* and Goldman edited *Mother Earth*. Berkman edited *Mother Earth* up to November, 1915, and subsequently published *The Blast* in San Francisco. In March, 1917, he transferred the paper to New York. The No-Conscription League was formed on May 9, 1917, before the Draft Law was passed, to protest against its passage. The League published a manifesto, which formed a Government exhibit in the trial. The protest meeting held on May 18, 1917, at the Harlem River Casino was arranged before the Draft Act became law. Both defendants spoke at this meeting, which started at 8 and ended at 10.30 p.m. No one at the meeting knew that the Draft Law was passed and the defendants had not seen a newspaper or announcement that the Draft Bill had become law until after the meeting was held. The meeting was called "the No-Conscription meeting," and the Government admitted that it was not a "no-registration meeting."

On May 23 1917, an informal meeting was held of the No-Conscription League. Emma Goldman was not present but sent a letter from Springfield, Mass., which the Prosecution exhibited. This letter was against advising people not to register and specifically added "but what I do with myself on behalf of my ideal is quite another matter from what I would suggest to you to do; I cannot and I will not take the responsibility for your lives, your liberty."

When the Government raided the defendants' offices on June 15, 1917, the detectives seized a typewritten copy of the original letter.

William H. Randolph, a patrolman of the New York City Police, who was also a shorthand reporter, attended the meeting at the Harlem River Casino. He took down and transcribed Emma Goldman's speech. He stated that she said: "We are going to support all the men who will refuse to register." He also testified that she said: "We believe in violence and we will use violence."

Helen Boardman, a psychological research worker for the Bureau of Educational Experiments, testified that her forefathers came to America in 1640 and that her views were American. She was present at the Harlem River Casino meeting and she heard Emma Goldman say that she would not advise people not to register, as she was not subject to registration herself, and she considered it a matter for each individual's conscience. Emma Goldman did not say she believed in violence and did not threaten to use it. Similar evidence was given by Anna Sloan; Minna Lederman, a graduate of Barnard College; and several other witnesses unconnected with the socialist or labour movement.

A large part of the trial was taken up with contentions as to the reference to violence at this meeting on May 18, and to supporting men who refused to register. The judge, in his charge to the jury, said the question of violence was not germane. He declared that the phrase "we believe in violence"

was no part of the Government's case; and that the meeting on May 18 was inadmissable, as the Draft Act had not been signed when the meeting was convened. He charged the jury that everything that was said at this meeting could not be considered as an overt act.

To an ordinary person this would mean that the whole case for the prosecution fell. But, whilst ruling that it was inadmissible, the Court treated its own ruling as casual and so actually left an impression with the jury that the very evidence it had ruled out was before it for consideration.

Charles Pickler, Counsellor-at-Law, a member of the Bar of the State of New York, and of the Federal Bar, an expert shorthand reporter for twenty-five years, officially reported and transcribed the speeches of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman at Hunts Point Palace at the request of the No-Conscription League. Whereas Mr. Pickler stated that Emma Goldman spoke 200 words a minute, John C. Dillon, a stenographer in the employ of the New York Police Department testified that she spoke 125 words a minute. The point of this difference was that if Pickler was right the evidence of the witness Randolph was perjured.

Lincoln Steffens, reporter, correspondent and magazine writer, testified that he reported the first speech Emma Goldman made in America and had heard her talk often. He had had several private discussions with her and had never heard her advocate violence. As a matter of fact she was opposed to violence, war and militarism.

Paul Munter, public stenographer and official stenographer for the Referee in Bankruptcy, and Court Stenographer for the Supreme Court, Westchester County, stated that he had reported Emma Goldman's lectures and speeches regularly since 1914. She spoke not less than 150 words a minute. Usually 200.

Mary Ealoner Fitzgerald spoke to the reading of the letter Emma Goldman sent from Springfield. The stand of the defendants and of the No-Conscription League was "not to tell people not to register."

Bolton Hall, lawyer and writer, said he had known Emma Goldman for more than twenty years and she had never urged violence.

The Court eliminated the meeting of May 18 from the case and charged the jury that before the act passed on that date any person could discuss in the fullest possible manner the provisions of pending legislation and use the most vehement language. The Court nevertheless refused the motion of the defence to dismiss the Government's case on the ground that there was no evidence before the Court at all.

The Prosecution did not dispute the defence reporters account of the Hunts Point Palace meeting and agreed that the people were not advised or urged not to register.

The evidence showed that the defendants were arrested on June 15, 1917. The defendant Berkman was suffering from a severe injury to his leg and experienced great pain whilst in jail awaiting trial. He was released from jail Monday night, June 25, at 5 p.m., and ordered to appear for trial on the Wednesday morning.

The jury returned their verdict at 6 p.m. Emma Goldman's request that sentence be deferred for a few days and that the bail of 25,000 dollars cash each be continued was denied. The judge said that the defendants, *who were in custody*, could make application for bail to the Circuit Court. As the defendants were in custody, and as the Court was in recess and it was necessary to find the judge to whom to make the application, such application was impossible.

The Court proceeded to pass sentence: two years' imprisonment and 10,000 dollar fine on each defendant. Defendant Goldman stated that they intended to appeal the case and the judge said they could have ninety days in which to sue out the Writ of Error. No facilities were given them, however, to consult Counsel, and at 7 p.m. they were taken to the Marshal's office to await trains for Atlanta and Jefferson prisons respectively.

In our next issue we shall publish the brief of the Counsel, Harry Weinberger, setting forth the case against conscription from the standpoint of the constitutional right of the citizen.

ONCE CALLED A HERO!

WAR VICTIMS—AND VETERANS

The case of soldier Thomas Parker, recorded in our last issue, is typical of the treatment of war veterans. Sir Ian Hamilton asked the B.B.C. to let him make a "Week's Good Cause" appeal on behalf of the South African Veterans' Association. He was refused.

Sir Ian Hamilton attended the conference of the British Legion in Scotland, held at Aberdeen, on Saturday, June 24, 1939. In his speech he said:—

"People forget war veterans very quickly. If we have another war it looks as if the British Legion itself will be overwhelmed. The poppies will all be sold on behalf of the new lot."

General Sir Ian Hamilton is the Grand President of the South African War Veterans' Association. He was unable to attend their annual conference at Salisbury, because of his Aberdeen engagement. But a message was read from him, explaining that the appeal to the B.B.C. was signed, among other officials, by at least a dozen famous generals. He declared that the appeal was made on behalf of

"some ten thousand old soldiers, many of whom, at the average age of 63, find themselves without employment, and two years to go before they can claim the Old Age Pension."

Soldier Thomas Parker was literally done to death by neglect in June, 1933. Sir Ian Hamilton's statement proves that the neglect of the war veterans is continuous through the years. One may go backwards and forwards and find instances galore of the neglect of, and contempt for, the ex-serviceman. Kipling made this neglect the theme of his poetry and so attained immortality. "Once Called A Hero" could be inscribed over many a neglected pauper's grave.

Lance-Corporal John Albert Cross, of Bow, served in the Sussex Regiment during the Great War of 1914-1918. Before enlistment, he was a car-man and enjoyed splendid health. On enlistment, the medical authorities certified his physical development as excellent. He was discharged from the army with shrapnel lodged in his thigh. He walked with a limp; had pains in his leg; and could not fully extend his knee. Under the pension scale partly exposed in our last issue, his disablement was assessed at 25 per cent. He was awarded a pension of 4/8 per week.

Cross was wounded in January, 1916, and remained in the hospital till March of that year. In July, 1916, he was taken back to hospital for treatment of the old wound. In August, 1916, he was discharged from the army on account of this same wound. He continued to suffer from this wound for five years but received no treatment for his sufferings. In 1921, an abscess formed in his leg, and he developed kidney and lung trouble. Christmas of that year saw him back in hospital for the removal of the shrapnel. He was found to be suffering from tuberculosis of the lungs. On March 30, 1922, Cross returned home very ill and died on April 3, 1922. His doctor certified:—

"I am quite satisfied that the tuberculosis originated from the gunshot wound of six years ago.

"I have had a large experience of similar cases in India, and have frequently found that a wound was the origin of tuberculosis disease even after some years of freedom from any symptoms. The wound was quite healed at the time of his death. The post-mortem examination revealed: (1) Signs of tubercle in the lungs, caseating masses and nodules, no cavities; (2) disease of the aortic valve, with much cardiac dilation and hypertrophy (weight of heart, 18 oz.); (3) old entry and exit wound scars on the inner aspect of the right thigh, obviously due to a gunshot wound; (4) liver and spleen much congested, kidneys also congested.

"In my opinion, the cause of death was pulmonary congestion following pulmonary tuberculosis and heart disease, originating in debility following the gunshot wound."

The doctor added:—

"I have had considerable experience, both among British and Indian troops, of similar cases. In India I was in charge of a large number of tubercular cases, every one of whom had been a perfectly healthy man before receiving a gunshot or shrapnel wound. I therefore had no hesitation in forming the opinion which I stated at the inquest."

The doctor proceeded to describe how, owing to wounds, it had been impossible for Cross to work, and how, owing to his small pension, he had suffered from continuous malnutrition.

Two years later another case came to light. The *News of the World* for October 26, 1924, published the following item:—

"V.C. DIES IN POVERTY.

"Guardsman Who Attacked Machine-Gun Post Single-Handed.

"Almost penniless, Thomas Whitham, V.C., who won the honour when a private in the 1st Coldstream Guards, has died of peritonitis at Oldham Royal Infirmary. Whitham won the Cross on July 31, 1917, the opening day of the Battle of Ypres. His battalion were storming positions on Pilckem Ridge, and were held up by enfilade fire from a machine-gun post. He attacked the gun crew single-handed, and his bravery enabled his comrades to advance. Deceased leaves a widow and six children. Prior to his admittance to the infirmary he had been out of work, and had to raise money on his medal."

Now for another aspect of the treatment meted out to war's victims. During 1917, Philip Snowden, not then expecting to be a Viscount, courageously and persistently exposed such practices at the Front as the shooting of the

"SHELL-SHOCKED KILMARNOCK BOY"

for "desertion in the face of the enemy." Thomas Johnston recorded the story in *Forward*, for November 17, 1917, as follows:—

"We have seen the letters in this case, the broken-hearted boy writing to his parents describing the pains in his head (from previous shell-shock) and how on his way to the trenches again, a shell burst close to him and destroyed what small nervous control he had left, and how he walked away, and how he was now awaiting court martial. 'Don't forget to send a parcel and I will let you know what I get in my court martial. . . . Your ever loving son, Stanley.'

"We have also seen the official intimation to the parents that the 'sentence' was duly executed on the 29th day of August."

Poor Stanley was persuaded to enlist by the recruiting appeals of Harry Lauder! When he enlisted he was a "hero," like John Albert Cross, and Thomas Whitman.

On behalf of the War Office, Mr. Macpherson declined *"to interfere with the discretion of the Army Command in such cases."* Let this fact be be told to every recruit, to every conscript.

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Send your opinion—and your donation—to the Editor personally **at his private address** to expedite attention—

GUY A. ALDRED, 5 Baliol St., Glasgow, C.3.

Concluded from page 23, column 2.

print what you will, as long as the authorities do not decide that it constitutes sedition? For these are the "traditional" democratic rights of which we are so jealous.

Surely even a cursory examination discloses that this Democracy is, alike with the Fascism which it is to oppose, merely a phrase of the same Capitalist system. Is it not obvious, therefore, that if there must be war, it should be a war, not to protect these pseudo-democratic rights, but a war to overthrow the system which is responsible for all war? It should not be an internecine war between the workers of different nations, but a war in which they stand shoulder to shoulder, and refuse to be any longer the victims of Capitalist exploitation.

That may be at present only an idealistic vision. But a strong, organised and determined opposition to war is not only a possibility but a certainty—if we can only make sure that all those who are opposed to militarism, from whatever viewpoint, are prepared to stand together. If, having made sure of that, we can bend our efforts towards making others realise the horror and folly of war, and the fact that it is within their power to stop another war if only they will say: "I will not fight."

It is on that determination that we must make our stand, refusing to be misled by any side-issue, secure in the knowledge that the case for Conscientious Objection is clear and irrefutable. And if cries of "cowardice" and "irresponsibility" are levelled against us, it is only because our detractors know that they have no real answer, because they know that it is the Conscientious Objectors, and not they, who have reason to be proud of their beliefs.

A Matter Of Conscience

(By ANNESLEY G. ALDRED)

In these days of almost breath-taking development in every field of science it is difficult to credit the mentality of those people who, throughout the ages, laughed at, abused, stoned and burnt the pioneers of thought and progress. We are horrified when we read that Bruno was burnt at the stake for stating what any school child now knows to be the truth. We are amazed when we read of the stoning of the first trains and the wrecking of the machines that presaged the coming of the machine age. And we marvel at the incredible folly of those who thought that by such actions they could dam the flood-tide of human progress. Thinking thus, we smugly pat ourselves on the back and think how much more intelligent, how much more tolerant, we are!

It is, indeed, an easy matter to lull ourselves into the feeling that the need for pioneers no longer exists; to feel that the spade-work has been done and that it is now only a matter of patience, whilst progress pursues its inevitable course, and then we will find ourselves living in an ideal state of society.

A beautiful dream, But unfortunately without pioneers there is no "inevitable" course of progress. Unfortunately the "incredible fools" of the middle ages not only have their counterparts in our midst, but are still in a majority.

And so, with the War drums beating again with an insistence that, one fears, will not be denied, it becomes ever more urgent for us to pioneer the cause of peace, once again, and to challenge, and finally overthrow, the system which, whilst it exists, will always result in wars.

A little over twenty years ago there was a War. A "war to end war." Countless millions of workers, of almost every race and creed, lost their lives to make the world "safe for democracy." And when it was all over, those who were left heaved a sigh of relief. The soldiers returned from the front and vowed "Never again." And because peace was temporarily necessary to the capitalists as well as to the workers, pacifism was allowed to become popular. It became fashionable to state one's pacifist beliefs. And at one "memorable" demonstration in the Albert Hall, London, the public were overwhelmed with an array of speeches on the subject of Disarmament, from the mouths of the Right Honourable James Ramsay MacDonald, the Right Honourable Stanley Baldwin, and the Right Honourable David Lloyd George. And we were all able to sleep soundly in our beds secure in the knowledge that three "Honourable" Prime Ministers of England had assured us that never again would we be dragged into an armaments race.

Then we woke up one morning and found a most shocking story on the front pages of the daily press. The Oxford Union had affirmed a decision not to fight for "King and Country." Immediately they were labelled "cowardly," "contemptible" and "irresponsible." An anonymous "hero" sent them a consignment of white feathers. And eventually the Minute containing the decision was torn out of the book and destroyed, as though that would alter the decision.

But the damage had been done. We realised that this solid peace front was not so solid. It was, in fact, a mirage. It was still fashionable to talk vaguely of peace, but it was taboo to state clearly, "I will not fight." The first step towards the next war had been taken.

Since then we have moved step by step, with increasing rapidity, into the shadow of that war, until now we stand right on the brink. Munition factories are working at full speed in a feverish race to produce ever more terrible weapons of destruction. War fever and hysteria have been worked to such a pitch that Conscription has been introduced into this country almost without opposition. Conscientious objection is no longer a theoretical question but an immediate practical issue, not only to those who are receiving their "Calling Up" papers, but to every man and woman of the three generations who will be called upon to actively participate in the war.

Three generations! The first: the tattered remnants of those who fought in the last war, who, most of all, should realise the full hideousness of the mockery which is represented by the Cenotaphs to the "glorious" dead. The second: to whom war is, so far, only a childish "nightmare," but none the less horrible for that. The third: to whom war is but a chapter of their history books, possibly even retaining some of the glamour of a "glorious adventure."

It is probably because of this last factor that it is the last generation who have been selected for the first onslaught of conscription. To some extent, therefore, it is a hopeful sign that even two per cent. of those called upon to register should have done so as Conscientious Objectors. But it does bring home in very definite terms the still urgent necessity for propaganda.

Killing, even in individual cases, can find no justification on religious grounds, and very little justification on ethical grounds. But whilst there is a good case for euthanasia; and whilst there can be some understanding, if not sympathy, for a murder committed, under extreme provocation, in the heat of the moment, the mass killing of one's fellow workers cannot possibly have any justification or excuse whatever. Whether one is a Christian or, like myself, Agnostic, there is no gainsaying that the biblical command stands clear and unchallengeable, "Thou shalt not kill." And no amount of rhetoric from the pulpits will ever convince me that the Capitalist struggle for world markets constitutes a justifiable exception.

And yet, in spite of this, we find that only one in fifty of the youth of this country are prepared to make a definite stand against war. Even in this "enlightened" age only one person in fifty is prepared to translate their realisation of the horror and futility of war into a definite opposition and resistance to militarism.

What, then, of the other forty-nine? Do they want war? Or, isn't it the truth that, hating and dreading the thought of war, they are yet permitting themselves to be hoodwinked into believing that war is inevitable and that only by participating in it can they hope to save themselves. The "cannon fodder" is being mobilised. Everything is the same as in 1914 except that the weapons are ten times more deadly; except that the slogans have been brought up to date.

Then you were asked to fight for "King and Country," and later it became a "War to end War." Well, in spite of the press-boosted popularity of the present King and Queen, the first slogan has been "de-bunked." Too many Monarchies have fallen in the last few years for any person, even of average intelligence, to fail to realise that Kings are merely paid State Officials. As for the other one, the time is not yet ripe to use it again. Hence the new war cry: "Fight for Democracy against Fascism."

What a wonderful slogan!—from the Capitalist viewpoint. A brand new "bogey man" created, which at one stroke stampedes those who were wavering, and even sidetracks some of those who were prepared to resist. That has already forced not only the very pale pink Parliamentary Labour Party, but even some of the more genuine sections of the Socialist movement, into the position of giving their support to the Conservative re-armament programme under threat of being accused, if they did not do so, of refusing to challenge Fascism.

In other words, the so-called leaders of the Socialist movement have allowed themselves to be deluded, one can only hope that it was unwittingly, by a slogan which could not bear a moment's analysis.

Wherein lies this Democracy which we are to defend? Is it in the right to choose between two or three political candidates, all of whom are equally pledged to uphold the present system? Is it in the right to freedom of speech, provided that the nearest policeman does not take exception to what you are saying? Or is it in the right to

(Concluded on page 22, col. 3)

MARCUS GRAHAM

On March 25, 1938, President Roosevelt declared that since 1789, the United States of America has served as an asylum for political refugees from all over the world, and that it is his intention that the country shall continue to be a haven for political dissenters. The President's boast justifies reference to the 19-year-old persecution of Marcus Graham and the four years' persecution of his paper, "Man."

GRAHAM'S ARRESTS.

April, 1919, Paterson, N.J. — Imprisoned in County Jail two weeks. Denied non-meat food, although it was known that Graham was a vegetarian on principle. Taken to Ellis Island and imprisoned a further two weeks. Again denied non-meat foods. Charged with possession of literature expounding the philosophy of anarchism. Ordered deported to Canada. Canada refused to accept him.

February 21, 1921.—Main Public Library, New York City.—Taken to the "Bourt Squad." For refusing to give his address, was given a 24-hour "third degree." This treatment shocked even the doctors at Ellis Island when viewing his body. Present Police Commissioner Valentine of New York participated in this 1921 arrest and also the "third degree" brutality. "Detained," which means jailed, at Ellis Island six months. Government unsuccessfully renewed attempt to execute 1919 deportation warrant. Commissioner Have of Ellis Island granted Graham's request for non-meat food

July, 1930, Yuma, Arizona. — Arrested by an immigration inspector for possessing two copies of his own book, "An Anthology of Revolutionary Poetry" — a volume representing 400 renowned poets of twenty countries and obtainable in leading American libraries. Graham had published this work in 1929. Incarcerated for two weeks in the jails of Yuma, Arizona, El Centro, San Pedro and Los Angeles, California. Denied non-meat food in all four jails.

October, 1937, Los Angeles, Calif.—Thrown into county jail and forced to sleep on a bare floor for eight days. Home raided, October 6, 1937, by Mr. Henderson, an immigration inspector, with three assistant inspectors, without a search warrant. Property and MSS. seized. In handcuffs, Graham was paraded forcibly through the streets. Charged with being editor of an Anarchist monthly, "Man," since its inception.

Jan. 14, 1938, Los Angeles, Calif. — Sentenced by "liberal" Federal Judge, Leon R. Yankurich, to six months' imprisonment for "contempt of court" for refusing to testify against himself in the Immigration Department's attempt to execute the 19-year-old deportation warrant. Imprisoned over a week. Released on a $1000 bond on the 1919 deportation charge, and on another $1000 bond, pending a decision of the Ninth Federal Circuit Court of Appeals upon Judge Yankurich's sentence.

October 28, 1938—Six months' sentence reversed by Appeal Court, upon sole ground of self-incrimination. Appeal Court upheld rulings of lower court on central issue of case—enforcement of 1919 admittedly invalid deportation warrant. Remanded case to lower court, to determine which questions were self-incriminating and to hold Graham in "contempt of court" if he still refused to answer questions not held to be self-incriminating.

June 26, 1939, Los Angeles, Calif.—Sentenced, a second time, to six months' imprisonment, for refusing to testify against himself in the Labour Department's attempt to deport him.

In his speech before Judge Leon R. Yankurich, before sentence, on January 14, 1938, Graham traced the history of his persecution and stated his reasons for refusing to testify against himself. One passage reads:—

> **"In Canada, during the last world war butchery, I spoke against Conscription and I am proud for having done so."**

Correspondence and funds should be addressed to MARCUS GRAHAM COMMITTEE, P.O. Box 971, Los Angeles, Calif, U.S.A.

Patriotic Communists

The war crisis of 1938 discovered in Herbert Morrison a patriot whose love for his country, so far as oratory could express it, was only equalled by the great war speeches of the late Horatio Bottomley. Not to be outdone by the Rt. Hon. leader of the London County Council the Communists also have gone in for love of country. When conscription was passed, in more than one place they paraded with the Union Jack, the French Tricolour, and the Hammer and Sickle. In Glasgow, on May Day, 1938, they bravely paraded their patriotism as part of the Labour Day celebrations. Said "Forward," in its issue for May 7, 1938:—

"PATRIOTIC COMMUNISTS.

"The Communists (said the programme) are intensely proud of their country: 'We glory in the
'Land of brown heath and shaggy wood;
Land of the mountain and the flood.'

"And to prove it they carried banners telling the workers about the glorious history of their country, not forgetting the Stone of Destiny, 'Historic crowning stone of Scotland's kings,' and including portraits of well-known members of the proletariat like Sir Walter Scott."

These facts draw attention to the article written by W. Gallacher in "The Worker" for May 23, 1925, when he denounced Herbert Morrison for betraying the class war and attacked Ramsay MacDonald for repudiating the Red Flag. To-day this article makes excellent reading. Gallacher opens in his usual vainglorious, tuft-hunting style, that reminds one of the late H. M. Hyndman. It is the style of the man who knows everybody, who is somebody for five minutes, and is nobody for very long. It is the style of the man who manages to continue in a movement for some years without principle and without adding any note of value to the work or ideals of that movement. Says Gallacher:—

"I had a debate the other night in a Local Labour Party with the well-known anti-Communist, Herbert Morrison. . . .

"'We,' said Herbert, 'are out to emancipate the Duke of Northumberland as well as to emancipate the worker.' Who Herbert was speaking for when he said 'we' is not at all clear, but I am positive he wasn't speaking for Wheatley, Maxton or Kirkwood. . . . That's exactly the sort of thing that Lloyd George used to specialise in.

"You will notice that **'we'** are not going to emancipate 'ourselves.' Oh, no; **'we'** don't need emancipation. But the aristocracy and the workers! Truly these are unfortunate creatures, and **'we'** must do something for them.

"Now, as **'we'** are not the aristocracy, and as 'we' are not the workers, the question arises—Who are **we**? Get the answer to that and you get the cause of the rotten leadership of the Labour Party."

Gallacher then declares that while Morrison wished to abolish the working class and the aristocracy, Sidney Webb and the middle-class Comrade Baker, M.P., wanted "to give everyone the opportunity of becoming what is meant by the phrase 'an English gentleman.'

Gallacher pretended that there was a great deal of difference between the approach of Morrison and that of Baker, and asked them to make up their minds. He then asked them to solve the irritating porblem: "Can a Scots worker become an English gentleman?"

From this point Gallacher proceeded to attack Ramsay MacDonald for his objection to the words and music of "The Red Flag." He said:—

"You could never expect 'an English gentleman' to sing them. Just try to fancy Sidney Webb, Philip Snowden, Lord Olivier and the Great One (meaning Ramsay Macdonald) rendering a quartette —'With heads uncovered swear we all to bear it onward till we fall; **come dungeons dark or gallows grim**'! You can see right away it isn't the thing. You would never ask them to do it.

"'COME PALACE BRIGHT WITH GILDED CHAIRS.'

"Our leaders are 'nice' men, and there are all kinds of 'nice' people coming in to take charge of our movement for us, so naturally we must get a 'nice' song with 'nice' music—and what is more to the point, **we must get a 'nice' emblem.** For just as the song 'The Red Flag' is proletarian and jarring on sentitive, highly-strung people, so also is the flag itself—**red, plain, glaring red**; nothing artistic about it. Nothing 'nice' about it. The Union Jack is a much more artistic effort than the flag of revolution. A new song and a new flag—that is all Macdonald asks for. . . .

"Already the I.L.P. has issued a hymn-book wherein 'The Red Flag' appears minus the following verse:—

'It suits to-day the weak and base
Whose minds are fixed on pelf and place
To cringe before the rich man's frown
And haul the sacred emblem down.'

Then we have the significant fact that at the Manchester May Day turnout the **Union Jack** flew high and free on the I.L.P. lorry, while the Red Flag hung limp around its pole. . . .

"First the Communists are attacked, then the Red Flag has got to go, following which it will be the turn of the Left-wing to receive attention."

Perhaps Gallacher would explain the difference between the patriotic love of Empire now expressed by the Communist Party, and its new-found love for the Union Jack, and the Imperialist attitude of Herbert Morrison, or the patriotism of certain members of the I.L.P.? Is not the truth that parliamentarism, whether it calls itself Socialist parliamentarism or Communist parliamentarism, must end in Imperialism and patriotism?

It would be worth Gallacher's while to look back through the columns of the "Workers' Weekly," the Communist Party organ that was published in 1925. In that journal for April 6 of that year, the late Arthur McManus contributed an article attacking "Official I.L.P. Hypocrisy and Bluff" in the matter of British Colonial policy. McManus was dealing with the agenda of the 1925 National Congress of the I.L.P. and the report of its N.A.C. McManus points out that the action of the Conservative Government in Egypt and the Sudan against which the I.L.P. then protested, were initiated and carried out by members of the I.L.P. in the First Labour Government. McManus then comments:—

"One can imagine the enslaved millions of Indian workers reading the I.L.P. resolution and remembering at the same time MacDonald's threatening speech on the assumption of Government last year. Mayhap they will be just a little bit amused . . . when they further reflect on the bombardment of the Arabs in Iraq to the tune of the I.L.P. pacifism of Mr. Leach."

It should be recalled that Mr. Leach was a conscientious objector in 1916, and defender of bombing in 1924, when in office.

McManus concludes:—

"The whole sum and substance of the matter is that the I.L.P. has long since ceased to be a working-class party. If it had the slightest pretence even of appearing as such, it would remember just exactly what this British Empire is. **It would reflect that it is nothing more or less than a gigantic colossal slave plantation; that the only thing which holds it together is not any bond of race or kinship, nor of tradition, but merely exploitation; that capitalism and the Empire are inseparable; that freedom for the enslaved millions and the retention of the British Empire are impossible; that the I.L.P. policy pursued by the Labour Government when in power, with reference to the colonies, was not a working-class policy, but was an imperialist policy; that the Lord Olivier document had for its main feature the emphasising of the fact that the policy of the Labour Government would in no way be a departure from that of Montagu, Olivier's predecessor.**"

This statement still stands. Its accuracy is a measure of the decline of the Communist Party when it pursues an Imperialist policy. Since the British Empire "is nothing more or less than a gigantic slave plantation," obviously the worker should not be asked to fight for it and there should be no talks of supporting a pact between that Empire and the Soviet Union, if the Soviet Union is supposed to represent working-class democracy. How can "a gigantic slave plantation" be a democracy?

STRICKLAND

Reference was made in last issue to the *Malton Messenger* articles dealing with the wanderings and ideals of the late Sir Walter Strickland. Further essays have been published on this subject by our contemporary in its issues for May 27, June 10, July 1, 8, and 22. We hope to bring these articles together at an early date. Meantime, readers could obtain the papers direct, 2d. each copy, and 1d. extra for postage, from: The Publisher, *Malton Messenger*, "Messenger Office," Malton, Yorks., England.

THE NO CONSCRIPTION LEAGUE.

GLASGOW AND WEST OF SCOTLAND COUNCIL HEADQUARTERS—

S.S.P. Rooms, 70 Robertson St., Glasgow, C.2.

Hon. Secy. — BERT VALLANCE.

This is a League of Individual Members and Affiliated Organisations to oppose Military and Industrial Conscription. Its members strive within the organisations to which they belong, and particularly within their political parties, for the creation of an individual and corporate opinion unfavourable to the continuation of Conscription by any Government.

Branches of Trade Unions, Co-operative, Religious, Ethical, and Political bodies can affiliate to
THE NO CONSCRIPTION LEAGUE
Affiliation Fee, 2/6.

LEFT WING "INTELLECTUALISM"

110 Forest Hill Road,
Toronto, Ont., Canada,
June 20, 1939.

Editor, THE WORD, Glasgow.

Dear Sir,—Don't send me any more copies of this filthy rag; it is an affront to the intelligence of an ordinary Left Book Club member.

The energy and finances necessary to produce this paper would find more valuable employment if used to back Cripps' "Tribune."

GRIFFITH P. TAYLOR.

WHICH WAY TO-MORROW?

By Noreen Blyth

120,000 words of facts. Full advertisement next month and early review. Price 5/-; postage 6d.
Chapman & Hall, Ltd., 11 Henrietta Street, London, W.C.2.

TRADE UNION SCANDAL

We have received a protest against victimisation by the Building Trades Federation of members of the National Union of Packing Case Makers, Sawyers, and Millworkers. This Union is affiliated to the T.U.C. and to the Glasgow Trades Council, yet its members are not allowed to work in the Glasgow area.

Full exposure next month. What have the Trades Council Delegates to say?

EX-SERVICEMEN

The Secretary of the organisation, James Taylor, was once entertained at Buckingham Palace as a war-disabled man, whilst his wife and children were being maintained by Poor Law Relief. More about this body later. Address: *League of Ex-Servicemen*, 1914-1918, The Gables, Lent Rise, Burnham, Bucks.

To New York Comrades: Please send press cuttings (correctly marked as to paper and date) of P. J. Dollan's visit to New York.

London U.S.M. (Secretary: W. Knightsbridge, 20 Westbourne Square, Paddington, London, W.2) —All London comrades willing to assist in circulating literature and organising meetings should make contact.

Held Over.—Articles by Walton Newbold, etc. Unfortunately, also, very full exposure of "War Time Patriotism."

Kirkwood (Printers) Ltd., 152 Clyde St., Glasgow, C.1.

THE WORD

To Rouse The People, To Combat War, and To Speed Commonweal.

An Organ of the United Socialist Movement, Edited and Published by Guy A. Aldred, for the Bakunin Press and the U.S.M., at **Bakunin Hall, 29 Castle Street, Glasgow. C.4.** All unsigned matter is from the pen of the Editor. Annual Subscription, 2/6, post free.

Vol. 1. No. 5. OCTOBER, 1939. Price : TWOPENCE

THE WAR, Johnston and McGovern

On August 26, 1939, it was announced that Thomas Johnston, M.P., had been appointed Regional Commissioner for the Scottish Civil Defence Region. That is to say, he became head of the Civil Defence of Scotland. Such an appointment, notwithstanding Johnston's place in the Labour Government, could not but shock those who recalled his "War-Points" in *Forward*, during the Great War of 1914-18. Apparently, John McGovern, M.P., was affected this way. He engaged in what Johnston terms as "some rather malevolent comments."

Repudiating McGovern's suggestion that he is "a war profiteer, in fact," Johnston adds that anyone who knows him and McGovern will be able to assess McGovern's allegations at their proper value. A few years ago, Dollan wrote in similar terms in reply to McGovern. This is the custom. Whether deserved or not, one fact emerges. When McGovern broke with Anti-Parliamentarism some years ago and rejoined the I.L.P. and Labour Party, the disparagement was not so noticeable. As regards the war, whatever his faults, McGovern's present attitude is more consistent with his past and with the principles of Socialism, than is the attitude of either the Lord Provost of Glasgow or Regional Defence Commissioner for Scotland.

Johnston wants it to be known that his attitude is dictated by no desire for gain. That is the best that can be said for it and the fact should be related. Here is Johnston's own statement culled from *Forward* for September 23, 1939 :—

"(1) When I accepted the task of Regional Commissioner for Civil Defence (I accepted it with considerable reluctance) I expressly stipulated that I would not take a penny of the salary attachable to the post;

"(2) Although my financial relationship with my insurance employers are a matter solely between them and myself, I think I ought to say that I have always insisted upon returning to them any balance of my Parliamentary salary, after expenses were paid. I have not, therefore, in fact taken any Parliamentary salary; and

"(3) I have written no press or magazine articles since the war emergency began. I have not got the time. Perhaps I should add, articles for "Forward" are written without fee or reward."

Let us deal with the third point. Quite apart from the question of time, Johnston is wise not to write articles at the present juncture. He would have to deal with profiteering on all fours with that which he lampooned and attacked in *Forward* during the Great War. That would not be pleasing to his new-found friends. Would it, Thomas?

Writing in *Forward* for January 1, 1916, Thomas Johnston attacked the *London Times* for its sneers at the poor. Here are some extracts from Johnston's comment :—

"The ex-workhouse paupers, says the London 'Times,' are enjoying good times outside during the war, and they know 'that when the good time is over the old comforts of pauperism are awaiting them.'

"The fish-blood who wrote **that** wrote it at Christmas.

"The latest news from Conscriptionist circles is that Capital is not to be Conscripted. So far, Capital has suffered no casualties. It is fatter, more prosperous, and more thriving than ever."

After giving details of the shipping racketeering, Johnston proceeds :—

"Even the 'Morning Post' says that the Moneybags of the Stock Exchange have not exhibited much patriotism.

"There have been, says the 'New Age,' casualties among the lives lent to the State; there have been no casualties among the sums of money lent to the State: on the contrary, they are to be returned unimpaired after the war **plus** interest.

"Single lives that hang back from the National Register are to be **compelled** to come in.

"Investments in America that the British Government wants control of urgently — in order to prevent the depression of the exchange against us —are not to be **compelled** to register. Oh, dear, no! They are to be bribed in for two years at an interest of ½ per cent. above the present dividends.

"The shipowner who is caught for 50 per cent. taxation on his excess profits can afford to laugh if his profits are 200 per cent. He is still 100 per cent. on the right side. And he hasn't been caught —not by a mile. The London 'Times' (Dec. 27th) exposes a trick being practiced, whereby British vessels are being chartered, not sold, to subjects of neutral countries. The subjects of neutral countries, of course, escape the excess war profits tax, and the charter is carefully arranged at a figure that nominally only yields the **owner** 6 per cent. profit."

"This is still British patriotic ownership."

Johnston proceeded to quote from *Tit-Bits* an encouraging text for Christmas for "our soldiers and sailors" sent by the Rev. A. Henderson, D.D., T.D., Crieff, Hon. Chaplain to the Territorial Force in Scotland. The text was from *Dan. xi.*, 32. *"The people that do know their God shall be strong and DO EXPLOITS."*

Dr. Henderson saw no blasphemy or obscenity in making God the father *our* author of carnage. Johnston commented :—

"High up among those specifically referred to in Dan., who do exploits (or, to be more explicit than the Scripture, exploitations), are 39 individuals who do a draw annually of £180,700.

"These individuals are Archbishops and Bishops, who organise and supervise the spiritual advisers of the people—said spiritual advisers laying special stress upon the Sermon on the Mount and such texts as 'Blessed be ye poor.'

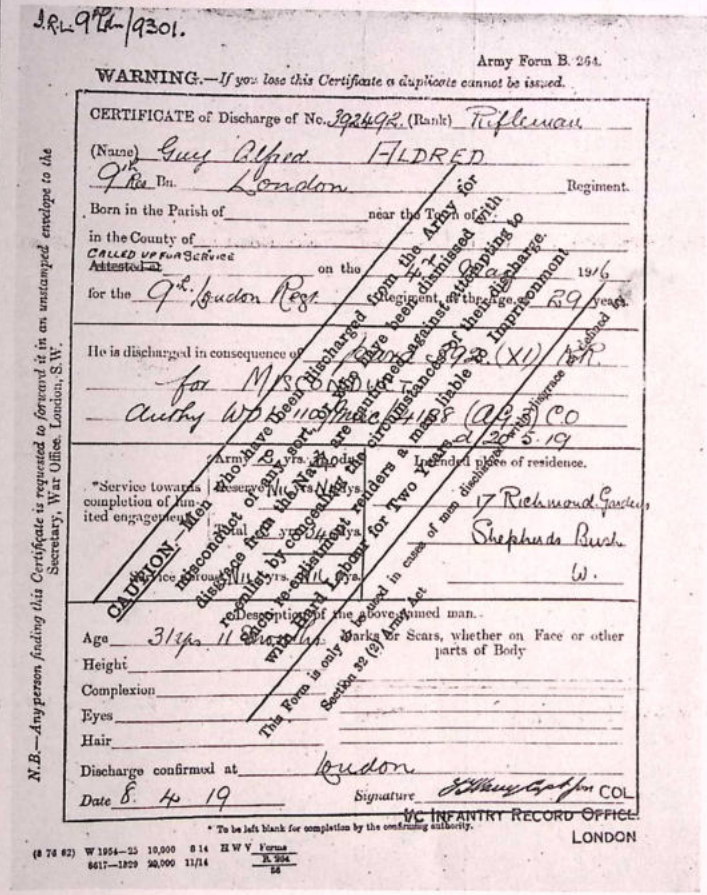
"The Archbishop of Canterbury draws £15,000, and he of York draws £10,000. The Bishop of London draws £10,000, the Bishop of Durham £7000, the Bishop of Winchester, £6500; the Bishops of Bath and Wells, Oxford and Salisbury, £5000 each; the Bishop of Ely, £5500; other five draw £4500: still other fourteen have £4000 or over; three have £3500; four have £3000; one has £2500; two have £2000 each; and one has £1500. The wives and daughters of these worthies do not excite angry comment when they purchase furs or jewellery.

"Eighteen leading bankers have published a statement that the one thing needed now is money. Very well. With a heavy heart we hereby announce our willingness to agree to the Conscription of wealth."

Johnston does not write in this strain to-day. The profiteering carries on to-day as it has done in all previous wars, and Johnston remains inarticulate. The ex-editor of *Forward* is too busy to protest. He cannot even recall the words spoken in the House of Commons, on May 8, 1854, by W. E. Gladstone :—

"The practice obtaining in all former wars has been . . . no less distinguished for the opportunities it afforded to contractors than for the opportunities it afforded to heroes. It afforded to heroes an opportunity for ensuring an immortality of renown, and it afforded to contractors an opportunity for erecting colossal fortunes."

For his silence, and his dignity, the capitalist press praised him as it praised Ramsay



J.R.L. 9th/9301.

Army Form B. 264.

WARNING.—*If you lose this Certificate a duplicate cannot be issued.*

CERTIFICATE of Discharge of No. 3924/92 (Rank) Rifleman

(Name) Guy Alfred ALDRED

9th Bn. London Regiment.

Born in the Parish of ____ near the Town of ____

in the County of ____

CALLED UP FOR SERVICE Attested ____ on the ____ 19/6

for the 9th London Regt. (Regiment or Battalion) and discharged from the Army for the reason stated below on the 8th day of April 1919

He is discharged in consequence of having been convicted by F.P.C. of misconduct by conspiring with others to commit a military offence, viz., disobedience to lawful command given by his superior officer, and sentenced to Imprisonment with hard labour for Two Years and dismissed with disgrace from the Army by the circumstances of the case. 92 B.(XI) W.O. for Mrs Sec. 40 Mar. 1918 (A.F.) Co Authy W.O. 110/Mar. 1918 (A.F.) Co

Army Reserve Class ____ Intended place of residence.

*Service towards completion of limited engagement: Regular Army ____ yrs. ____ days. Reserve ____ yrs. ____ days. Total ____ yrs. ____ days. Service abroad ____ yrs. ____ days.

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CAUTION—Men who have been discharged with ignominy or who are undergoing imprisonment awarded in pursuance of their sentences for misconduct of any sort, are liable to be recalled to the Army at any time during the War. Men discharged on account of misconduct by conspiring to commit military offences, or by reason of desertion, are liable to be apprehended and brought back to undergo the remainder of their sentences.

This Form is only issued in case of men discharged with Ignominy. Section 92 (2) Army Act

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Age 31 yrs. 11 months. Marks or Scars, whether on Face or other parts of Body

Height ____

Complexion ____

Eyes ____

Hair ____

Discharge confirmed at London

Date 8. 4. 19 Signature J. Whitney Gaffin COL

VC INFANTRY RECORD OFFICE LONDON

* To be left blank for completion by the confirming authority.

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'Rifleman' GUY A. ALDRED

The actual discharge certificate is nearly double this size. The "caution" is printed in red ink. The discharge means that the editor was a conscientious objector, and that after 4 Court-martials, he received an absolute discharge as an evidence of his resistance. In later issues, the story of the editor's trials and Court-martials will be told.

MacDonald in 1924, and even more in 1929. Wrote Johnston in *Forward*, for February 2, 1924, when Beaverbrook and Rothermere praised MacDonald:—

> "Praise from such sources is disquieting, but need not be taken too seriously. We live in hope that the new Labour Government will so conduct itself as to earn the abuse and not the flattery of the enemies of the people."

Johnston's practical conclusion was wrong. Parliamentarians always decide wrongly in moments of crisis. Careerism is not adapted to face issues of import. Like Ramsay MacDonald, whose aim and purpose he misunderstood so thoroughly and so miserably, Thomas Johnston has gained the whole world of respectability and comfort and lost his own soul. That is, if a parliamentarian can have or retain a soul. Which we doubt. Johnston is respectable and established. He has arrived, because he has forsaken. He has condemned the working-class to debacle and collapse, his own reputation unto utter worthlessness. He has betrayed the workers who gave him a parliamentary career.

This fact is made clear by no less an authority than Lord Provost Dollan, writing as "Myner Collier," in the *Labour Leader*, for December 26, 1918. Surveying the election in Scotland, Dollan wrote:—

> "Scotland, at any rate, is now divided into two political camps—Labour versus the Capitalist Coalition. . . . The 51 Labour candidates in Scotland fought for Socialist principles at home as well as abroad. At all their meetings they put a People's Peace in the forefront, and opposed, in the frankest manner, the Jingo policy of their opponents. They concentrated attention on the 'Huns' at home, pointing out that the peoples in Central Europe would be able to deal with their own 'Huns' if we rendered our own powerless for harm. . . . Where Cabinet Ministers could not get a hearing for militarist views, Pacifists like Maxton and Regan could gain the sympathetic ear of approving audiences.
>
> "The election campaign has discredited militarism entirely, and proved beyond a doubt that the workers in Scotland want no more war and desire to live in peace with the world. This was demonstrated by the support given to the Conscientious Objectors who stood as candidates, and one of the fine experiences of the campaign was the spectacle of a former admirer of Sir Edward Carson extolling a 'Conchie' at a meeting in an Ayrshire town, which had not yielded an objector during the whole war.
>
> "The reaction against war has come amazingly fast in a country which boasts of a military victory. . . . The election proved that the humble folk are done with Militarism in every form. Those of them who have voted Labour have voted consciously for a Peace based on disarmament as the only safe guarantee for the protection of the world. . . . Thus the Labour voters in Scotland have voted for a Peace based on the abolition of armed force as the arbiter of dispute between nations. This involves the immediate suppression of Conscription in this country as a surety that we are really anxious for an enduring Peace. . . . **The Labour Party may well be thankful to the I.L.P. for the heroic stand it has made, for, if that stand had not been taken during the war, there would not have been anything like 51 Labour candidates in Scotland.** Without presuming too much, one might claim that the I.L.P., in saving the Labour Party from extinction, has also saved Europe from reaction."

The Lord Provost of Glasgow should recall these words to-day. The working-class of Scotland are opposed still to the criminal folly of war. It is an indictment of parliamentarism, of Labour organised careerism, and of the careerists themselves, that a vote given for the cause mentioned by Dollan in his *Labour Leader* article should lead, inevitably and automatically, to conscription and war, the writer of that article being foremost in his pleas for National Service. What satire of reality!

Johnston's official position has prevented him from attacking profiteering, although the truth is that profiteering is just as bad in 1939 as it was in 1914. The *New Statesman* published a list of articles that have increased in wholesale price owing to the war. These include: Hosiery 24 per cent., furniture 20 to 25 per cent., furnishing fabrics 20 per cent., cane chairs and baskets 15 per cent., cheap electric fires 35 per cent., rubber boots 15 per cent., handkerchiefs 18 per cent., carpets 60 per cent., paint 15 per cent.

These wholesale increases are added to by the retailer and the result is that we once more witness what has been termed the disgusting race between prices and wages. The tendency is for prices to rise and wages to decline, so that the standard of living of the common people becomes not merely lower but aggravated by the setting. The profiteering mentality is the same in all wars. Only to-day Thomas Johnston is applauded by these people, whereas, in 1914, the desire was to suppress his writing. This fact will explain Thomas Johnston's absence from the Keir Hardie unveiling at Old Cumnock. Lord Provost Dollan and Arthur Woodburn, Scottish Secretary of the Labour Party, now turned militarist, were conspicuous also by their absence. In pre-war times, they would have aspired to have been the big noises at such a gathering. Time will show that pro-war, recruiting and semi-recruiting attitude is a criminal folly. The 1939 war is even more futile and more absurd than its 1914 predecessor, which gave us the Versailles Treaty, and a heritage of further slaughter for the generation of those who died murdering each other in the great war debacle.

Lord Provost Dollan, Regional Commissioner Thomas Johnston, unelected emergency-appointed M.P.-to-be Arthur Woodburn and Arthur Greenwood, speaking for the Parliamentary Labour Party, declare that the 1939 war is a war to end Hitlerism! The 1914 war was a war to end Kaiserism! Viscount Castlerosse caps the folly, and actually expresses the feeling that inspires the common people responding to recruiting appeals, when he writes in the *Sunday Express* for September 17 last:—

> "I wonder what the Kaiser is thinking. Can it be that he realises that, whereas the war of 1914 put him off the throne, the war of 1939 may well put him back there again? Indeed a Hohenzollern is the obvious alternative to a Hitler."

If this should happen, perhaps the Dollans, the Johnstons, the Woodburns, and the Greenwoods will tell us for what the dead of 1914 to 1918 died?

It would be interesting to learn how Johnston reconciles his present official war-position with the terms and tone of the letter he sent to the secretary of the Dundee Trades Council, on February 9, 1928, commenting on the local dispute which led to the severance between the local Labour Party and the local branch of the I.L.P. He stated that as the local I.L.P. had definitely disaffiliated from the Trades and Labour Council he would not accept nomination at the hands of some other organisation affiliated to the local Trades and Labour Party, because, in so doing, he would appear to renounce the I.L.P. "of which I have been an active member since I was little more than a boy; to the service of which I have given the best years of my life, and to whose membership I owe so much."

Johnston proceeded to state that he did not intend to be nominated as candidate for the representation of Dundee at the following election.

This letter was published in *Forward*. Various statements were published in the capitalist press that he had been offered a seat in Glasgow. He denied these rumours as sheer invention and gave the impression that he was a man adopting a self-sacrificing stand of principle because of the I.L.P. tradition to which he adhered. It is none the less the fact that his loyalty did not prevent his return to parliament at the following election. It is equally certain that the promises he gave when returned for Dundee were never redeemed. That is another story. His pose of self-denial saved him from an accounting.

During the passage through the House of Commons of the Military Training Act, and, later, of the National Service Act, where the Labour members sacrificed every worker on the altar of jingoism, John McGovern made excellent speeches in opposition to conscription and war. Some of these contributions to anti-militarist propaganda have been popularised by the *Forward* and the *New Leader*. Others are buried for the time being in the unreadable columns of Hansard. It is not to these speeches that we wish to refer in this reply to Johnston, but to a more piquant incident.

Arthur Greenwood sympathises deeply with Thomas Johnston for being attacked and misrepresented by John McGovern, because the Member for Shettleston treated even Greenwood to a sample of his malevolence.

In the House of Commons, on Saturday, September 2, 1939, Arthur Greenwood, on behalf of the Labour Party, which also means the official Trade Union movement, supported war. There was no suggestion of socialism or class struggle in his speech. This fact is important to note because, however little the Labour Party may succeed in expressing the realities of the class struggle, Labour members of Parliament and the well-paid secretaries and organisers of the Trade Union movement owe their social status and their comfortable positions to the fact that they have, on occasion, made a pretence of expressing the conflict of economic interests that divide the rich and the poor. Greenwood's speech showed no realisation of the fact that in Britain and in France there are two different peoples existing, not the British and the French, but the rich and the poor. Beaconsfield, who was a Conservative, described the rich and the poor as two different nations. Perhaps Greenwood might have gleaned more Socialist understanding from the great Conservative leader than he seems to have obtained from his Labour Marxist text books. The chief sentence in Greenwood's speech was:—

> "If we march I hope we shall march in complete unity, and march with France."

When one considers how the government of France is organised and the fact that women who represent at least half of the population have no economic nor political rights in that boasted land of democracy, it is easy to realise that Greenwood spoke without the least regard to democracy. This fact did not prevent his speech being received with approval by the Tory press as well as by the Tory members of Parliament. The *Sunday Mail* described his pandering and time-serving mass of platitudes as "a moving speech," and proceeded to state that "he was given an ovation almost without parallel in recent years. Members of all parties cheered him and shouted 'Speak for England'."

Greenwood made this plea for unity with France, "when," says the *Sunday Mail*, "there was a dramatic intervention by Mr. John McGovern." The *Mail* continues:—

> "Turning round and facing the crowded Socialist benches, Mr. McGovern shouted: 'You people don't intend to march, not a damn one of you.' "

The press praises Greenwood for remaining cool and implies that McGovern displayed bad taste. There are Labour careerists who distinctly complain that this intervention was in the worst possible taste. Perhaps it was. But if McGovern continues to show bad taste of this type for the duration of the war he will have rendered some service for the working class struggle, notwithstanding his parliamentarism.

We do not doubt the bad taste of this intervention. We do rejoice in its absolute truth and its prophetic vision. McGovern spoke in the House of Commons on September 2. Thirteen days later the war-mongering Labour Party, Trade Union Congress, more than half-capitalist owned *Daily Herald* published the following enlightening paragraph:—

> "The T.U.C. General Council is asking that the schedule (of reserved occupations) should be amended to reduce the age (of Trade Union officials) from 30 to 25 and also that the definition of 'Trade Union official' should be extended to cover executive, administrative, supervisory and organisational grades."

Here we have an official confession that John McGovern was right. At the outset of the last war the Czar made a patriotic declaration that Russia would fight to its last Moujik. He never intended it to fight to its last Czar. Now the Trade Union and Labour leaders are prepared to sacrifice the British working class to the last worker, to the last Trade Unionist, to the last rank-and-file member of the Labour Party. They have no intention that the Labour M.P. or Trade Union organiser shall earn the Victoria Cross or even a Distinguished Conduct Medal. They are satisfied to remain in safety at home, to legislate away the liberties of the people, and, at the end of the war, to retire from public life with titles, honours and pensions.

Are you supporting our Fighting Fund? Please do so. Our monthly deficit is very heavy. Every little helps to overcome the loss and to ease the burden.

BEFORE THE TRIBUNAL

Section 12 of the National Service (Armed Forces) Act, 1939, suspended the operation of the Military Training Act 1939, *until the end of the present emergency*. Which clause suggests that conscription will survive the war even though the greater part of the population does not. This means that the decisions of the Military Training Tribunals are as important as will be those of the tribunals to be set up under the National Service Act. No apology is needed for reviewing the decisions of these tribunals.

The first Tribunal under the Militia Act was that held at Birmingham, on Thursday, July 27, 1939. The next were the Cardiff and Bristol Tribunals. Cardiff was held on Wednesday and Thursday, August 9 and 10. Bristol lasted three days and concluded on August 11. The Inverness Tribunal was held on August 31. The last was held at Edinburgh and terminated abruptly on September 7, because the Training Act had been superseded by the National Service Act.

Birmingham, Inverness and Edinburgh Tribunals treated objectors civilly and courteously, but not fairly. These Tribunals ignored entirely the fact that the real conscientious objector is an absolutist and that part of his objection to conscription is to the denial, which conscription involves. He objects to war without hesitation and without apology. He objects to combatant duty because that means direct participation in murder. He objects to being registered in the Military Training Register, because that means not merely being registered for murder but being asked to take part in the destruction of life without knowing the why and the wherefore and without having any voice in the decision as to the necessity or otherwise of such action. As his attitude proceeds from conscience and is without apology, he objects to industrial conscription also. He denies that the individual is the slave, subject, or creature of the State. This claim to the right to liberty is an essential part of the anti-war or anti-militarist cause. The Acts imposing conscription rule that where a conscientious objector is genuine in his absolutism, and where his objection goes to the root of war and conscription themselves, he is entitled to total exemption. In such a case, the Statute directs *"that he shall, without condition, be finally registered in the register of conscientious objectors."*

The three Tribunals mentioned made no effort to understand the Act or apply it correctly. They never attempted to discharge their chief function, namely, to discover the nature of the individual objection. Their one concern was to find out if the applicant was performing work of national importance instead of deciding first if his claim entitled him to be registered conditionally or unconditionally as a C.O. The question of the applicant's occupation only arises if the decision is conditional. In this event, if the applicant's work is work of national importance, then he becomes conditionally exempt from the six months' training prescribed by the Act. The business of a Tribunal is twofold:

(1) It must make a finding in fact, as to the nature, extent, honesty of the objection.

(2) It must make a judicial order, without discretion or bias, appropriate to its finding in fact.

The Tribunal may make an error in its conclusion in fact, but it has no right to make an error in its legal finding, based on its conclusion in fact. A person is entitled to claim absolute exemption. If conditional exemption does not meet his claim, and the honesty of his claim is sustained he must be granted absolute exemption. If his claim is not honest it should be rejected, not compromised. A very simple truth, not understood by the lawyer-chairman and the learned and "socialist" members of the Birmingham Tribunals. The great idea of this Tribunal was that all persons not engaged in work of national importance must be sent into "concentration camps" for training—*i.e.*, for a kind of prison-like industrial conscription.

I.—THE BIRMINGHAM CASES.

The Birmingham Tribunal was composed of the chairman, a very respected and able lawyer and jurist, by repute, Judge Longson, County Court Judge for Derby; A. H. Gibberd, a Trade Union secretary, who claimed to speak with technical knowledge on work of National Importance; Councillor E. Purser, ex-alleged Socialist Mayor of Nottingham, a Labour Party representative who questioned the C.Os. more adversely than any other member of the Tribunal; Professor J. G. Smith, Vice-Principal of Birmingham University, who questioned rarely; and Mr. J. T. Lee, former Town Clerk of Derby, who showed no desire to question at all. This Tribunal dealt with 460 objectors.

The first case to be heard was that of William Ernest Lewis, a Christadelphian, living at Watford Road Hall Green, Birmingham. He declared that military service was not compatible with the teaching of Christ. He was placed on the register of C.Os., on condition that he remained on the work that he was doing—the manufacture of street lamps. A similar decision was given in the case of William Ebetts Judd, of Barrow's Lane, Yardley, an employee of Birmingham Gas Department, who objected on "ethical and Christian grounds." It is obvious that conditional exemption ought not to have been given in these cases. Both applicants were entitled to absolute exemption.

The conduct of this Tribunal in the case of another objector, named Shears, was even worse. Shears stated most emphatically that he was not prepared to undergo training for work of national importance. His appeal was never considered, and he was sentenced—that is what it means—to a training camp, which was precisely what he was objecting to, and for which he was seeking exemption. If the claim of Shears was not considered genuine he should have been placed right away on the Military Register. He stated that he had no intention of accepting this decision of the Tribunal. Which means that he would reach the army by two steps instead of one and have to make his stand for conscience under military orders just the same. When Shears objected to the decision, the chairman said, quite wrongly and quite illegally, that his objection was no concern of the Tribunal. Shears' objection ought to have been the Tribunal's chief concern if the chairman and his colleagues had intended to administer the Act.

The Birmingham Tribunal knew that it could grant absolute exemption. It exercised this power at the first day's hearing by granting *one* total exemption. In considering this case let us note that in four other cases, because the applicants refused to take part in any war work they were ordered to go to Ministry of Labour training camps. Two other applicants were persuaded to join the R.A.M.C. Five other objectors were put on the register of conscientious objectors because they were engaged in armament work and agreed to stay at their jobs. This is not conscience but industrial conscription imposed and accepted under fear of military conscription.

The one objector to be granted total exemption by this Tribunal was Norman Wart, 20 years old, of Elindale Crescent, North Field, Birmingham. He was led before the Tribunal by his father, a brisk, hollow-backed soldier. When the chairman began to read the applicant's statement the father stated that he had written it. Thereupon the chairman stated it was unnecessary to read any more. The part read by the chairman was as follows:—

> "I am the only son of a disabled ex-service man. I was born after his discharge from the Army, and my condition is due to his injuries. I have suffered hell for a lifetime. I am an innocent victim of the Great War. . . ."

At this stage the father said that he was deaf somewhat and that his son practically altogether deaf. Mr. Wart rapped loudly on the desk to draw his son's attention. He took him by the shoulder and held him over the desk to hear the judge. The Tribunal deliberated. Suddenly Mr. Wart drew three medals from his pocket and banged them on the table. The chairman looked up and said:—"The Tribunal's decision is that Mr. Wart shall be registered as a conscientious objector unconditionally." Neither father nor son heard the decision. The judge signalled to a member of the public to tell them. The father then stood up, smartly clicked his heels to attention, marched out of the room, leading his son, without saying a word.

What a record! One Unconditional Exemption for conscience, because the applicant was stone deaf! What a Tribunal!

II.—THE BRISTOL TRIBUNAL.

The South-Western Tribunal met in the Senate Room of the University, in Bristol. The chairman was Judge Wethered, of Bristol County Court; other members were Dr. Cyril Bailey, Mr. A. L. Hobhouse, Mr. C. P. Brown, and Alderman F. Sheppard. The area covered by this Tribunal was Gloucestershire, Somerset, Devon, Cornwall, Wiltshire, Dorset, Hampshire, and Oxford. Eighty-six applications were dealt with. Unconditional exemption was given in 26 cases. Eleven applicants were sent to the Non-Combatant Corps.

The chairman revealed the fact that the latter would be given training in:—

(a) Foot drill, without arms;
(b) Physical training;
(c) Passive air defence;
(d) Anti-gas;
(e) Decontamination of rearward areas;

irrespective of the Corps to which they are posted.

At the Birmingham and Cardiff Tribunals this fact was suppressed, but it was stated at Cardiff that conscientious objectors posted to the Non-Combatant Labour Corps would be required to perform, in addition to normal administrative duties, special labour duties such as:—

(a) Construction of recreation grounds;
(b) Improvement of camping sites;
(c) Drainage of training areas;
(d) Agricultural work, *i.e.*, the growing of crops for consumption by the troops;
(e) Filling-in of trenches.

One of the persons placed on the conscientious objectors' registers unconditionally at Bristol was Harold Oliver Phillipson, a Gloucestershire market gardener. Judge Wethered described his statement as most interesting.

Phillipson handed in a long written statement, in which he stated that he had been attracted by Oriental philosophy, based on the teachings of Buddha, for the last four years, though he had never lived in the East.

Phillipson objected to military service on religious, ethical and political grounds. He quoted Buddha's words, which were uttered 500 years before the time of Christ:—

> "He who wishes to attain to the joy of living in harmony with the universe shall deceive no one, entertain no hatred for anybody, and no wish to injure through anger.
>
> "He shall have measureless love for all creatures, even as a mother has for her only child—whom she protects with her own life.
>
> "Up above, below and around him he shall extend his love, which is without bounds and obstacles, and which is free from all cruelty and antagonism. While standing, sitting, walking, lying down, till he falls asleep, he shall keep his mind active in the exercise of universal goodwill."

Phillipson refused to undertake civil work in forestry because he would be doing something he was ordered to do by the State.

III.—THE CARDIFF TRIBUNAL.

The South Wales Tribunal met in Cardiff City Hall. The chairman was Judge Frank Davies of West Wales County Court; other members included Oliver Harris, Welsh Miners' Secretary. Twenty-five applications were dealt with. In only one case was complete exemption granted. Applicants were asked to take the oath before stating their case.

With the one exception, in which the applicant stated his case very firmly and very fearlessly, this Tribunal objected to all claims for absolute exemption. During the first day's hearing, it pressed objectors to join one of the four non-combatant corps. On the second day it urged them to join labour camps under civilian control. The chairman made one extraordinary statement. Frederick Price objected to doing any service in the labour corps because he had a conscientious objection to accepting any orders of the government in war time. "But you can't have a conscientious objection to work of this sort!" retorted the incredulous chairman.

Robert B. Cox, railway worker, Crumlin, stated that he was unwilling to nurse back to health a soldier, who would be returned to hell, in order that he might send ten more men to hell. *He was granted total exemption.* Obviously his attitude convinced even the Cardiff Tribunal.

Reginald H. Dart a 20-year-old Cardiff bricklayer, who adopted exactly as sound an attitude as Cox but was more defiant in his behaviour, was accused of impertinence, and ordered to be enrolled on the Military Register.

"I object to military training and also to going on the land for forestry work," said Dart. "Any timber I help to produce might be used to make huts for the Militia."

When asked by the Tribunal to give a further explanation of his objection, Dart said, "You brought me here. You ought to know."

Mr. Harris, "If an enemy came across here, would you defend yourself and family?"

Dart—"I have no enemies."

Mr. Harris—"Your attitude does not indicate that spirit. You are a law unto yourself."

Dart—"Yes, I am."

"You must not cross-examine us," complained the Chairman at one stage.

"But you are cross-examining me," replied Dart.

"We must enquire into the objections made by young men and we are entitled to ask why you are an objector," said the chairman. "We are doing a very unpleasant and difficult job."

"That is just a matter of you using your tongue and me not," replied the applicant.

"That is impudence of the worst description," was the chairman's comment.

Dart may have wanted courtesy and tact. Did it follow his attitude was just impudence? Might it not have been nervous unfamiliarity with the proceedings? Was there not some truth in his crude complaint that Tribunal required subservience from him? Ought not the Miners' Secretary to have helped him instead of putting pro-war, pro-capitalist questions? Did "impudence" justify the conclusion that he had no conscientious objection?

Dart was told he could appeal.

THE SONG OF THE GUNS.

I sing the song of the great clean guns
That belch forth death at will!
Ah, but the wailing mothers,
The lifeless forms and still!

I sing the song of the billowing flags,
The bugles that cry before!
Ah, but the skeleton's flapping rags,
The lips that speak no more!

I sing the clash of the bayonets and
Sabres that flash and cleave!
And wilt thou sing the maimed ones, too
That go with pinned-up sleeve?

I sing acclaimed generals that
Bring the victory home!
Ah, but the broken bodies
That drip like honeycomb!

I sing of hearts triumphant,
Long ranks of marching men!
And wilt thou sing the shadowy hosts
That never march again?

HARRY KEMP.

WHEN THE BOYS RETURN.

The Bishop tells us: "When the boys come back
They will not be the same; for they have fought
In a just cause; they led the last attack
On anti-Christ, their comrades' blood has bought
New right to breed an honoured race,
They challenged Death, and dared him face to face."

"We're none of us the same!" the boys reply.
"For George lost both his legs; and Bill's stone blind;
Poor Jim's shot through the lungs and like to die;
And Bert's gone syphilitic; you'll not find
A chap who's served that hasn't found *some* change."
And the Bishop said: "The ways of God are strange."

—SIEGFRIED SASSOON.

GREAT WAR C.O.'s MUST NOT FORGET

WHEN A. CREECH JONES, M.P., WAS COURT-MARTIALLED.

A. Creech Jones, M.P., has made an excellent stand in Parliament against militarism, war and emergency powers, although there are some occasions when he seems to have missed the opportunity of making his anti-war stand clear. Perhaps when we consult Hansard fully these failures will be explained.

In 1916, A. Creech Jones was Secretary, Camberwell Trades and Labour Council; Secretary, Dulwich I.L.P.; Member National Union of Clerks, and Member of the splendid Dulwich branch of the No-Conscription Fellowship.

Turned down by Tribunals, handed over by the Magistrate, Creech Jones duly faced District Court-Martial. Here is his statement made before a District Court-Martial August 31, 1916:—

"I plead 'Not Guilty' to wilful disobedience. I cannot obey any military order because I cannot recognise the authority of the military. I may be 'deemed to have enlisted' by Act of Parliament, but I do not consider myself a member of any military organisation. I have taken no oath, have refused to sign papers and have obeyed no military orders, and my refusal stated in the charge is but a continuation of the position the Camberwell Tribunal placed me in by failing to administer the Military Service Act and by refusing to grant that form of exemption provided in the Act for persons holding devotedly the views I hold.

"The Tribunals have admitted I am a genuine Conscientious Objector, and even refused to hear testimonials and evidence, on the grounds of their complete satisfaction with my sincerity and long consistency.

"I cannot obey military orders, on religious and moral grounds; I believe in human brotherhood and in the 'common humanity' and common interests of the peoples of all nations. I believe in the co-operation, and not competition to the death, between individuals and nations. I view war as merely a test of might, resulting from dynastic ambitions, commercial rivalries, financial intrigues, and imperialistic jealousies. It is a stupid, costly and obsolete method of attempting to settle the differences of diplomatists, in which the common people always pay with their blood, vitality and wealth. I believe there is a different and better way.

"For many years I have given the whole of my leisure in earnest work to uplift my fellows: to change the social system so that life may be made a more splendid and noble thing. I cannot, therefore, on moral grounds, form any part of any military organisation.

"Besides, these considerations are very deep religious objections. I believe God lives Himself through the whole human race. I believe in the inherent worth and sanctity of human personality, and that humanity is bound together in spiritual unity. I cannot, therefore, participate in any military organisation, every part of which is designed to make the machine of militarism efficient, and the method of which is the destruction of human life.

"Hate is engendered by the use of force. Love and goodwill alone will conquer the hearts of mankind. Humanity is my first allegiance. I claim liberty of conscience, and therefore cannot obey military orders. If humanity is to be delivered from the horrors and ghastliness of war, man must remain true to the ideal of fraternity and love and peace.

"I am before you because I remain faithful to my religious and moral convictions. If you deliver judgment against me, I claim to be dealt with by the civil authorities. I could do no more than I have done—to have obeyed, would be against the highest spiritual and moral welfare of this nation."

United Socialist Movement

BAKUNIN HALL
29 CASTLE STREET, GLASGOW, C.4
(Opposite Royal Infirmary)

Group meeting ..... Monday, 8 p.m.
New Members Welcomed.

For Speakers — see announcements in Hall windows and street advertisements.

Sunday Evening ..... 7 p.m.

Organisations in other cities are invited to arrange meetings. A united platform should be organised against conscription.

HOSEA BIGLOW, "CONCHIE"

Es fer war, I call it murder—
There you hev it plain and flat;
I don't want to go no furder
Than my Testyment fer that;
God hes said so plump and fairly—
It's es long es it is broad—
An' you've gut to git up airly
Ef you want to take in God.

'Taint your eppyletts an' feathers
Make the thing a grain more right;
'Taint afollerin' your bell-wethers
Will excuse you in His sight.
Ef you take a sword an' dror it,
An' go stick a feller thru
Guv'ment aint to answer for it,
God'll send the bill to you.

Wut's the use o' meetin'-going
Every Sabbath, wet or dry,
Ef it's right to go a-mowin'
Feller-men—like oats and rye?
I dunno, but wut it's pooty
Trainin' round in bobtail coats,
But it's curus Christian duty
This 'ere cuttin' folks's throats.

I'll return ye good for evil
Much es we frail mortils can;
But I wun't go help the Devil
Makin' man the cus o' man,
Call me coward, call me traitor,
Jest es suits your mean idees,
Here I stand a tyrant hater
An' the friend o' God an' Peace.

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.

THE NO CONSCRIPTION LEAGUE.

GLASGOW AND WEST OF SCOTLAND COUNCIL
HEADQUARTERS—
S.S.P. Rooms, 70 Robertson St., Glasgow, C.2.

Hon. Secretary—BERT VALLANCE.
Hon. Treasurer—W. McCLURE,
163 Kestrel Road, W.3.
Chairman—GUY A. ALDRED.

This is a League of Individual Members and Affiliated Organisations opposed to War and to Military and Industrial Conscription.

The League appeals to all to join its ranks for mutual aid and support, and the furtherance of the end of violence.

Finance is urgently required. Send donations to the Treasurer.

NO CONSCRIPTION LEAGUE
(Hampstead Branch)

3 Warwick Mansions,
Pond Street,
Hampstead, N.W.3.
21st Sept., 1939.

Dear Friend,—The following resolution was passed unanimously at a meeting of the above Branch, on September 19th

I have been instructed to draw your attention to the matter:

"This Branch of the No Conscription League protests against the excessive sentence passed on Mr Lawrence Hislam for his Anti-War Protest in Downing Street."

Yours sincerely,
(Mrs) M. WESTROPE, Hon. Secy.

ABERDEEN I.L.P.—Branch Rooms, 126 George St. Branch meets every Monday, 8 p.m. All unattached Socialists should join. Comrades in outlying districts should contact and send subscriptions. Sunday meetings, 8 p.m., Belmont Cinema. Questions and discussion at all meetings. Anti-war films shown. On October 22nd, Ethel Macdonald speaks on "War Lessons from Spain." Every Sunday a real effort is made to develop Socialist thought and agitation at the Belmont.

ABERDEEN N.C.L.—Meets regularly every Friday, I.L.P. Rooms. The Editor addressed this Group last month, and can speak to its splendid work.

WAR TIME PATRIOTISM

Feed the Enemy and Suppress Free Speech

I.—FEEDING THE ENEMY.

Events of the Great War of 1914-1918, defined the reactions of the patriots in war-time. Speaking in the House of Commons, on February 11, 1915, Mr. Denniss, M.P., denounced the entire indifference of shipowners to the "general public welfare" and quoted the case of certain shipowners who had written, threatening that, if the Government dared to interfere with ships:—

"They have been able to collar the railways, but they shan't collar our ships. We will boycott the United Kingdom and will carry goods for foreigners."

Mr. Denniss quoted from an American newspaper to show why the British shipowner wanted to carry for foreigners:—

"It is pointed out that freights from America to Europe have gone up 900 per cent. . . . No wonder the British shipowner is anxious to carry goods at such a price. They have only gone up 650 per cent. from the Argentine to England, so he prefers to carry at 900 per cent. increase for a foreigner to carrying at 650 per cent. increase for Great Britain. From New York to Liverpool the increase is 500 per cent.; from New York to Rotterdam the increase is 900 per cent.; and cotton from New York to Bremen, 1,100 per cent."

Patriotism and 650 per cent. increase were not good enough for the shipowners. But the sorrow and agony of sacrifice in the great desolation were good enough for the common people.

Mr. Denniss proceeded to quote from the *Morning Post* and *Shipping Gazette* the following declaration of the shipowners:—

"Why should we not take advantage of our present opportunities to make as much money as we can? War is but a temporary incident in the life of a nation."

The British, Foreign, and Colonial Corporation, Ltd., Investment Bankers, 57 Bishopsgate, London, E.C., issued a pamphlet eulogising the war in these very clear terms: *"The British shipowner is one of the few fortunate individuals to whom the war has proved an unmixed blessing."*

In another callous announcement, this firm explained this statement and showed how terribly true was its claim:—

"Reference must also be made to the depletion of the merchant service by the depradations of submarines. These losses are, of course, covered by the insurance; and while the owner is recouped for the loss of steamer, these are not at present being made good by the launching of new tonnage, OWING TO THE FACT THAT THE SHIPBUILDING YARDS ARE PRACTICALLY ALL MONOPOLISED BY THE ADMIRALTY FOR SPECIAL WORK. THUS, AS TIME GOES ON, STEAMERS WILL BE SCARCER, AND THE DEMAND FOR THEIR USE WILL CAUSE FREIGHTS TO GO CORRESPONDINGLY HIGHER."

Note *"the depletion of the merchant service,"* which meant death and sorrow.

The terrible struggle in the Dardanelles closed the Black Sea Market. In April, 1915, the same British, Foreign, and Colonial Corporation commented upon the possible success of British Arms and the re-opening of the market:—

"If freights have reached their present high level in spite of the fact that the Black Sea markets have been closed, it would seem that the opening of this fresh outlet for the shipowners' energies **must result in an all-round accession to rates of freight throughout the world."**

On May 6, 1915, this British, Foreign and Colonial Corporation issued another circular to its clients, stating: *The longer the war lasts, the longer is the present state of affairs in the shipping world likely to continue."*

For profits, the shipowners, who demanded the conscription of human beings to feed the guns, were prepared to *boycott the United Kingdom, and to carry goods for foreigners*; they welcomed the war as *"an unmixed blessing"*; and rejoiced in submarine warfare, with its toll of death.

Mr. Houston, M.P., in the House of Commons, on February 11, 1915, discussed the case of the "tramp" owners. He said:—

"I know one who fixed four of his steamers from the Argentine on open charter at 16s. per ton; the charterer of one of these boats has re-let that boat at 65s., and made £14,000 profit."

Some months later, on December 23, 1915, Mr. Goldstone, M.P., told the same House:—

"I want to quote one instance, given upon excellent authority, that one ship sailing from San Francisco was chartered for £80,000."

Here are some more quotations showing the reaction of the patriotic ship-owning fraternity to the war:—

"The opportunities now open to British shipping are obvious. There are no more cut rates by subsidised German vessels. German ships being swept off the sea, we have now no serious competitors in carrying trade of the world"—'Journal of Commerce' (Nov. 27, 1914).

"The net earnings in the (shipping) trade are estimated to have risen from 20 millions in 1913 to 250 millions in 1916. The profits are so great that a steamer is reported to pay for her entire cost in two voyages." — "Daily Mail," London (Feb. 5, 1916).

"The report of the White Star Line shows that the profit for last year, after providing a very large sum for excess profit tax and other contingencies, amounted to the enormous figure of £1,968,285. Dividends amounting to 65 per cent. have already been paid."—"Daily Chronicle," London (May 17, 1916).

"The Dulcia Steam Shipping Company, in a period of about ten-and-a-half months, made a profit of £50,449 on an issued capital of £50,000; and indications point to at least that rate of profit being fully maintained on the paid-up capital during the next financial year." — Statement issued by the Dulcia Shipping Co., Ltd. (May 26, 1916).

In the *Yorkshire Factory Times* for May 11, 1916, Mr. Myers pointed out that the Tempus Shipping Co., Cardiff, with only five boats, made £100,000 profits on their previous year's working, after setting aside £80,000 to meet excess profit tax, and placing £30,000 to reserve. The total profits for the previous year were *only* £15,488. To this firm, the war was a matter for rejoicing.

Mr. Myers, showed that, for the first three months in 1915, eight shipping companies made in profits, £1,201,795. *In the first three months of* 1916, *the same eight concerns made a profit of* £2,140,598—an increase of 77 per cent. on their previous year's tremendous trading.

Closely connected with the shipping industry are the coal, iron, and engineering industries. Everyone who has considered the treatment meted out to the miner since the war will appreciate the extent of the coal-owners' love of country and regard for the well-being of his fellow-citizens. The Board of Trade inquired into the increase of the cost of production at the mine, and concluded that, *on a high estimate, it had not risen more than one shilling per ton.* It declared that the rise in price *"is considerably above the increase in cost of production and distribution which can reasonably be put down to the war."*

The Gas and Electricity Departments of the Birmingham Corporation were paying, in 1916, at least £200,000 more per year for coal than they paid before the outbreak of the war. The same was true of every municipality in the kingdom. The navy was treated in the same way. Speaking in the House of Commons, on July 27, 1915, Sir Arthur Markham, M.P., said:—

"At a certain period this year, the Admiralty were paying for coal for Admiralty purposes from 10s. to 12s. a ton above prices prevailing in 1913-14."

And the Board of Trade *knew* that *the cost of production at the mine had risen less than* 1*s.* 0*d. per ton*!

We do not wish to distress the reader with lists of figures showing the shipping, coal, iron, and engineering profits of the opening years of the Great War. It is necessary, however, to take a glance at the profits of the tea concerns. The following eight comapnies nearly doubled their profits on the year:—

Company	Profits 1914	1915
Ceylon Proprietary Tea Co.	£12,720	£25,721
Imperial Ceylon Tea Co.	5,207	17,995
Standard Tea Co. of Ceylon	16,141	28,811
Scottish Ceylon Tea Co.	7,366	13,486
Dimbula Valley Ceylon Tea Co.	33,472	54,191
E. India Tea & Produce Co.	2,092	17,354
Eastern Produce & Estate Co.	71,724	122,760
Ceylon Tea Plantation	108,300	163,899
Total Profits	£256,022	£474,217

Naturally the profits soared higher in 1916.

In his book, *The Triumph of Nationalisation,* Sir Leo Chiozza Money explained these huge profits on tea, without specifically referring to them. He mentions the enormous exports of tea from the United Kingdom during 1914-16 to European countries, and adds:—

"This increase was due to the fact that Germany, being cut off from coffee, very naturally bought all the tea she could get from her neutral neighbours. Members of the British tea trade carried on a business with European neutrals which they knew to be abnormal. The trade knew well the populations of the little countries to whom it was sending the tea and how little those countries normally consumed. At last the traffic was stopped owing to the energetic action taken by the present writer. Hence the very different figures of 1917. Thus also it was with tobacco and other articles."

To this statement, Sir Leo appended the following footnote:—

"It was not until the latter part of 1916 that I carried my proposal to prevent the re-export of tea, tobacco, etc., from the United Kingdom."

On April 4, 1916, Sir Leo presented a memorandum to the War Trade Committee, entitled "Tobacco and the Enemy." This document opened with the following words:—

"I once more urge very strongly that it is of great importance to use every possible effort to restrict the enemy's supplies of tobacco. Several months have elapsed since I brought the matter seriously before the Committee, but nothing has been done, and in the interim an enormous further amount has gone to Germany and to Austria. Largely through the aid of our own commercial men and our own shipping, and under the protection of the British Navy, German soldiers in the field are being comforted by supplies of a commodity of peculiar value to the soldiers."

Two days later, Sir Leo presented another memorandum on "Tea, Coffee, and Tobacco," *because the Government was not alive to the situation, after seventeen months of war.* We quote:—

"As to tea, what was perfectly obvious is at last admitted — after two more weeks of war, costing millions a day. Tea is being supplied to the enemy for his military purposes by our tea merchants, and the trade is, in my opinion, deplorable in the circumstances."

In the end Sir Leo Chiozza Money's view was accepted. With what real reluctance the sequel proves.

Thomas Johnston, M.P., mentioned Sir Leo Money's charges in the House of Commons on February 12, 1925, when he questioned the Rt. Hon. Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister, K.B.E., M.P., then President of the Board of Trade, about *the conduct of certain British Capitalists during the war, in attempting to sell to countries adjacent to Germany, British reserve stocks of Food Stuffs.*

The President of the Board of Trade in the Tory Government took the extraordinary view that Sir Leo Money had described "**the trade as callous, wicked, and abnormal,**" but had stated nowhere that it "**was illegal.**"

Correspondence occurred between him and Sir Leo Money

Writing from the Board of Trade, under date February 19, 1925, Sir Philip Cunliffe Lister

defended this traffic with the enemy in the following terms:—

"The essential point is that traders were carrying on in the years 1914-16 a trade which was, for the most part at any rate, not contrary to the law and which was ended, not by prosecution, but by the imposition of a prohibition of export of the commodities concerned except under licence."

Sir Leo Money replied on February 28, 1925, very much to the point, as follows:—

"As I interpret your answers, you seem to make excuse for the merchants on the ground that their action in exporting to neutrals adjoining Germany was not strictly illegal in many cases, but merely amounted to driving a coach-and-four through inefficient war regulations."

In other words, even in 1925, a Tory and patriotic Cabinet minister, defended British merchants, using British ships, British ports, and the British navy, to make a profit **legally — and an excessive profit** — while feeding the enemy, and from feeding the enemy. At the same time, poor shell-shocked youths, who had been through mire and murder, were executed for desertion in face of the enemy by their own comrades, because their nerves had given out. Those who escaped this fate were returned to "Blighty" and starvation.

II.—STARVING THE HERO AND HIS FAMILY.

The starvation and neglect did not wait until the end of the war. In some cases it commenced at once, whilst the war was half-way through its course.

The "Herald"—then endeavouring to be some kind of a general Labour paper—in its issue for June 10, 1916, gave some typical examples of the treatment meted out to working-class "heroes" in war-time:—

"Here is the case of a sailor who was on active service during 1915-16. He was invalided to a naval hospital owing to a nervous breakdown, discharged on May 11, but as he was so ill he could not be sent home. Pay to his wife was, however, stopped from that day. Subsequently the woman was informed that her allowance could only now be 10s. a week on which to keep herself and her child. . . .

"A shoeing smith, who for many years was a foreman, and if now in health could easily earn £4 a week, was wounded in 1915, kept until 1916 teaching boys, then he was discharged. He had one leg shorter than the other, is still under the doctor; some days cannot work at all. He has been granted a pension of 10s. 9d. a week. He has a wife and seven children, the eldest of whom is 14 and the youngest three weeks' old. . . .

"A private in the A.S.C. has a wife and four children dependent, eldest 14, youngest 11 months; discharged as medically unfit in February of this year. Suffers from general debility following from concussion of the brain and a strained back caused from an accident in France, where he served for over nine months. He left the Army with a gratuity of £2 and 17s. 7d. to buy civilian clothes. He made repeated applications for a further grant, and on April 27 received a letter from Chelsea Hospital saying he had been granted a pension of 4s. 8d. a week for six months. The doctor says if he is ever to recover he must have special nourishment and constant care. Does anyone imagine that on 4s. 8d. a week this is possible? . . .

"In another case a man was discharged in August, 1915, with his left arm shot through, shattering the muscle. He was granted a pension of 5s. 3d. a week for six months, from February, 1916. He has a wife and four children dependent on him. He tries to get work, but is unable to do so because he cannot lift. The family is in a very pitiable state. . . .

"Another man served twelve years in the Army, five of which he spent in India. He has an exemplary character and the Indian medal; went through the South African War, got the South African Medal, 1889-90; had malarial fever when he served in India, and re-enlisted in Reserves in November, 1914. He was discharged in 1916, applied to Chelsea Hospital, and has received a pension of 4s. 8d. a week. He is now in the London Hospital very ill indeed, and has a wife and five children, the eldest of whom is 15 and the youngest five months. They are being supported by the Board of Guardians. On May 8 this man received a letter to say the pension would be increased to 7s. . . .

"A man in the Royal Marines joined in 1915; served in Gallipoli and Egypt; was invalided out in 1916 after suffering enteric fever; has a wife and five children (all under 14). He is just a nervous wreck. He has been granted a pension of 11s. 3d."

Trading with the enemy was good for the tea companies, the tobacco companies, the shipping companies, and, of course, the allied heavy industries. Since it prolonged the struggle, it was not so good for the men who risked their lives in the struggle; and whose agony, and the agony of whose families, required that the struggle end. The profiteers were prepared to prolong the struggle, whilst mouthing patriotic slogans, by enemy trading, and mercilessly exploiting the people at home. **In 1916, 2½d. of the price of the 4-lb. loaf was represented in freightage.**

The minutes of the War Emergency Workers' National Committee, June 3, 1915, included a report on the difficulties experienced by various Town Councils in renewing municipal coal contracts:—

"The various Committees of the Glasgow Corporation are buying for immediate needs only, as if they were to place their contracts for a year at present prices it would mean an increased charge of £400,000 as compared with last year's prices for the same quantity and qualities of coal.

"The gas department is now in the market for 750,000 tons, and if compelled to pay present prices the extra charge on this lot alone, according to the manager, would be £300,000. Because of the high prices of coal the cost of household gas is to be raised from 1s. 11d. to 2s. 6d. per 1,000 cubic feet.

"Last year the tram department bought 50,000 tons of coal at an average cost of 10s. 8¾d. per ton. Offers were recently invited for a six months' supply, and the quotations recommended for acceptance averaged 17s. 10½d. per ton, an increase of 67 per cent. compared with last year."

III.—SUPPRESSING COMMENT.

Desire to save the face of this profiteering under cover of patriotism led to the suppression of Free Speech in Glasgow Town Council. "Forward" told the story in its issue for January 1, 1916, in an interesting report of the proceedings of the Town Council, at its last meeting in December, 1915. Our contemporary's headings were:—

FREE SPEECH.

No Prussianism Here.

STIRRING PROTEST AT GLASGOW TOWN COUNCIL.

Eleven Labour Members Suspended.

The letterpress recalled that the sub-committee of the Town Council, that dealt with the letting of public halls, refused, by six votes to five, the use of St. Andrew's Hall for an Anti-Conscription meeting to be addressd, it was expected, by Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., and John Dillon, M.P.,

The report next reproduced the minutes of the Glasgow Finance Committee for November 30, 1915.

These minutes came before the Council and led to the suspension of 11 members. Councillor Taylor was denounced by the chairman for defying the authority of the House, because he insisted on protesting against the meeting being banned. The "Forward" report continues:—

"Bailie Maclure, seconded by Bailie Morton, proposed the suspension of Mr. Taylor.

"Mr. Dollan moved non-suspension, and this was seconded.

"The result of the vote was 54 for suspend and 24 for not suspend. Mr. Taylor left the meeting without comment. . . .

"The suspension of Bailie James Stewart was then moved and agreed to by 55 votes to 15.

"Councillor Dollan rose to protest, and on the Chairman asking him sharply if he was going to sit down, pretended to be deaf. So he, too, was voted outside."

Councillor Izett, who subsequently became a Moderate and was attacked bitterly by the Labour men, next rose to protest. The Town Clerk complained: "Oh, I say, this is getting stale." Which proved the elegance and diction of the Town Clerk. A Moderate shouted: "He wants to be suspended." Bailie Maclure moved suspension. Councillor Izett declared that this was not the way to carry on the business of the city. The suspension was carried despite this protest, and Izett refused to leave the chamber, when asked by the chairman, and when approached by two Council officers. Whilst Izett was protesting, Bailie Roderick Scott, who sat next to him, kept up a loud moaning noise. Izett thereupon slapped his face and the moaning stopped.

This scene took place, and commanded big reports in the local press, because the authorities wanted conscription forced upon the people without protest. The war-profiteers did not want discussed the treatment meted out to Private Tommy Atkins, and they did not want discussed their profits.

"THE CONQUEST OF VIOLENCE"

This book, although worthy of study at any time, should be read during this present war period by every sincere opponent of war and militarism. The young man of to-day, faced for the first time with a crisis that affects him primarily as an individual, and who has decided that he and the war machine have nothing in common, will find in this work by Bart de Ligt, not only encouragement and inspiration, but also the basis for the struggle in which he is about to be engaged through passive resistance.

Passive resistance has, too long, been regarded as a mere matter of "turning the other cheek." Now it must be recognised that passive resistance has two wings: the first, passive passive resistance; the second, active passive resistance. The battle against war requires understanding and active passive resistance. "The Conquest of Violence" not only supplies the understanding but also informs one how to employ effective resistance.

De Ligt traces the theory of violence from ancient to modern times and proves that the the result of war has been always to lower the economic and cultural level of the people. Particularly during the period of capitalism is the futility and wantonness of war exposed. With the scientific methods of murder, millions of people are maimed and killed all for the sake of adding a few more profits to the already over-flowing coffers of those who have.

The world to-day accepts the necessity of violence. The minority, as well as regarding it as entirely unnecessary, see in it the path by which civilisation is to be destroyed.

De Ligt does not propose to sigh about the horrors of war and then sit back and let militarism do its worst. In opposition to war he places active resistance and now that war is upon us we, who have survived Bart de Ligt, must bring that resistance into practical existence.

Many instances are given of the effectiveness of non-violent resistance. Although recognising the weakness and compromising nature of Gandhi, de Ligt cites him as one of the most outstanding personalities in the passive resistance movement. Despite the severe imprisonments and persecution meted out to the followers of Gandhi, their struggle went on and in many instances triumphed. A most telling example in the effectiveness of non-violent methods is shown where de Ligt states:—

. . . . the British Army of Occupation in India recruits chiefly from among the Sikhs. These people, whose religion goes so far as to forbid them to lay down their sabres, had a serious quarrel with the Government during the period 1922 to 1924 on the subject of the control of certain properties belonging to some temples. Unable to solve the matter by violence, they decided to try direct, non-violent action. Proud and immovable, the sword at their side, but their arms crossed, they put up with the most brutal behaviour on the part of the British police and army without offering the slightest physical resistance, until they had obtained what they wanted."

Passive resistance is not confined to questions of religion. In the struggle against war, passive resistance is the only weapon the workers possess, and passive resistance in the form of a complete general strike until war is ended and outcast is the one sure means of bringing war to an end immediately.

The violence of revolution is also criticised by de Ligt, whilst pointing out the fact that the people being trained in methods of violence always the surprise is not that violence is committed but that during revolutionary periods it is so slight in comparison to that engaged in during normal periods. But even here de Ligt insists that non-violent methods would be more effective.

Many persons seem to believe that if the violence of say, Hitler, were not met with counter violence, the hordes of Nazism would sweep into Britain and impose its doctrine upon the people. But here again it is proved to us conclusively that the passive resistance of an anti-dictator, liberty-

defending people would triumph. I leave to the reader of de Ligt's work the pleasure of reading and enjoying for himself de Ligt's arguments in this instance.

Perhaps de Ligt pays too much tribute to various individuals for their supposed anti-war attitude. Obviously he had a great admiration for Arthur Henderson who was presented with the Nobel Peace Prize. Perhaps he was not aware that Henderson was a member of the 1914 War Cabinet and was partly responsible for the death of James Connolly.

Again de Ligt was prepared to work to the extent possible within the League of Nations. The impossibility of this is now too well-demonstrated to require any further criticism.

The faults in the book are few and the weaknesses slight. It should be read and studied. For it is by non-violent methods that the people will conquer war. The conquest of violence is an ideal—an ideal that is being fought for to-day by those young men who have said "I will not fight."

At the end of the book a plan of campaign is presented for opposition to war. Besides individual refusal to participate in war, there are enumerated a hundred and one ways in which we can play our part in civil life by refusing to assist in mass murder at the behest of the ruling-class.

—ETHEL MACDONALD

"The Conquest of Violence." By Bart de Ligt. Published by Routledge. Circulated by the Peace Pledge Union at the reduced price of 3/6.

GLASGOW'S SENIOR MAGISTRATE

Glasgow's Senior Magistrate, Bailie Thomas A. Kerr, has not forgotten that he was a C.O. and imprisoned during the last war. He has taken his stand against the official party, and expects political victimisation in due course. He joined the Glasgow N.C.L. as soon as it was formed, to prove his allegiance to the cause of the young men who are standing, in 1939, for the principles that he upheld in 1916. He has spoken vigorously against war in Glasgow, and demands a Socialist, united, anti-war platform and policy. He is opposing, with all his energy, Arthur Woodburn, the official Labour candidate in Clackmannan, because he feels that democracy must end the Labour-Tory truce, and assert the right of the people to voice their opposition to slaughter.

War has closed the ballot-box when it is most meet and right that the ballot-box should be open. War asserts the people's obligation to slay and to die. It denies their right to think. Tom Kerr wants this to end. He is a parliamentarian who believes in parliamentary rights in war-time, when the official parliamentarians have decided to sacrifice democracy.

In the past, Lord Provost Dollan has complained that the anti-parliamentarian criticism of parliamentary and municipal Socialism is doctrinaire futility. Anti-parliamentarism means direct-action and certainly is not futile. To-day, the Lord Provost has a splendid opportunity of proving that he can use his position to uphold the cause he once maintained in opposition to previous Lord Provosts. He dare not use his opportunity. He is cowed by office and capitalist responsibility.

Not so Tom Kerr. The Senior Magistrate is making his voice heard uncompromisingly against war, and is using his position as a point of vantage against the forces of destruction and reaction. He is setting the Lord Provost a splendid example.

The Labour Party may disown and attempt to discipline its senior magistrate. The workers will be driven to respect and endorse his stand finally. It is to his honour that in 1939 he recalls the stand he made in 1916, and decides that, so far as he is concerned, there can be no surrender to war and militarism.

BLACK OUT, 1939

The war of 1939 has conscripted the mind of the common people. Responsibility for this rests more with the Labour Party and the Communist Party than even with the National Government. Attlee, Greenwood, Pollitt and Gallacher have even more to answer for in this respect than Chamberlain and his colleagues of the National Government. The purpose of the war is to destroy fascism, more popularly termed Hitlerism. In reality it has developed an anti-democratic inertia, fatal to all progress and to all possibility of an early and rational cessation of hostilities. The man who opposes war is shunned like a criminal isolationist Because he will not take his brother's life he is deemed to be a modern Cain, a monster of evil, standing apart from his fellows, and cynically enquiring: "Am I my brother's keeper?" His conventional despisers do not understand, in their Christian charity, that it is precisely because he feels he is his brother's keeper and declines, therefore, to take his brother's life, he refuses to participate in murder. For this sin of the great refusal he is banished from the company of his fellows and becomes the outcast of a grotesque, blacked out, fear-ridden civilisation. His fellow-citizens feel that they have been forced into the mire and muck of murder. They object to this strange being who speaks their tongue but refuses to become part of the brutal spectacle. Chairmen of Tribunals suggest that if he is recognised at all he ought to do some penance for his attitude, make some apology to his fellow-man in the sight of heaven. Yet the man who opposes war does so because he is most sensitive where his fellows are most calloused.

It is true that, at the time of writing, the war merely dribbles on. This easy development of homicide cannot continue for long. It must either be arrested or it will turn into a world massacre. Commonsense must either isolate promptly the present conflagration or it will embrace every continent and rage in every ocean. If there should be some who survive the memory of the disaster it will haunt them to their dying day. It is useless to expect diplomacy to arrest the war it did not prevent. Diplomats prepare and speed war. Only the common people can end war.

The United States armament manufacturers supplied war planes to Germany and then armed America for defence against Germany. They discovered that Britain was America's geographical shield against Germany, and so proposed to supply planes to Britain as a matter of principle, policy and strategy. All this was done in the name and to the interests of America's plutocrat democracy.

When war was declared, the British Government substituted almost decree for law, and all the nations blacked out their normal life. In London, Edinburgh and Glasgow we were afraid of the Nazi bombs. But Berlin and Vienna were blacked out also. They were afraid of Britain's democratic bombs. The black out was common and mutual. It expressed nothing more and nothing less than the panic and menace of war, equally wrong on both sides. The declaration of war destroyed chivalry. Respect for human rights, for the individual soul of man, for democracy, for freedom, for speech and thought; for law and civilisation and honour all was blacked out. The war of 1939 gave us the great symbolic black out in Europe. There could be no better symbol or description of war than this—the black out. In our cities by night, in our streets, our stairways, and our transport we bear the mark of war. Our lives become strained and uncertain. Darkness develops our nerves and makes us afraid. It enters into our lives. We cannot think and we are not allowed to think. In this war there are to be no great war correspondents. From military necessity, that good old official expedient for suppressing popular knowledge, we are not to learn at first hand description the facts of the struggle but are to be spoon-fed on what official bureaucracy pleases to tell us. Our lives are good enough to be blacked out. Our minds are too poor to function. Our consciences must not operate. In the twentieth century of the Christian era we have become, body and soul, the property of the State. To believe that our decisions belong to us, that we possess an individual responsibility of manhood and womanhood, that our destiny is with our nature or has some link between the invisible soul of man and its invisible god, is counted treason and sedition by the Church of Christ and by the State that prosecuted Richard Carlile a century ago for refusing to believe that the law of England was based on Christianity.

Versailles made Hitler; and the statesmen who dictated Versailles as a satiric comment on the sacrifices of the dead of 1914-18, are still active demanding the sacrifice of the second generation. The twenty years' armistice was ended when the Soviet Union cynically double-crossed the British Government and signed the peace pact with Germany. We do not say that the Soviet Union has a common interest with Germany. We do allege that it wanted its own particular slice of Poland. British diplomacy has some blame for the massacre and disaster in Poland. War could have been averted even without socialism. Thousands of Polish dead would have been enjoying life. Instead they have gone to their graves—for what? Even under capitalism a second peace conference should have been called and the miseries and shoddy wrongs of Versailles undone.

The war opened by giving extraordinary emergency powers to the government. As we write the National Register is with us. We are to be tabulated once more under an internal passport system. We are to carry identity cards and be challenged by the police at the street corner. All this is the wake of the black out with is innumerable paid A.R.P. workers. In many instances these persons have been moved not by patriotism, not by belief in war, but by funk and the meanest of mercenary motives. Under capitalism so many people go to church and so few possess a soul. The extraordinary powers taken unto itself by the government will not be returned to the people in the days to come without a struggle. Democracy has lost the war for the time being, whatever government may win the war. It is as though the gods really do make mad those whom they would destroy. The common people played at socialism with their parliamentary democracy. Their leaders betrayed socialism and to-day socialism, like Christianity and others idealisms, is but a name without meaning, a shadow of things hoped for without body or substance. Revolution has not come from the people. By some strange trick of fate it would seem that those in authority are determined to force war and violence and tyranny upon the people in order that changes that might otherwise have come peacefully shall be forced upon them, not from the left but from the right, not by the peaceful method propaganda but through the violent turmoil of war and bureaucratic invasion.

The sin of governments, the march of homicide, hide themselves behind a convenient disguise: the magic official description, emergency. To those in all lands responsible for this emergency which impresses us not by its grandeur but by its sorrow, we have one declaration to make: the future of working class youth is on the top of the soil—not beneath.

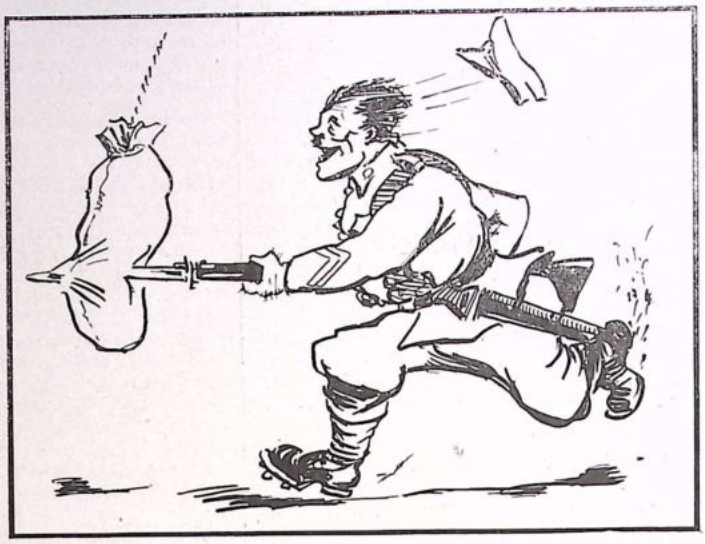
EMERGENCY HOLD-OVER

Owing to the war situation and the immediate struggle of the conscientious objector and war-resister, it has been necessary to hold over some of the matter that we had planned for this issuue. We particularly regret holding over the case of the National Union of Packing-Case Makers, Sawyers, and Millworkers. The victimisation of the members of this Union by the Building Trades Federation is a scandal of the Trade Union movement. We delayed dealing with it only that we might make our exposure complete. We have been compelled also to reserve the Dollan article and the Hyde Park matter. These will all be dealt with in early numbers of the paper.

ANDREW WOODBURN went to jail during the last war as a conscientious objector. To-day he is a war-coalition candidate. Dr. Alfred Salter, M.P., and Cecil Wilson, M.P., who have never opposed an official Labour candidate before, feel compelled to take their stand against him. Labour must oppose war.

THE SPIRIT OF THE BAYONET

In our May issue, we re-printed a Military address on "The Spirit of the Bayonet." This cartoon illustrates the point. In the 20th century this is what raw recruits in *all* countries learn to do —imagining the potato sack to be a human being.



POLLITT ON WAR

In 1934, the Communist Party of Great Britain published a twenty-four paged pamphlet, entitled, *Labour and War.* The author was Harry Pollitt, whose pro-war utterances are a feature of the present crisis. Pollitt was perturbed in 1934 about the statement on "War and Peace," issued by the Joint Council of the Labour Party and the Trades Union Congress. *He complained that it was a tremendous change-over from Labour's traditional anti-war attitude.*

Pollitt quoted extensively from Labour Party resolutions and speeches made at Labour Party Conferences by prominent M.P.s and leaders of the T.U.C. He warned his readers to examine the catchwords that are used in war propaganda. He wrote, *in contrast with what he says to-day*:—

"There are no such things as defensive or aggressive wars under capitalism. Wars are caused by the rivalries of the various capitalist Powers struggling for the domination of the world market, fighting for new empires, new places where they can invest at greater rates of profit their capital, fighting for places where they can obtain cheaper raw materials and cheaper labour supplies.

"Wars are not caused to protect 'bleeding little Belgium from Germany'; wars are not caused in order 'to end wars'; these are the deceitful stock-in-trade propaganda cries that are always brought out when war is declared.

"We saw them in full operation in the last war of 1914-1918. And we saw the Labour leaders use these shameful lies more than the capitalists, in order to persuade workers to go out and murder other workers with whom they had no quarrel."

Pollitt stressed very ably the fact that workers are never told the true causes of war. He added:—

"Oh, no. Every engine of propaganda is turned full steam ahead pumping out lies, atrocity stories about the other side 'being the aggressor'; Press, Church, wireless, Labour leaders, all are brought in to play their part in mobilising the masses by means of lying war propaganda to give up their lives, in order to secure new markets and new sources of profits for the ruling class of this country. This goes for every capitalist country. It's always 'the other country' that is the aggressor. Never Britain. Never America. Never Germany, as the case may be. Always the other country, and 'we are always on the side of the weak,' we are always 'on the side of those who are too helpless to defend themselves.' Pure bunk."

Pollitt made it clear that he was stating the official Communist Party policy in relation to the concrete war situation. He wrote:—

"There is now no longer the fear of a war situation developing. . . . The war is at our very doors. Every hour, every day it is being prepared. All pretence is flung on one side. . . .

"These are the facts which are plain for all to see It is no longer a situation in which war is a matter of years ahead, but a situation in which it can take place at any moment. War is being discussed in every street, factory, tram, bus, tube. The masses feel the deadly menace and the imminence of war.

"It is in this situation that the leaders of the Trades Union Congress and Labour Party overthrow every declaration of policy of struggle against war which has been made since 1918. A campaign prior to the Trade Union Congress and the Labour Party Conference against this policy must be carried into every factory, trade union branch and every local Labour Party.

". . . The fight against war is a hard fight. It becomes a thousand times harder when war actually breaks out, but we can fight against war, and we can be successful in that fight, when once the clear line of anti-war struggle is carried out by every section of the working-class movement. The complete repudiation of the Joint Council's statement will be a big step in that direction."

Pollitt defines the Communist attitude towards all war and all wars thus:—

"Our position in regard to defensive and aggressive wars as workers in a capitalist country is clear. We fight against all wars, try to retard and prevent them, and if we fail to, try to turn the imperialist war into a war upon the capitalist class by the utilisation of every method which lies in the power of the working-class movement. And this applies whether there is a Tory, Liberal, National or Labour Government in power."

The T.U.C. and the Labour Party have sustained the position to which they renaged in 1934. The Communist Party has joined them—and outdistanced them. Which must be rather disturbing for the true Lenin-Stalinist disciples and apologists. Still, when father turns, all Communists must turn.

"You are old, Father Stalin," the Communists said,
"And your flag has begun to turn white:
How, in welding this most contradictory line,
Are you still so infallibly right?"
"'Tis simple, my son," said the bureaucrat lord,
"To negate my negations each night,
By my own dialectic I stand on my head—
A truly magnificent sight."

"But what would you have us Communists do?"
Leader Pollitt asked in dismay,
"'Gainst Germany shall we see the fight through,
And drive Hitler's Fascists away?"
"When I see Hitler's camp fires, in Germany burn,"
Joseph Stalin replied in disdain,
"I think, for myself, yet another new turn
And move to a far higher gain."

GEORGE ARTHUR DUNN

George Arthur Dunn, 74-year-old founder of the firm of Dunn & Co., the hatters, and father of six war-time conscientious objectors, died at his home, The Aubreys, Redbourn, Herts., on August 14, 1939. Food reformer and vegetarian, George Dunn retired from the business many years ago and transferred all financial interest to his managers.

He made a fortune out of the 3/9 hat, but none of his sons would go into the business because they objected to the killing of animals—and rabbit skins were used for hat making. Five of the six were granted exemption from active service in 1917. The sixth, Gilbert, was refused exemption. All said they objected even to killing an insect.

GLASGOW N.C.L.—Public Meeting—ST. ANDREW'S (GRAND) HALL, Sunday, October 15th, 7 p.m. Doors open at 6 p.m. Speakers:—ANDREW STEWART; T. A. KERR; JOHN McGOVERN, M.P.; Chair, GUY A. ALDRED. Silver Collection. Questions.

OUR LETTER-BOX.

Dear Comrade, — Congratulations on your strong anti-war stand. Have just been in Holland among Pacifists and Esparantists. There are stout comrades there. We are not alone.
Cardiff, August 28. E. C. HAIGH.

Dear Sir,—During May I received a copy of THE WORD. Although I thought it a splendid paper, I decided I could not support it as a Christian pacifist because the article on Spain sounded revolutionary and violent. However, whilst waiting for a bus in Glasgow a few weeks ago I noticed the war pictures in Bakunin Hall and noticed that THE WORD was being sold there. So I bought the paper. Was it just coincidence, or was I intended to support the paper?

I cannot agree with your suggestion in the May issue that the alternative to war is boycott. Although the economic blockade does not immediately murder people it starves them, and I am afraid that that is as bad. As a Christian I cannot agree to violence against the people. (Mrs.) FLORA COLLAR.
Boston, Lincs., August 21.

Dear Guy,—Thanks for THE WORD. I had two splendid meetings last Sunday. At the start the crowd was very rowdy and inclined to be pro-war. The meeting ended very enthusiastically. If the war comes this week-end, my usual meeting place on the front will be closed down. I suppose that all meetings in opposition to the policy of the Government and the pro-war Labour Party will be suppressed under the E.P.A. I have a strong feeling, however, that our propaganda has not been all in vain. There is a stronger, if more sullen working-class, opposition to war this time than there was during the last war in this town. I suppose that this is representative of the feeling all over the country. Nevertheless our movement is in a terrible state. There are only 20 C.O.'s in Southend, and they are all religious. Although the chairman and secretary are anarchists. When the older men are called up they will take their stand for socialism and conscience. Events have shown Bolshevism up in its true light as the real counter-revolution and, as the war develops, the exposure will become greater. I would rather deal with fascists than with the communists. Of the two, the fascists are the more reasonable and the more honest.

Your articles in THE WORD are just the right kind of stuff for the younger generation, and recall your activity in THE SPUR during the last war. You have published history the workers will not find elsewhere. As this struggle develops, if you are not driven completely underground, you will be reaching new readers. Why not publish accounts of your own trials, or bring your old autobiographical pamphlet up to date? It is necessary to do this work now. More power to your elbow.
Southend, August 29. MATT KAVANAGH.

Dear Comrade,—As a revolutionary poet and critic, of whose work a leading American poet and critic recently said, "It is my conviction that you started the whole revolutionary trend in poetry in Great Britain and remain its most significant example—if not its only significant expression, which I believe you are as far as Great Britain is concerned," permit me to congratulate you on the most interesting and valuable copies of THE WORD which have reached me, and to offer my most cordial and comradely greetings for the continuance and development of the paper and the U.S.M. generally.

I agree in particular with your castigations of Willie Gallacher and Peter Kerrigan, and your exposure of the infernal monkey tricks of the C.P. G.B. with regard to Conscription, etc. I have had occasion in recent issues of my own quarterly, "Voice of Scotland," to show up the shameful intellectual incompetence and spiritual bankruptcy of the C.P.G.B. and its auxiliary, the London Leftist group of writers headed by Auden, Spender and MacNeice in belles lettres and John Strachey and the Left Book Club, and the Penguin Books, in political controversy; and my analysis of these elements has attracted a great deal of interest and approval among writers in Wales, Ireland, America and elsewhere.

I am not now a member of the C.P.G.B., from which I was expelled on ludicrous lying pretexts, as, indeed, any one with a scintilla of genuine Socialist integrity is always sure to be.

C. M. GRIEVE
Shetland, August 28. ("Hugh MacDiarmid").

WE HAVE RECEIVED

To-morrow We Live. By Oswald Mosley. (5th ed.) 80 pages. 3d. Greater Britain Publications, 19 Gt. Smith St., London, S.W.1.

The Corporate State. By A. Raven Thomson. 48 pp. 4d.

Federal Union: From Chaos to Order in International Politics. 2d. Federal Union, 44 Gordon Square, London, W.C.1.

An Outline of Man's History. By Patrick Gordon Walker. Maps by J. F. Horrabin. Plebs Outline No. 7. 276 pages. 2s 6d. N.C.L.C. Publishing Society Ltd., 15 South Hill Park Gardens, London, N.W.3.

They Did Not Fight. By Clara Gilbert Cole. 1s. Workers' Northern Publishing Society Ltd., 2 Russell St., Ardwick, Manchester.

Kirkwood (Printers) Ltd., 152 Clyde St., Glasgow, C.1.

THE WORD

To Rouse The People, To Combat War, and To Speed Commonweal.

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CONSCIENCE AND THE TRIBUNAL

Sir John Simon's View

In the House of Commons, on Wednesday, January 5, 1916, Mr. Asquith, who was then Prime Minister, moving the first reading of the Military Service Bill, said: "The fourth ground of exemption is a conscientious objection to the undertaking of combatant service."

This statement was received with interruption and cries of "Oh! Oh!"

Rebuking the interrupters, Mr. Asquith said: "I am rather sorry to hear those expressions of dissent, and even of derision from some quarters. Some hon. Members are perhaps unacquainted with the history of legislation in regard to these matters. In the days of the great French war, when Mr. Pitt and his successors were in power, and when they enforced the Compulsory Militia Bill, they expressly exempted the only people who in those days had conscientious objections to Government service—the people called Quakers."

Sir John Simon is the Chancellor of the Exchequer and Second Member of the present War Cabinet which has revived conscription and the conscientious objector question. He opposed conscription in 1916 and sacrificed his Cabinet position rather than support it. Speaking in the House of Commons on Wednesday, January 12, 1916, on the second reading of the Military Service Bill, he said that he was sorry that some members seemed disposed to treat the case of the conscientious objector as a laughing matter when the Prime Minister mentioned it on the first reading of the Bill. He continued:—

"The conscientious objector may not be a popular person, but he is a perfectly genuine person, and I think he is a much commoner case than perhaps is always recognised. By common consent his case has got to be met.

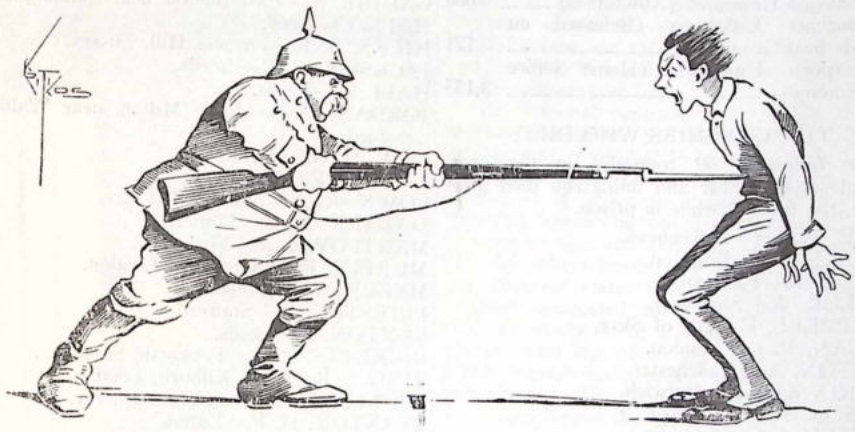
Referring to the effort by the Government to meet the case of conscience by means of Tribunal, Sir John Simon said:—

"I find it very difficult to see how adequate provision is to be made for the genuine and conscientious objector, whilst at the same time you avoid making the meshes of your net too wide . . . The provision for a conscientious objector is a provision, as I understand it, that he may come before a Tribunal, not, I should gather, in order to prove that he has got such an objection and thereby to get his exemption, but in order that, after hearing such evidence as it can, the Tribunal may decide whether he is to have exemption or not. I am bound to say that I do not believe that a provision of that sort will be found in connection with this Bill to work at all. The reason I have occupied a few moments with this case is because, in my judgment the class of difficulty which so arises goes far to justify the contention which many make as to this Bill—namely, that they do oppose it on grounds of principle as distinguished from grounds of expediency."

The principle of Tribunals works no better in 1939 than it did in 1916. Sir John Simon is faced, to-day, with the problem of defending Tribunals that are repeating all the errors of the Tribunals of 1916. He was right then, and the words he uttered at that time, apply aptly to the situation to-day. National Service Tribunals, although constituted somewhat differently, and responsible to a different department of the Government than their Military Service predecessors of twenty-three years ago, are demonstrating daily how incapable it is for such a court to reach a sound conclusion in the matter of conscience. The exemptions, and the refusals of the Tribunals to exempt, have small regard to reason, and little relation to any principle of jurisprudence.

Sir John Simon was right—the first time! To-day, his stand is on the side of error and confusion, which is a matter of regret. Brilliant intellects should seek a better destiny. John Simon possesses one of the clearest jurist minds of his time.

The "Point" of the Tribunal



"If you were threatened with a Bayonet—what would you do?"

The above illustration and letter-press are reprin Tribunal to conchies of that time. A short article, favourite one with members of the Military Servicets from *The Spur*, April, 1916. Question was a written by the cartoonist, accompanied the article, discussing the expediency of *dodging* the point!

CONCHIES: 1916-1919

In the August *Word* we published a very incomplete and most unsatisfactory statement, issued originally by the C.O. Information Bureau in June, 1918, of persons who resisted the Military Service Acts, 1916. The appended statistics correct and extend that list. It includes the final figures obtainable from all sources in 1919. These figures do not include those men who refused to bear arms, but served in the N.C.C.; the Friends' Ambulance Unit; the Friends' War Victims' Relief Committee; or accepted alternative service in the form of "Work of National Importance," as prescribed by the Tribunals or the Pelham Committee. Some "conchies" who refused to obey their calling-up notices were never arrested. Others deliberately evaded arrest.

The grounds on which the conchies of 1916-1919 objected overlapped in many instances. Some Socialists. And some claimed to be both Quakers and Socialists. Few members of the International Bible Students' Association or similar religious bodies remained Absolutists.

From the figures now presented comrades can draw their own picture of the struggle for conscience against war, 1916-1919.

"N.L.1919" means Not Liberated Until Finally Released After the End of the War, in 1919.

"Conchies" Registered		6,312
Court Martialled Once		5,970
" "	Twice	655
" "	Trice	521
" "	Four Times	181
" "	Five Times	50
" "	Six Times	3
Sent to France		37
Sentenced to Death		30
Served over 2 years in Prison		816
Died after Arrest		69
Died in Prison		10
Became Mentally Deranged		39
Discharged on Medical Grounds		362
N.L. 1919		1,039
Accepted Home Office Scheme		3,862
Accepted Military Duties (Combatant or N.C.C.)		349
Disappeared after Arrest or Sentence		220
Socialist Objectors		1,191
I.L.P. Objectors		805
Unattached Socialist Objectors		245

B.S.P. Objectors	21
B.S.P. Objectors	78
Anarchist Objectors	27
S.P.G.B. Objectors	9
I.W.W. Objectors	6
I.L.P. Members (N.L. 1919)	211
Other Socialists (N.L. 1919)	122
I.L.P. Members Released on Medical Grounds	71
Other Socialists Released on Medical Grounds	48
I.L.P. (Home Office Scheme)	454
Other Socialists (Home Office Scheme)	159
I.L.P. Objectors (Not Traced)	69
Other Socialist Objectors (Not Traced)	57
Quaker Objectors	184
Quaker Absolutists (N.L. 1919)	77
Quaker Objectors (Home Office Scheme)	57
Quaker Absolutists (Released on Medical Grounds)	28
Quaker Objectors (Not Traced)	22
Quaker Associates (Not Traced)	95
Quaker Associates (Absolutists N.L. 1919)	25
Quaker Associates (Released on Medical Grounds)	12
Quaker Associates (Home Office Scheme)	45
Quaker Associates (Not Traced)	13
Associations Unknown	3,928
Associations Unknown (Absolutists)	604
Associations Unknown (Released on Medical Grounds)	171
Associations Unknown (Home Office Scheme)	3,155

THE CONCHIES WHO DIED

The following 69 comrades in the great struggle against war and militarism died after arrest, the first 10 while in prison.

BONE, Walter—Birkenhead.
BRIDLE, O.S.—Brighton.
BURNS, E.—Failsworth.
BUTLER, A.—Stockport.
CAMPBELL, P.—Isle of Skye.
GILLAN, P. L.—London.
HORTON, A.—Manchester.
WILKINSON, F.—Dulwich.
WILSON, A.—Blackburn.
WINTER, J. G.—Cornsay.

ALLEN, Peter—Nelson.
ALLEN, Tom—Nelson.
ALLEN, Walter G.—New Southgate.
BARLOW, A.—Mansfield Woodhouse.
BATTENHAM—Downham Market.
BEYNON, H.—Swansea.
BOWDEN, F.—Oldham.
BRENTNALL, A. G.—London.
BRIGHTMAN, H.—Camden Town.
CAINEY, Thomas—Manchester.
CAMPBELL, N. A.—Glasgow.
COBB, C. J.—Croydon.
DARDIS, G. H.—Risca.
DELLER, L.—West Brompton.
DUNBERY, P.—Blackburn.
EUNGBLUT, A.—London, N.W.
EVANS, R. G.—Reading.
FIRTH, H. W.—Norwich.
GOULDSBOROUGH, H.—Blackburn.
HALL, Percy—Old Dalby.
HASTON, H.—Chesterfield.
HENDERSON, A.—Dundee.
HURST, A.—Southwark.
HOAD, H.—Chart Sutton.
HOOPER, R.—Bradford.
HURLEY, W.—Camberwell.
HURST, H.—Manchester.
JACKSON, Theadore.
JAMES, A. L.—Kingston.
JAMES, H.—Worcester.
LINSCOTT S.—Newton Abbot.
MALCOLM, W. W.—Glasgow.
MARTLEW, A.—York.
MATCHETT T. D.—Bath.
MAY, W.—Edinburgh.
MOSS, —— —Morley.
MOUNTFIELD, J.—Manchester.
PARKIN, W. H.—Sheffield.
PARTON, F. L.—Chiswick.
PEDDIESTON, A.—Glasgow.
PHIPPS, H.—Harringay.
RICHMOND, R. A.—Brighton.
RIGG, J. A.—Barrow-in-Furness.
ROBERTS, W. L.—Stockport.
RUDALL, A.—Newport.
SLATER, A. J.—Glasgow.
STAFFORD, N.—Hyde.
STANTON, W.—Leicester.
STATTON, —— —Cardiff.
SWETTENHAM, W.—Liverpool.
TAYLOR, J.—Silvertown.
THOMPSON, G.—Norwich.
TODD, G.—Willesden.
WALLACE, B.—Newmarket.
WHINNERAH, G.—Barrow-in-Furness.
WHILMORE, P. A.—Coventry.
WOODWARD, E.—Birmingham.
ZACHNIES, C.—Glasgow.

THE CONCHIES WHO WERE SENTENCED TO DEATH.

BARRITT, C.—Pinner.
BEAVIS, H. S.—Lower Edmonton, London.
BONNER, B. M.—Luton.
BREWSTER, H. S.—Merton Park, London.
BROCKESBY, J. H.—Rotherham.
CARTWRIGHT, C.—Leeds.
CRYER, E. C.—Cleveland.
EVANS, A. W.—Ilford.
FOISTER, J.—Cambridge.
GAUDIE, N.—East Boldon, near Sunderland.
HALL, C.—Leeds.
HICKS, G. E.—Burgess Hill, Sussex.
JACKSON, C. R.—Leeds.
HALL, S.—Leeds.
JORDAN, P. B.—Little Milton, near Wallingford.
LAW, H. G.—Darlington.
LAW, W. E.—Darlington.
LOWN, R. A.—Stansford, Lincs.
MARTEN, H. C.—Pinner.
MARTLOWE, A.—York.
MURFIN, F.—Canonbury, London.
MYERS, A.—Cleveland.
PRIESTLY, A.—Stafford.
RENTON, L.—Leeds.
RICKETTS, O. G.—Petworth, Sussex.
RING, J. R.—West Kilburn, London.
SCULLARD H. W.—Sutton ,Surrey.
STANTON, H. E.—Luton.
TAYLOR, A. W.—Lower Edmonton, London.
WALLING, A. F.—Lower Edmonton.

EDINBURGH CASES

This is not a full report of the Edinburgh cases. Only a few cases are noted. A full report will appear later.

Saying that he refused to lift the sword to defend Capitalism, A. Dingwall, Inchaffray Street, Perth, told the Tribunal on November 17 that he was a member of the Socialist movement and the "World Brotherhood of Workers."

"Under the present system," Dingwall said, "I will not fight because I have nothing to fight for. Capitalism has never done anything for me."

The Chairman—Your objection is a political one?

Dingwall was, without qualification, removed from the register.

Another objector, J. S. G. Simpson, 14 Glebe Park, Kirkcaldy, said that his conscience was "so tender" that he felt compelled, under conditions of war, to give up his work.

When asked how he intended to live, Simpson declared, "I don't see how I could. I will just have to starve."

Simpson was registered without condition.

The Church of Scotland was criticised by two objectors, for "condoning war."

J. S. Harvey, 2 Ford's Lane, Dundee, based his objection on a "refusal to aid and abet militarism."

When the chairman of the tribunal (Sheriff C. H. Brown, K.C.) asked Harvey if he had any connection with a religious body. Harvey replied—

"I was a member of the Church of Scotland until about six years ago, when, contrary to what I had been thinking, I found that the Church was condoning warfare and giving practically all its support to war. Since then I have not returned."

Harvey was asked what he thought would happen to the country if all the young men had he said that *"Scotsmen are being asked to fight for the Empire which is an English concern."*

"World peace," he added, "has a greater chance of becoming known if we do not take up arms. When we take up arms we put peace behind us."

The Chairman—What about Czecho-slovakia? They did not take up arms?

"The mere fact that they did not," Harvey replied, "avoided a useless slaughter. The Czechs lost their freedom, but they still have their lives—the most precious possession of all."

A Church of Scotland minister, the Rev. E. S. Towhill, Chalmers Church, Dundee, spoke on behalf of Harvey. Harvey, he said, having failed to find support for Pacifism within the Church had left.

Harvey was registered on condition that he continued to work at engineering.

A similar protest in regard to the attitude of the Church of Scotland was made by J. L. Anderson, Eastbank, Dunfermline.

When asked if he was connected with any religious movement, Anderson said—"I honestly believe that the Church of Scotland of which I was a member, is condoning war. That is why I left the Church. I left the Church on conscientious grounds."

Sheriff Brown praised one applicant, Robert D. Souza, 2 Lorne Place, Leith, for the way he had expressed his reasons for his objections.

"You have got more of the essentials than many another who has come here," he said.

Souza, an apprentice motor engineer, appeared wearing overalls.

The Tribunal placed him on the register on condition that he remained in his present job.

On November 23, Alexander Hoskins, student of the Edinburgh College of Art, told the Tribunal that he was seeking absolute exemption.

In his written application, Hoskins had expressed willingness to undertake work of national importance.

Hoskins comes from Crieff. He appeared before the Tribunal, dressed in dark brown corduroy trousers, a sports' jacket, and an open-neck shirt.

He told the Tribunal :—

"I have changed my mind, and am not prepared to undertake anything that might contribute to the progress of the war."

Professor Galbraith closely questioned Hoskins as to how he had come to change his mind. Hoskins explained :—

"I went through a mock tribunal last night, and realised that the logical consequence of my conscientious objection to war must involve the renunciation of any activity at all."

Hoskins added that he had been invited to attend a "mock tribunal" held by the Society of Friends the night before.

Mr. E. M. Wedderburn, D.K.S., asked whether any other attenders at the "mock tribunal" had been before the Court that day. Hoskins said he knew of one.

A man in the public gallery jumped from his seat at this stage to say he was prepared to speak for the applicant.

Sheriff Brown asked him to come down from the gallery.

The man gave his name as Alexander Bain. Two other applicants for exemption had attended the "mock tribunal." He had known Hoskins for two years. Explaining the "mock tribunal," Bain said :—

"Many a young man cannot express his convictions, though he knows what they are. It was through my influence that this young man was stopped from giving up studies. If you men think as these young men, then you would not be seated there. You cannot judge a man's conscience."

Bain also stated that Hoskins, though he had said he was not connected with a religious body, was interested in a Tolstoy community in England.

Hoskins was placed upon the C.O. register on condition that he undertook agricultural work.

Scottish National supporters sat in the public benches throughout the day waiting for the cases of two Edinburgh youths.

Hector Macpherson, the son of an Edinburgh minister, was the first Scottish Nationalist to appear. His application was based on religious and humanitarian grounds. With him sat three ministers. Speaking as a Scottish Nationalist he said that *"Scotsmen are being asked to fight for the Empire which is an English concern."*

Macpherson was placed unconditionally on the C.O. register. His friend, George Little, an art student at the Edinburgh University, took a similar stand, but emphasised his Scots Nationalism. He was entered without qualification for military service.

Thomas Lockhead, a student at the Edinburgh College of Art, was registered as a C.O. without condition. He declared that war encouraged immorality and excesses. He would not resist a German invasion.

R. Connell, Link Street, Burntisland, Fife, said he would do nothing to stop the German Fleet from coming up the Firth of Forth. As a Christian, he believed God would bring everything right for humanity and freedom. He would not serve in the R.A.M.C., or accept non-combatant service, because he would be helping wounded men to go back to their death.

Connell was registered as an objector, provided he continued in his present employment.

On Friday, November 24, J. Jackson, 12 Brook Street, Alva, was granted total exemption. His father served three years' imprisonment in different prisons during the great war.

Time, he told the Tribunal, hal softened the bitterness of his experience, but would not obliterate the memory of it. He recalled the "bitterness of public opinion" during the Great War. The local Tribunal granted him absolute exemption, but the decision was overturned by the Appeal Tribunal.

Mr. Jackson added :—

"I can claim to be a pioneer of the C.O. movement. I was one of the first men to be arrested in Edinburgh—in fact in Scotland—during the Great War. It was the stand that the early C.O.s made that secured for those who followed a more humane treatment."

NEWCASTLE CHAIRMAN'S APOLOGY

Because of hissing and booing from people in court, the second sitting of the Newcastle Conscientious Objectors' Tribunal ended abruptly on Wednesday, October 11. The chairman, Judge T. Richardson, had the court cleared and left the bench. The booing occurred after he had said :

"I am certain, as sure as I sit here, that If Christ appeared to-day he would approve of this war."

When he and his colleagues returned to the bench there was a further outburst from the people who had reassembled in the court.

Judge Richardson then said that as the people in court had not obeyed his order he would adiourn the court until the following morning.

D. P. Parry, of West-terrace, Northallerton, whose name was removed from the register, declared he would do nothing to relieve the sufferings of anyone hurt in an air raid.

Sir Luke Thompson, a member of the Tribunal, said if everyone adopted that attitude Hitler would be here to-morrow.

"Would you mind that?" he asked Parry, who replied, "No."

Parry said he would not help his brother if he were wearing khaki.

Judge Richardson :—

"I have never head of such a callous hard-hearted and thoroughly anti-Christian doctrine as put forwar by some of these objectors, and you seem about the most selfish of any we have heard."

Judge Richardson then declared that Christ would approve of the war.

The following day he expressed regret at his outburst :—

"I was carried away to say what was inadvisable in the circumstances.

"It must be remembered that we had been sitting all day listening to the views of what Christ would do given by a great number of conscientious objectors. We were told many times that if Christ were here, whilst he would relieve the sufferings of civil populations, he would not stir a finger to relieve the sufferings of those in uniform.

"Statements such as that irritated me as an individual, but, of course, we, as a Tribunal, are not sitting here to express our own views."

Judge Richardson added that if the Tribunal were satisfied that an objector held views, whether they agreed or disagreed with them, they decided the case on its merits and without prejudice.

Prior to the Parry incident, the Newcastle Tribunal had granted exemptions.

George Herbert Boddy, of St. James' Farm, Pickering, Yorkshire, said that Hitler's time was short and that he would never come to Britain and oppress us. He knew this from the Bible. Boddy was registered conditionally on his remaining in his occupation as a farm worker.

Albert Harbottle, of Ponteland, near Newcastle, asked unconditional exemption on religious and pacifist grounds.

JUDGE RICHARDSON—Then you have no sympathy with the oppressed and persecuted Poles and Czechs, Jews and other races?

HARBOTTLE—"I have every sympathy with them," was the reply, "but I am not prepared for millions of others to be murdered to help them.

"I would willingly see them rescued, but not if it means mass murder and bloodshed.

"I would rather see them left in the hands of the aggressor."

Harbottle was registered without qualification.

SOUTH-EASTERN TRIBUNAL

The South-Eastern Counties' Tribunal sits in London, apparently, at Bloomsbury and Southwark, on different days. Our reports are scanty, but it seems to have considered some interesting cases.

On November 6, Henry Douglas Wassell, West Wycombe Road, High Wycombe, told this Tribunal that he regarded war as a return to trial by ordeal and the settlement of disputes by the boxing-ring instead of the law courts. He was registered as a conscientious objector unconditionally.

Four days later, this Tribunal registered Sidney Desmond Tester, the film actor, as a conscientious objector, on condition that he undertook agricultural work. Desmond Tester appeared as the drummer boy of a Highland regiment, with Sabu, in the colour film, "The Drum."

Tester told the Tribunal that he objected to entertaining the troops or wounded men in hospital, and he would not take part in a film which was of a propaganda nature.

He explained :—

"For me killing is utterly wrong and futile, and so I have refused to do it. I consider that aiding and abetting or helping the Army in any way is equally wrong, as it is just helping the soldiers who are at the front, so I have refused that as well."

Asked if he objected to doing civil work, such as farming, Tester replied :—

"No, although the potatoes I might help to grow might go to the Army, it is a service to the land itself and to civilians."

Asked how long he had held these views, Tester replied : "I have never held any others."

Sir Reginal Kennedy-Cox—If you were offered an engagement to go and entertain the troops professionally would your conscience allow you to do so?

Tester—I think that would be helping really actively in the job of war. To entertain the troops, to keep their morale up, is helping them in their leisure moments to keep themselves happy, to keep on with their particular job, which I don't hold with."

"I am only too willing to entertain the civilians at home, but to entertain those who may have come home on leave, to help them to keep their spirits up, would be rather inconsistent with my views."

Sir Reginald—Would you entertain in hospital?

Tester—That would be a humanitarian service, but they would be going back from hospital to fight again.

Sir Reginald—The answer is No?

Tester—The answer is No.

John G. Lagonna—who had changed his name by deed-poll from Brookes to express his antagonism to the Saxons—provided the Tribunal with a problem on November 15. He contended that the cause of Celtic Independence was his sole allegiance. Therefore he conscientiously objected to fighting for England. His mother is a Celt and he is a Welsh Nationalist.

Lagonna explained :—"It is not right for the Saxons, or English, to tell me what I am to do. I acknowledge no right to anyone except my own people to decide my fate as to whether I should or should not fight in a war."

Judge Davies (the chairman)—If Celtic peoples had their independence and decided to take part in this war and ordered you to take part in it as a soldier, you would have no objection?

Lagonna—I should have no objection at all if the Celtic people were free agents. But I doubt if any Certic nation if free would take part in this war.

Judge Davies adjourned the case to permit Lagonna to produce evidence of character and sincerity.

ABERDEEN TRIBUNAL

Lifeboat Hero Objector Refuses to Assist War.

We have received very full reports of the Aberdeen Tribunal from our comrades, Mrs. Margaret Cumming, Secretary of the local branch of the I.L.P.; R. J. L. Gallie, Acting Secretary of the Aberdeen P.P.U.; and George N. McAndrew, a C.O. who received total exemption from the Tribunal. The reports are outlined in the following account.

The Tribunal consisted of Sheriff Sir G. Morton, chairman; Sir Russell Scott, retired civil servant; Principal Fyfe, Aberdeen University; Councillor G. Duncan, a lawyer; and Councillor L. G. R. McIntosh, Trade Union Secretary (Building Trade Operatives). McIntosh is over 50 years of age, and Duncan is said to be over 70. The others are between 60 and 70.

An observer states that the members of the Tribunal conducted their examinations fairly with the exception of Councillor Duncan, who showed much bias of feeling. Sir Russell Scott leaned towards unfairness. Principal Fyfe was open-minded. The Sheriff was impartial and in some cases helped the applicant. McIntosh was at great pains to help the applicants and to draw out their real objections.

The first three cases were dismissed, rightly, as being hardship cases.

Three applicants, D. J. Watson, R. B. Duthie, and C. M. Rayne, accepted non-combatant service. They stressed that they objected only to actual killing. Watson was represented by W. Sutherland, solicitor, who stressed the point that his client was unconcerned for his own personal safety.

Non-combatant service was the decision given in the case of J. M. Scorgie, Quarryhead, Gight, Fyvie, who was represented by R. S. Aitken, solicitor. At school, Scorgie had concluded that it was his duty to be kind to animals and plants. He decided it was wrong to take life. Scorgie did not object to defending the country, so long as it did not involve him in taking life. He lived with his grandfather on a 100-acre farm and had not shot or trapped animals.

The same decision was given in the case of A. Morroco, a brilliant young artist, 35 Causewayend, Aberdeen, on the second day's sitting. Morroco's application was supported by Mr. R. Sivelle.

Morroco's case, said the Chairman, was rather different from the others. At present his parents were Italian nationals, and he was born here. He had been awarded the Brough Travelling Scholarship of £100 and the Royal Scottish Academy Travelling Scholarship. He had been assisting Mr. Sivelle in the mural decorations at the University Students' Union.

"Your attitude seems to be that you are really not a national of any State but a Cosmopolitan," said the Chairman. "Do you recognise any obligation to any State."

Morroco—I realise I have some obligation to this State.

Chairman—In your view as a Cosmopolitan this is really a civil war?

Morroco—Yes.

Morroco did not object to service under civilian control so long as it was to alleviate

suffering. He would do A.R.P. work, but would not make munitions or arms to kill.

"I would not like to take any part in the war at all," he said, "but if it is going on I cannot stand by and do nothing to alleviate suffering, being human."

He would help the wounded of any nationality.

"Please let me give you an example of my objections.

"Another chap and I did two big figures of soldiers for the recruiting rally at the Music Hall. We started to think about it when we had finished the work. We did not think it right that we should be trying to make other fellows do what we would not do ourselves—join the army. We gave the money we received for the work to the hospitals.

"I was in France two or three months ago, and I wanted to go to Italy to study painting, but I would have been conscripted for the Italian Army. I did not want to join any army. I did not go.

"If I was forced to kill, it is the most terrible thing that could be done to me."

Mr. Sivelle said he was present from a sense of duty to the court that they should be fully informed.

Mr. Sivelle continued :—

"This boy is an extraordinarily brilliant student. He is certainly this city's first young artist. I don't know any young man in Scotland who was so highly developed.

"As a member of the Scottish Academy, I consider the developed talents such as this boy possesses are such that we can ill-afford to throw them away. There is such work as camouflage and the post of the official war artist.

"He is an extraordinary young man. Few men of forty are so highly developed as this boy."

Chairman—He is obviously a very brilliant young man. I suppose your idea is that any form of national work that would take him away from his artist's work would be a downright loss.

Mr. Sivelle—It is waste of the money that the country has spent in bringing him to this stage.

Chairman—The statute does not authorise to take that into consideration.

Mr. Sivelle—This young man is not like others. His heroes are not Wallace and Bruce but Leonardo da Vinci and Ghirlandajo.

The first actual case of conscientious objection to come before the Aberdeen Tribunal was that of D. F. Wiseman, 22, marine-engineer, 13 Lodge Walk, Peterhead. He is a young lifeboatman, and a member of the Exclusive Brethren.

Wiseman stated that, in his view, it was an outrage to God to use his body for combatant service. He sought to be clear of the whole machinery attached to war.

Principal Fyfe—You would not even be a stretcher-bearer.

Wiseman—I could not volunteer, sir.

Chairman—Suppose there was an air raid on Peterhead, your services could not be utilised as a stretcher-bearer?

Wiseman—Let me give an illustration, sir. Last month we had a telephone message. A flash was reported at sea. The lifeboat was called out. My father has been in the lifeboat for quite a time.

Owing to the regulations, they were not allowed to fire the gun to call the crew. I had the privilege or the opportunity to be there.

"We proceeded on our course and found it was a torpedoed ship. It shows I would be only too willing if the opportunity arose to render a little service."

Wiseman said he was not to be brought into the military machine, even in the R.A.M.C.

Applicant was registered as a conscientious objector on condition that he continued in his occupation as a marine engineer.

Before Wiseman told his story of the torpedoed ship, he had been asked: Do you find a line in the Bible that says not to fight?

J. G. Thomas, 32 Braemar Place, Aberdeen, registered as a conscientious objector before the war started. He did not take his stand on religious grounds but on his pacifist ideals. He would not, as a pacifist, join in A.R.P. work. The Prime Minister had called A.R.P. the country's fourth line of defence, and the Chairman of the Newcastle Tribunal had said it was definitely a military activity.

Dr. Duncan—But you have no objection to collecting customs to pay for the war?

Thomas—No.

Mr. McIntosh—That is because you have to live and cannot live without it.

Thomas—Unless you make your living as an anti-war propagandist you cannot help assisting the war.

Dr. Duncan—It is not against your ideals to collect money to pay soldiers?

Thomas—I am afraid I am in the position of having a private war within myself. I cannot help participating in the conflict, without getting up against the authorities and being put in prison. That will not help my ideals at all.

[In our view, this reply was not very satisfactory. Our ideals are advanced by imprisonment.]

Thomas stated that he would assist injured in an air raid but he would not join in A.R.P.

Finally, he was registered as a conscientious objector.

G. N. McAndrew, 23 Marywell Street, Aberdeen, appealing for absolute exemption, said :—

"I object to all three sections. I have no right to kill, and I have no right to aid and abet in the taking of life. I shall go to prison, and, if that is not enough, I shall give my life for my ideals.

"My parents belonged to the Labour movement and were also religious thinkers. My views are a combination of their religious and political outlook. I believe in the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man."

Councillor Duncan—If you were employed as a baker, and found that a batch of bread was going to feed the soldiers, would you resign your job?

McAndrew—I understand that the Army makes its own bread.

Duncan—So long as your are helping to keep up the morale of the civil population by being employed as a baker, are you not helping the war?

McAndrew—Yes: but I must live.

Duncan—I thought you would give your life for your ideals.

McAndrew—I would give my life, if I were to be shot; but I do not fancy slow starvation.

D. N. F. Crawford, a bank clerk, 7 Richmondhill Road, Aberdeen, was registered as a C.O., subject to taking up ambulance work under civilian control. Crawford said he could see no occupation that kept him further from participating in the war than his own.

Chairman—I think the banks are rather important for the financial arrangements for the war.

Crawford—That is true, but there is nothing else I can think of that is of less assistance than my own work.

Principal Fyfe—You would not say that banking is a more Christian occupation than tending to the sick?

Crawford—In itself, it is not doing Christian work.

The same decision was given in the case of J. W. C. Hardie, c/o Addison, 19 Martingdon Road; D. Law, 38 Mile End Avenue; R. J. Beattie, "Selma," Cults.

Hardie appealed as a Christian pacifist.

Chairman—Would you go the length of saying that this country should be pacifist if the rest of the world were belligerent?

Hardie—Certainly, Sir.

Chairman—Would you object to being organised to assist the wounded?

Hardie—I would not object to purely voluntary organisation.

Beattie stated that he objected on humanitarian grounds. He would be committing a sin against civilisation if he aided war. The spread of pacifism was the only righteous course.

A. G. Robb, 18 Leggat Terrace, Aberdeen, obtained total exemption. He said that war was wrong and killing was abhorrent to his nature. He was supported by Dr. Bury, President of the local P.P.U. The applicant said he was prepared to be organised on a voluntary basis to aid the civil population. Dr. Bury stated that, within the Act, provision was made for total objection to conscription.

The questions and findings of the Tribunal at the first day's sittings were fairly impartial. On the second day, there was a decided tendency towards misleading and irrelevant questions, in an endeavour to confuse applicants. In most cases, the findings did reflect the cases put forward by the applicants. In the two cases where

Continued at foot of column 3.

a lawyer appeared, no questions were asked. It seems strange to bring a lawyer merely to ask for non-combatant service.

The decisions of the Tribunal summarised are :—

Complete Exemption	3
Conditional	7
Non-Combatant	7
Unqualified Military Register	1

The NO CONSCRIPTION LEAGUE

Glasgow and West of Scotland Council Headquarters—

S.S.P. Rooms, 70 Robertson Street, Glasgow, C.2.

Chairman—GUY A. ALDRED.
Hon. Secretary—BERT VALLANCE.
Hon. Treasurer—W. McCLURE,
1720 Great Western Rd., Glasgow, W.3

This is a League of Individual Members and Affiliated Organisations opposed to War and to Military and Industrial Conscription.

The League appeals to all conscientious objectors to join its ranks for mutual aid and support, and the furtherance of the end of violence.

Finance is urgently required. Send donations to the Treasurer.

GLASGOW AND WEST OF SCOTLAND COUNCIL C.O. FUND—The treasurer acknowledges the following donations:—Collection at St. Andrew's Hall meeting (15-10-39), £14 0s. 3d.; H. Brown, 5s.; S. Dumphie, 10s.; Govan Area Group, 3s. 6d.; J. Wyllie (Johnstone), 5s.; Govanhill Area Group, £3 3s. 2d.; Mr. Carey, 5s.; L.P.K., 2s.; Mr. Reid, 2s.; Mr. Raeside (Stamperland), £5; James Houston, 10s.; Partick Area Group, 2s.; J.L.P., 5s.; Central Group (St. Andrew's Hall Collection), £2 0s. 9d.. Total—£26 13s. 8d.

Further contributions will be acknowledged in our next issue. Communications regarding the fund should be addressed to the Fund Secretary, **DAN McARTHUR, 8 Househillwood Crescent, Househillwood, Glasgow.**

GLASGOW N.C.L. CENTRAL GROUP—Every second Wednesday (alternate to Aggregate Members' Meeting) and every Thursday. Bakunin Hall, 29 Castle Street, C.4, 7.15 p.m.

YOKER AND KNIGHTSWOOD N.C.L.—Every Sunday, 3 p.m. Band Hall, Knightswood Road. All comrades in this area are invited.

GOVANHILL N.C.L.—Every Friday, I.L.P. Rooms, Batson Street.

BRIDGETON N.C.L.—Every Friday, I.L.P. Rooms 548 London Road.

GOVAN N.C.L.—Every Thursday, I.L.P. Rooms, 634 Govan Road. All comrades in the South West Area invited. Secretary, J. Taylor, 53 Baldovie Road, Glasgow, S.W.2.

S.C.W.S. EMPLOYEES' BRANCH—Every Thursday, S.C.W.S. Welfare Rooms, Morrison Street, Glasgow, C.5., 7.30 p.m. Secretary, Malcolm Walter, 16 Ruel Street, Glasgow, S.4. All employees invited. Subscription, 10s. per annum.

Series of educational lectures, Cause of War, till end December. Lecturer, Tom Taylor. Please attend and bring notebook and atlas if possible. Questions and discussion welcomed.

PARTICK N.C.L.—Every Monday, 7 p.m. Young Scots Hall, 22 Burgh Hall Street, Partick, Glasgow, W.1.

Comrade Ross, who received total exemption, has addressed many branches on his "Impressions of the Tribunal."

GORBALS AND HUTCHESONTOWN N.C.L.—Every Friday, I.L.P. Rooms, 207 Rutherglen Road, at 7.30 p.m. Secretary, J. Vincent, 768 Rutherglen Road, C.5.

OUTWITH GLASGOW.

ABERDEEN I.L.P.—Branch Rooms, 126 George St. Branch meets every Monday, 8 p.m. All unattached Socialists should join. Comrades in outlying districts should contact and send subscriptions. Sunday meetings, 8 p.m., Belmont Cinema. Questions and discussion at all meetings. Anti-war films shown.

ABERDEEN N.C.L.—Every Friday, 7.30 p.m. I.L.P. Hall, 126 George Street.

SOUTHEND W.R.L. (or N.C.L.)—Every Thursday, I.L.P. Hall, 6 Broadway Market, 7.30 p.m.

HAMMERSMITH N.C.L.—Secy., Annesley Aldred, 85 Addison Gardens, London, W.14.

A. Aldred is addressing N.C.L. meetings throughout London. Phone: Shepherd's Bush 5402.

HAMPSTEAD N.C.L.—Hon. Secretary, Mrs. M. Westrope, 3 Warwick Mansions, Pond St., Hampstead, London, N.W.3.

All other N.C.L. Groups or Branches are invited to send announcements.

CAN WE TRUST HITLER?

By The Marquis of Tavistock

Many persons who are quite ready to admit that national selfishness is a mistake and that something should be done to satisfy the legitimate needs of the German people, feel that constructive peace-making is almost impossible and re-armament and war almost inevitable because in their opinion, Hitler is a man of wholly untrustworthy and criminal character.

In these days of crisis it is above all things necessary that we should avoid passion and prejudice and look on men and affairs with clear insight and balanced judgment. For this reason, the writer desires to submit the following points to the consideration of those who hold with great conviction an opinion somewhat different from his own :—

1. All men, in varying degrees, are a mixture of good and evil, and in the case of certain persons of strong character, the combination of good and bad qualities may present an astonishing contrast. Some years ago a book was published by a girl who had served in the Cossack army. In one chapter she relates how she had witnessed a Bolshevik soldier murder in cold blood an entire family of White Russians. Soon afterwards, however, this same man treated the author of the book with great kindness and courtesy and, when news reached him later of the death of his old mother, he was immediately moved to tears. This Bolshevik soldier was not a hypocrite but an example of the strange contradictions of human nature, which, in some degree or other, exist also in ourselves and likewise in Hitler and Mussolini.

2. Experience of prison work soon teaches that criminals may be divided into two classes—those who respond when treated with practical unexpected kindness, offered, as it must be, without conditions; and those who do not. It is absolutely impossible to tell beforehand to which category a particular man may belong: his past record is no guide whatever, for sometimes the criminal with the worst record proves the most responsive. It is important to remember that our Government has never yet applied a test of this nature to Hitler. Personal conversations with the object of averting a world war; somewhat grudging recognition of what has been done when he has taken by force what may have been denied him through more peaceful and legitimate channels; vague expressions of willingness to confer about economic grievances and other matters, to which conditions have been attached, certainly cannot be included in the category of generous, practical and unexpected offers of help.

3. It is never wise to come to an absolutely final and very adverse judgment of anyone unless you have first heard their side fully and fairly. The case against a man on the authority even of trustworthy witnesses may look as black as night; his deeds may seem to cry aloud to Heaven for vengeance; and yet it is an extraordinary fact that if you take the trouble to hear his side of the case and make yourself acquainted with all the important revelant circumstances, while the deeds in question may still remain indefensible, in nine cases out of ten you will come to feel very differently about the blameworthiness of the man concerned. Many people never learn the very valuable lesson of hearing both sides even when it seems inconceivable that there could be more than one side; nevertheless, it is one of life's most important lessons, albeit one which, even when learnt, it is only too easy at times to forget. Very few of us have heard, or have had the chance of hearing, Hitler's case stated fully and fairly, as he himself or a close friend might state it. If we hear it stated at all, it is almost invariably through the medium of a hostile and most unscrupulous press.

4. People feel it impossible to trust Hitler on three main grounds. First, because he whote certain passages in "Mein Kampf" which seem to show an ambition for world domination; second, because he has treated certain classes of people in Germany, such as Jews, pacifists and Communists, with extreme injustice and severity; third, because, having declared that he did not want to annex non-German territory, he entered and made himself master of Prague.

It should be remembered, however, that because a man in his earlier days, writing under considerable emotional stress due to the condition of his country, declares that he has certain aims in view, it does not *necessarily* follow that many years later he will try and achieve *all* those aims. He may conceivably change his mind, or circumstances may make it obvious to him that it is impossible for him to achieve his original objective; and even if he is seen to have achieved his original objective in part, that is not necessarily an indication that he still desires to achieve it in full; it may be that he does so, but also, it may not.

An impartial reader of "Mein Kampf" can hardly fail to be struck by the fact that the writer is a man with a genuine passion for social righteousness of a kind; it may be a very limited and twisted passion, but it is there all the same. It is evident that Hitler has come to identify the Jews with that poverty and suffering of his fellow-countrymen which moved him to justifiable indignation in his younger days, and in fairness to his opinion there is no getting away from the fact that absolutely impartial and competent observers, completely free from the vice of anti-Semitism, tell us that at one time there were in Germany many influential Jews who were persons of a most unattractive and anti-social character. Their crimes do not, of course, in the least justify the persecution of the entire Jewish race, but when we condemn Hitler, we would do well to remind ourselves that our own people are by no means entirely free from the same tendency to unjust and indiscriminate hatred of whole groups and classes of persons, some of whom may be quite innocent. We have only got to remember the vindictive hatred displayed during the war against conscientious objectors, not only by men but also by educated women. A little later a similar spirit was displayed in regard to Communists, during the period when our feeling for the Soviet regime had not undergone its recent remarkable change. English people who disliked conscientious objectors identified all of them with cowardice and lack of patriotism; those who disliked Communists identified all of them with cruelty, class-hatred and the overthrow of orderly government; Hitler, in the same way, identifies Jews with the poverty and exploitation of his fellow-countrymen and immoral influences in society.

With regard to the unfair treatment of smallller nations, the fact should not be forgotten that Hitler is not the only offender. Poland and Great Britain have been guilty in a similar way, the former in respect of the Ukrainians; the latter in respect of Montenegro, the independence of which small allied country the British Government sacrificed after the war, for reasons of Power-politics, in a manner utterly disgraceful. If we expect to be forgiven after *we* have treated small nations unfairly, we must, in common justice, forgive others and allow them further chances also.

In regard to the breaking of pledges, it is a fact that all statesmen break their pledges when, owing to change of circumstances or for other reasons, they consider that it is contrary to their nation's interests to continue to keep them. The British Government broke its promise made during the war to the Arabs in Palestine, and Mr. Chamberlain has broken his promise with regard to the introduction of conscription before war had been declared. Hitler also had his reasons, based on altered conditions, for changing his policy in regard to the annexation of non-German territory. There was the appeal for assistance in connection with the trouble which arose between the Czechs and Slovaks; the acquisition, by British financial interests, of shares in the gigantic Skoda armament works, armament works out of all proportion to the needs of a small country; and there was the extraordinarily foolish and provocative statement by a French Minister in regard to the suitability of Czech territory as a base from which to conduct bombing raids on German towns. None of these reasons may have been adequate to justify Hitler's change of policy, but they were, at anyrate, reasons of a kind. In fairness also to Hitler, the fact must not be forgotten that on the testimony of no less an authority than the British Admiralty, he kept the agreement for the limitation of naval armaments with scrupulous honesty up to the time when the anti-German alliances which we began to make led him to believe that war with Britain was no longer the impossibility it was held to be at the time when the naval arrangement was first made.

5. It is impossible for Hitler to injure this country by war unless he can first persuade the majority of the German nation that we are their enemies and are determined to treat them unjustly. It is absolute nonsense to argue, as some have done, that Hitler is so complete an autocrat that, with threats of execution and concentration camps, he could drive his people to attack us, even though in their hearts they knew that we were their friends. The whole of Dr. Goebbels' propaganda gives the lie to such a fantastic suggestion. If by practical deeds and not mere words we could convince the German people of our friendliness, Hitler would be powerless to harm us, even if he desired to do so.

6. Hitler, on various occasions, has expressed his desire for friendship with England and made very important proposals in regard to disarmament. His critics will believe that these proposals were insincere, but, even if they were, they afford an absolutely magnificent and hitherto quite unused opportunity of driving a wedge between him and the more reasonable and peace-loving section of Germany. If we called his bluff, if bluff it were, by telling him that we now accept his disarmament proposals on his former terms (subject to mutually satisfactory safeguards in regard to honest execution on both sides), we could place him in an intolerably difficult position if he endeavoured to hedge and, by pursuing a diplomacy which was both clever and high-principled, we could, in the end, virtually compel him to choose between losing his popularity in Germany to a dangerous degree, and keeping to his offers even, it might be, against his own personal inclination, if only to save his face.

CONSCIENCE ON TRIAL

The Rev. T. J. Harvey, minister of the Partick Baptist Church, Glasgow, has given us permission to publish his impressions of the Glasgow Tribunal :—

11 Laurel Street,
Glasgow, W.1.

Dear Sir,

My contention at the Assembly was that the Tribunal was weighted instead of balanced. There should be neutrals or C.O.s on it as well as those who are war-minded. Can you expect a prejudiced jury to view anything but in a prejudiced way? Some of the reasoning from the bench was absurd, and the quotation of Scripture out of its context was pitiful. As I said at the Tribunal, we are told this is a war for liberty. Well, let us have liberty of conscience.

I thank you for offering me the hospitality of your paper, but in looking through it I don't think I could add anything, and you yourself are much better informed in these matters than I am.

With kind regards,
Yours sincerely,
T. J. HARVEY.

LONDON CONCHIES' TRIBUNAL

The London Local Tribunal meets on Tuesday, Thursday and Friday, at the West London County Court; and on Wednesday at the Fulham Town Hall. Judge Hargreaves is the Chairman. He is supported by Sir Edmund B. Phipps, Sir James Baillie, Alderman S. H. Marshall, and Mr. A. B. Swales. Mr. Clayton Smith represents the Ministry of Labour, and Mr. R. J. Lawler is the Clerk to the Tribunal.

The first sitting of this Tribunal was on October 3. In just over a month it has heard 465 cases. The results are as follows:—

Unconditional Exemption	7
Conditional Exemptions	165
Non-Combatant Military Duties	189
Placed on Military Register	104

The first sitting endeavoured to impress the public with the patience and fairness of the members of the Tribunal. This sympathetic treatment rapidly changed. Day after day accumulated disturbing evidence, not merely of harshness, but of injustice. Young men, opposed to the weight of current prejudice, and often pleading in public for the first time, found themselves apparently floored in argument by the aged and experienced controversialists examining them. These controversalists enjoyed the further advantage of status and so could improve their opportunity of dictating. It did not follow that their argument was right. Much that the members of this Tribunal said was specious.

These members forgot their duty, which was not to discover how quick-witted were the young men. As the Manchester Chairman remarked, quickness of answer is no evidence of conscience. The business of the Tribunals is to discover whether the objectors are sincere in their scruples.

The members of the London Tribunal are all elderly. Judge Hargreaves is a County Court Judge. Sir Edmund Phipps is a man of 73 years of age. He retired 10 years ago from the position of Deputy Secretary for Elementary Education. He has made no secret of his impatience with conscientious objectors. Sir James Baillie is a professor of philosophy and a practised debater on employers' arbitration tribunals. A. B. Swales is a retired trade union leader. It was some time before he developed any good intent.

During this month of barren theological disputation and most irreverent bandying of Biblical texts, Judge Hargreaves has become expert at ridiculing Christian teaching. He has avowed that Jesus nowhere specifically declared that war was incompatible with his teaching. The Judge also has justified war on the ground that God allowed Christ to be killed for humanity's sake. We would not like to see Judge Hargreaves standing before a Tribunal, defending these strange ideas that he imposed on nervous young men of 20 and 21, who had no experience of public speaking.

The misbehaviour of Sir Edmund Phipps became most marked.

"These miserable creatures," he observed at one hearing. "What bosh!" he exclaimed a few minutes later.

"How much time do you devote to that study," Sir James Baillie blandly asked a young pacifist who pleaded Biblical support for his views.

To another young man, who said that killing was opposed to the laws of God, he said: "Did your vicar apply that to war as well as murder?"

A post office worker reasoned that his duty to humanity was higher than his duty to a particular community. "Can you tell me," rapped out Sir James, "any one thing which humanity as a whole has done for you?"

This reminds one of the Irishman who asked: "Why should I serve posterity? What has posterity ever done for me?"

A mere boy exclaimed that he knew that if he were to shoot someone, it would be wrong. Judge Hargreaves rejected this outburst of sincerity and sneered: "He doesn't like the idea of killing and it rather goes against the grain for him to fight."

Ought youth to like this idea of killing? Ought it not to go against the grain of twentieth-century Christian humanity to fight?

Little evidence of sympathy with the young C.O. was shown by A. B. Swales. He even sneered at Socialist objectors to war and national imperialism. Only after the London Tribunal had been criticised in the press, and the *Daily Herald* in particular, had attacked its behaviour, did Swales remember that he *had* been a member of the working class and a Socialist critic of war. The Tribunal sat for a month before Swales made a scene. At last he protested:—

"I must voice my objection to these questions as being irrelevant," he said.

Alderman Marshall—I think I will retire.

Judge Hargreaves—I hope you won't.

Swales—I object . . .

Judge Hargreaves—I am here to decide whether questions are relevant or not.

Swales—All I want to say is that we will discuss it elsewhere, not in public.

Swales's protest was loudly applauded from the public gallery.

Judge Hargreaves—If people make a noise they will be turned out of court.

Members of the Communist Party and readers of the inglorious *Sunday Worker* will recognise the name of Mr. Swales. He was hailed by the Stalinists as a representative Left Wing leader and exponent of the class struggle. The *Sunday Worker* for September 13, 1925, published a report of the Scarborough Trades Union Congress beneath the following headings:—

"TRADES UNION CONGRESS"

"SWALES' SPLENDID SPEECH."

"Scarborough Congress Consolidates Forward Movement."

The letter-press explained that this Congress *"demonstrated the fact that the rank and file are determined to stand no nonsense."* If the Labour movement is satisfied with Swales' behaviour as a member of the London Tribunal, and considers that such class-collaboration is becoming to an ex-chairman of the T.U.C., obviously there is no limit to the nonsense that it is prepared to stand.

The *Sunday Worker*, in the usual hysterical C.P. style, declared *"It was agreed on all sides that the Scarborough Congress would leave its mark upon Labour history."* The truth is that the Scarborough Congress did not even leave its mark upon the chairman.

The *Sunday Worker* described how the hall was crowded when A. B. Swales rose to deliver his address. Five million organised workers were represented by 724 delegates. This is of great consequence to-day, and has been during the intervening years, whilst Capitalism was preparing for the present Armageddon.

Then followed a summary of the "historic speech" which demanded a straight "fight between Capitalism and Labour."

Swales continued:—

"I take this opportunity of expressing the opinion that our standard-bearers in Parliament will best serve our cause by concentrating in incessant propaganda outside the House of Commons."

Swales concluded that it was necessary "to confront with unbroken spirit and resolute will the powerfully organised forces of Capitalism."

Of course, Swales is playing his part in the fight against Capitalism by serving on the London Militarist Tribunal!

In the *Daily Herald* for November 16, Stuart Fletcher describes a typical sitting of the Tribunal, which differs somewhat from the Tribunals in other parts of Britain. Facing the Trigunal is a half-circle of oak pews. Overlooking them is the public gallery. Around the chamber are stained glass windows of past kings and queens of England. Behind the Judge's chair is a life-size oil-painting of George V. This is flanked by portraits of numerous Mayors of Fulham.

"The stage is set. A clerk—a one-armed man who is probably a wounded veteran of the last war—calls out a name, and a young man . . . walks hurriedly into the well of the court and faces the Tribunal.

"Having verified the applicant's name, the judge reads out his statement claiming exemption. This is a testament of faith, sometimes eloquently, more often tediously written, but none the less a testament.

"The judge reads it out in a flat, dry, hurrying voice as if it is an inventory of rather unsavoury groceries.

"Then come questions. And these . . . give the impression of being designed less to measure the depth of an applicant's conscience than to muddle a mind already confused by the necessity of making a desperate decision."

When Ian G. Forrester-Paton, of Kingsley Hall, Powis Road, Bow, declared that he would not do A.R.P. work, agriculture or any defence work or work of national importance as an apology for refusing to fight, A. B. Swales commented: *"Somebody else has got to feed you, but you won't take a hand in feeding yourself."*

Forrester-Paton—Not to feed war.

Swales—Not much Christianity about that, I am afraid.

And not much Socialism and Labourism about Swales, we are afraid. Alderman Marshall approved. Judge Hargreaves approved. Sir William Baillie approved. Swales, forgetful of Scarborough, and the stupid Stalinist conspiracies that improved his status under capitalism, swelled at such stern capitalist approval.

The Tribunal told Forrester-Paton that he would be granted conditional exemption, only if he secured a job in agriculture, forestry, or the mercantile marine.

We sympathise with the question put by Alderman Marshall, who asked if Forrester-Paton carried a gas-mask. The answer being in the affirmative, Marshall asked: "What is your idea of getting a gas-mask, when you disapprove of A.R.P. work?" The reply was: "It is a compromise."

As opposed to the attitude adopted by Forrester-Paton, we commend the attitude of a Glasgow man, ex-Sergeant-Major Thomas Robinson, who has seen 31 years' service. The Scots *Daily Express* for October 14, 1939, published the following statement made by him to its reporter:—

"I won't carry a mask because I won't wear one. I never wore one in France in the last war either. I've survived three wars, and I'm not likely to be bumped off in this one."

On principle, no conscientious objector, no pacifist, should carry a gas-mask. It is completely wrong. On this point, the Tribunal attitude was correct. It is for the Tribunal to reconcile its approach in this matter with its conclusion in one case where it granted absolute exemption.

Lawrence Bendry Bruce Stokes, of Kew Bridge Court, Chiswick, satisfied the Tribunal that he was a conscientious objector and his name was kept on the register unconditionally.

Stokes stated that he refused to do anything to help on the war. His objection was based on the Ten Commandments. He thought it was better that Austria had been taken over by Germany without a war. *Stokes added that he had tried to join the Metropolitan Police and the A.R.P. Services without success.*

It is impossible to reconcile the decision of total exemption in the Stokes case with that given in the case of Frank Robert Stephen Higgins, Moore Street, Chelsea. Moore was a full-time sergeant in the Special Constabulary, and had done A.R.P. work. He refused to join the cadets when at school, from conscientious objection. The Tribunal said they could not "square" Moore's opinions with his employment and so removed his name unconditionally from the register of conscientious objectors.

The same Tribunal granted conditional conscientious exemption, so long as each remained in his present employment, to:—

(1) Raymond Knight, Balmore Road, Highgate, a full-time First-Aid worker for the A.R.P.

(2) Alan Lloyd, Wilmot Road, Dartford, a machine-minder in a munition factory.

(3) Henry William Kirby, Conder Green Lane, North Cheam, an auto-engineer, who constructed barrage balloons.
(4) Richard James George Price, Heathfield Gardens, Chiswick, a full-time Air Raid warden.

These conditional exemptions imply that it is consistent with conscientious objection to war and to killing to be: (1) a full-time air raid warden; (2) a machine-minder in a munition factory; (3) a constructor of barrage balloons. Why was Higgins turned down for being a Special Constable, and another man attacked for carrying a gas-mask? Why was a third refused for subscribing to Red Cross work?

Swales might have recalled his "historic" Scarborough speech about the straight fight between Capital and Labour, when listening to the case put forward by Harry Judson, of Welbourne Road, London, N. 17. Judson objected to war on social grounds. He refused to be trained for the war machine for the benefit of Capitalists. He protested against being called upon *"to kill fellow wage-slaves of other countries with whom I have no quarrel."*

Sir James Baillie—Russia goes to war.

Judson—Yes, but Russia is a capitalist State.

Sir James—The gentlemen in authority in Russia would be most interested to know they belong to the capitalistic class.

Judson—Since the revolution a Socialist State has not been set up and a Capitalist State exists.

Sir Edmund Phipps—The Labour Party is one of the strongest forces for war. Isn't the Labour Party in the House of Commons a Socialist Party?

Judson—It calls itself the Socialist Party at times. But it does not act as the Socialist Party. When war comes, it swings over to the capitalist class.

Judge Hargreaves—Do you believe in the class-war?

Judson—Yes. Class-war is all around us and is going on all the time.

Judge Hargreaves—Are you willing to take part in the class-war?

Judson—If you interpret the class-war in the terms of killing, no. I am against killing because it is a messy job, and you don't get anywhere with killing.

Judge Hargreaves—Have you religious objections to killing.

Judson—I have no religious convictions. I am an Atheist.

The Tribunal removed Judson's name from the register of conscientious objectors, and he was made available for non-combatant duties only. He was told that he could appeal. Without question, this was a case in which Swales should have spoken in defence of the applicant. But not a word came from the "Left-Wing" hero of Scarborough and C.P. pet. Judson was turned down for avowing his Socialism and answering questions truthfully.

The Tribunal removed the names of the following applicants from the conscientious objector's register, but stipulated that they should be employed in non-combatant duties only:—

(1) Raymond D. Cook, Amery Gardens, Harlesden.
(2) Victor Albert Duker, Highcroft, North Hill.
(3) Alfred George Gray, Abbot Road, Southall.
(4) John William Bland, Argyll Avenue, Southall.
(5) Charles Stanley Moore, Canobee Road, Honor Oak.
(6) Ronald G. Gaymour, Court Way, Twickenham.
(7) B. W. Mack, Lancing Road, Feltham, Middlesex.
(8) Norman Ivor Reynolds.
(9) Henry Smith, Hulse Avenue, Barking, E.
(10) Austin Smith, Greencroft Road, Hounslow.
(11) David Richard Thurlun, Graham Road, Acton Green.
(12) Filber George Barnet, Hartington Road, West Ealing, W.13.
(13) Lawrence Arthur Wormington, South Ealing Road, W.5.
(14) Percy Eric Knapp, Barnfield Road, Ealing.
(15) Philip Ivor Voyce, The Mall, Ealing.
(16) Cedric Alec Collingwood, Stonebridge Park, N.W.
(17) Wilfred Welldon, St. Mary's Road, Bayswater.
(18) John Leslie Smith, Keswick Road, Putney.
(19) Michael M. R. Sorensen.

In our opinion, each of these applicants made out a clear case for total exemption. Their names are recorded because they all declare that they would not render military service of any kind, notwithstanding the Tribunal's decision. They would appeal, and resist if necessary.

Duker and Bland were willing to succour the civil population, but not under military orders. Gray was willing to save civil life under normal circumstances, but not as part of the war machine. He declared that war was a violation of Christianity. This was the view also of Bland. The Rev. H. Westlake, of King's Hall, Southall, spoke in support of Bland's sincerity. Gray was supported by his father, Edgar James Gray, who served in the Great War, but now endorsed his son's anti-militarist views.

Cook declared that the present war was the result of the 1914-18 conflict. He did not fear an enemy over-running Britain, because all tyranny must yield finally to the determined pacifist opposition of an oppressed people. It was impossible for miltarism to conquer civic democracy.

Moore had been a pacifist since he was 15 years of age. He declined to help the wounded or to undertake work of national importance, because that was helping the Government to prosecute the war. He would rather see the country starve than aid violence. He objected to all forms of force, including police courts, law courts, and prisons. Force was unnecessary and created crime and violence.

Judge Hargreaves—Your statement is much wider than anybody else's.

Sir James Baillie—Your ideal is impossible. In fact, it is not an ideal; it is a fantasy.

The Tribunal declared that such things could not be. Moore must take things as they were and try to improve them.

Whether this view was right or wrong, the Tribunal had no right to deny Moore's conscience because they objected to his Utopia. Many things have happened that the learned and great declared would never come to pass. It is far wiser to vision what may be than to prophesy what can never be.

Gaymour was against war and militarism. He refused to do non-combatant work, A.R.P., or work of national importance.

Sir James Baillie—*Can you give me, from Christ's words, a specific condemnation of war, or a specific statement of disapproval of the occupation of a soldier? Give me one statement out of the Gospel and I will be quite satisfied.*

Gaymour—We are commanded not to kill.

Judge Hargreaves—That is in the Old Testament.

Gaymour—We are told: "Whoso taketh the sword shall die by the sword."

Judge Hargreaves said that the Court was satisfied that Gaymour had genuine objections to taking life.

Mack refused to be taught how to kill his fellow-men. Militarism merely meant learning how to murder people.

The father of Reynolds was granted total exemption as a C.O. in 1916. The son regarded war as the law of the jungle and would play no part in military service.

Henry Smith has been opposed to war since leaving school. He would give his life to save another, if necessary: but he was opposed to non-combatant service.

Austin Smith had hesitated at one time, and had considered doing A.R.P. or R.A.M.C. service. He angered the Tribunal by declaring that a soldier could not be a Christian. He declined to explain the religious beliefs of Oliver Cromwell and Chinese Gordon. The Rev. Norman F. Chubb, M.A., minister of Heston Congregational Church, made rather a halting witness in this case.

Thorburn is a communicant of the Church of England. The Tribunal considered that an anti-militarist had no right to be a member of the Church of England. Which may be right. Which means that an Anglican cannot believe in the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man. This decision challenges Thorburn's intelligence, but it certainly does not destroy his conscience.

Wormington was congratulated by Swales on his honest, straightforward statement.

The Tribunal agreed that "there was a certain amount of conscience objection" in Knapp's case.

Voyce belongs to the Pentecostal movement and contended that his loyalty to God compelled him to decline all war loyalty to the Government. The Tribunal considered that he conscientiously objected to the shedding of blood, but they rejected his declaration that non-combatant duty was serving the war machine.

Collingwood stood alone. He belonged to no Peace Society and no religious denomination. War was wrong and must be resisted. He would not kill nor assist anybody else to kill.

Welldon is a Salvationist. He adopted a firm absolutist position. The Tribunal declared that he had a conscientious objection yet rejected his case.

Leslie Smith stated that conscription robbed men of choosing between right and wrong, and was a violation of freedom. The Tribunal decided that Smith showed a degree of conscientious objection, but it was of recent growth.

Sorensen is the son of the Rev. R. Sorensen, M.P., Unitarian minister, Labour M.P. for West Leyton, and a war resister in 1916. The father wrote to the Tribunal:—

> "So far as possible, I have sought to avoid giving my son any bias otherwise than to think for himself, to nourish a sense of social obligation, and to search for and reach his own political and religious convictions."

Unconditional exemption should have been granted in the following cases, instead of the applicant being registered as a conscientious objector, conditionally on undertaking agricultural work or forestry, within one month:—

(1) G. O. Way, of Rosebery Gardens, Sutton, Surrey.
(2) Ronald Arthur Brooks, of Tinto Street, Canning Town.
(3) Lawrence Edgar Sandford, or Gordon Road, Hounslow.
(4) Moses Wilkes, of Fountain Place, Mitcham, Surrey.
(5) Anthony Gilbert Spawforth, of Grenes Park Avenue, Surbiton.
(6) Rupert W. Goldhawk, Barn Hill, Wembley Park.

Brooks is a compositor by trade, but refused to assist in any printing connected with recruiting, war service, or A.R.P. work. He stated:—

> "A person who says he is a follower of Christ and can make himself a part of the war machine for the destruction of other people is a hypocrite."

Sandford declared that Britain had never fought a war that was justifiable morally. He did not recognise the right of any Government to destroy life. If it were necessary he was prepared to lose his job, suffer imprisonment, and even lose his life in pursuit of his opposition to war. He considered the stand against war and conscription an issue of supreme national importance. War did not conform to his ideas of a Christian democracy, for war was only organised murder. War was never a matter of organised defence. One could remove aggression only by removing the causes of aggression.

Moses Wilkes said that, since he could remember, his father, Moses Wilkes, suffered from wounds and disablement received in the last war. He added:—

> *"I would not like to see anyone else suffer as my father has suffered; nor am I prepared to make anybody suffer in that way. I will not partake in war nor assist war in any way."*

His father accompanied Wilkes and spoke on his behalf:—

> *"It would not be fair for my son to carry on where I left off. It is just waste of life, killing or maiming people; and then carrying on, as I have been, without a day's health these last 23 years."*

Judge Hargreaves was annoyed because Goldhawk stressed his refusal to compromise with war in anyway whatever. The learned Chairman asked what Goldhawk was prepared to do,

as the Tribunal had heard only what he was not prepared to do. The country was at war, and the people had to be fed. Would he do anything regarding that? Goldhawk replied that he was not willing to do work of national importance under such circumstances.

Unconditional exemption should have been given to Robert Richard Bance, of 3 Tatan Road, Harlesden, a clerk employed by the Willesden Borough Council. He was registered as a conscientious objector during the present emergency, conditionally on his remaining in his present employment. The Tribunal subjected him to a great deal of badgering.

Judge Hargreaves — Does your objection extend to non-combatant work?

Bance—Yes, because I think A.R.P. work is a part of the war machine, and in connection with agricultural work I feel that in the present circumstances to indulge in that work, to which I am not suited, would be to assist in the war economy of the nation.

Sir Edmund Phipps—Doesn't the Willesden Borough Council do A.R.P. work like other Councils?

Bance—I don't do that work. I have already been asked to do gas training and I refused. I do statistics work in the Juvenile Employment Bureau.

Sir James Baillie—You don't object to assisting a Borough Council that is doing its best to enable citizens to carry on during the war?

Bance—Not if I am serving the community in a constructive way. If I happened to be a member of the Council I would state my views there.

But you are serving the Council?—Yes, but in a civic capacity.

Alderman S. H. Marshall—If you are willing to serve a body that is charged with the protection of the public in all circumstances you are part of it, you know that very well.

Bance—I showed my objection by refusing to do gas drill.

Sir James Baillie—In your work, are you arranging for the employment of people in factories that are working for the war?

Bance—Possibly.

Sir James—It is useful work, but you are stating a position you cannot maintain in actual practice. In fact you are assisting your Borough Council which is doing its best to help the community in time of war.

After further question and answer, Alderman Marshall said: You are really doing non-combatant work now."

George Thomas Plume, of Dunholme Green, N.9, was ordered to do civilian work, and to be trained as an accountant under the direction of the Minister of Labour. He stated that he was not willing to assist in doing any work for the national emergency, nor would he serve in the military machine. He had held Socialist opinions since he was fourteen years of age. Plume said in a long written statement:—

"I object to war on Socialist grounds. I claim that these grounds have a moral basis equally with religious or pacifist grounds. For me, it would be wrong either to kill or to maim, or to prepare to kill or to maim, my fellow-workers of other countries with whom I have no quarrel; or to become any part of the war machine, whose purpose is to defend and to advance Imperial interests which, as a Socialist, I am spending my life in striving to end."

Fenner Brockway spoke in support of Plume's sincerity.

The names of the following persons were removed from the register of conscientious objectors without qualification:—

(1) Peter St. John Lee, of Bark Place, Bayswater.
(2) Vincent N. Scannel, of Besant Road, London, S.E. 18.
(3) Phillip Reed, of Fawley Road, N.W.
(4) Thomas McNulty, a Scot, resident in London.
(5) Hugh John Philip Priest, of Duke's Ave., Chiswick.
(6) Kenneth F. R. Ball, of Holland Park Ave.
(7) William Thomas Finch, of Altrem Street North, London.
(8) Kenneth William Skeates, Windmere Rd., Ealing.

Lee said that conscription was intolerable. War was contrary to humanity, and it would be criminal for him to take any part in it. He did not believe in any peace society or church.

Scannel said that his uncle had been a C.O. The last war did not bring peace and he was not prepared to do anything in this war, not even assist the wounded. The Tribunal decided against Scannel because he admitted having bought a Red Cross button.

Philip Reed was accompanied by his father, Alfred Reed. The latter said he served four years in the R.A.M.C., and had described the horrors he had seen to his son. He concluded: *"I have some photographs here of the last war. Here is one of a man of 17 with both his legs off."*

Thomas McNulty said bluntly: *"I refuse to fight a Capitalist war."*

Ball declared—"I consider killing one of the greatest wrongs that one human being can do to another. . . . I prefer front line service, because I am not afraid to face death. But I must decline to serve one side. I would pick up the wounded from both sides equally. I am not prepared to discriminate between friend or foe."

"It appears," said the Chairman of the Tribunal, with the consent of his colleagues, "that Ball thinks that anyone may do as he likes."

Priest renounced war in 1936, as he became convinced then that he belonged to the larger association of the human race. The Tribunal declared that his objections were genuine but political and not conscientious.

Finch stated that his attitude was endorsed completely by his parents. He declined to consider any work that assisted war or involved the making of weapons of war. His father had served four years in the last war and was still suffering from war wounds. His father was no longer in favour of war.

Each of these objectors should have been granted unconditional exemption.

Here is a contrast—

Frederick Crandley is a cripple. His left leg is withered. He can walk a very little and only stand for a limited time. He was exempted from combatant service. He did not tell the Tribunal he was a cripple, only that he hated war and would not assist in any way.

Reginald William Bundle, of Walpole Road, Walthamstow, said that all that he was prepared to do was to pray for the country. His name was entered in the register without conditions.

The trouble that may have led to the change of attitude subsequently adopted by Swales began at the Sitting on November 1, when the Chairman announced that Henry Wythe, a G.W.R. clerk, of Inwood Road, Hounslow, would be removed from the register of conscientious objectors to be employed on non-combatant work only.

Wythe said that he was a member of the sect known as Jehovah's Witnesses. The Tribunal said that his religion did not exempt him from non-combatant service.

The public protested and shouted down the Court. When the outcry had died down Judge Hargreaves said:—

"If there are any more disturbances and bad manners I will have the gallery cleared. The public do not come here to amuse themselves and jeer and boo as their feelings dictate. If they do that they are guilty of bad manners and I will clear the court."

Thomas Jack Law, of Kilburn Park Road, N.W., called his father, a disabled ex-soldier, to speak for him. His father explained his present beliefs, and the beliefs in which he had reared his son, as follows:—

"War is filthy and contemptible. After having suffered in the hospital for five years, two years on my back, I determined that if ever I got out I would instruct my son under no conditions whatever to participate in such filthy, dirty work."

Replying to the Chairman, the father said he served in the Army in 1915:—

"I volunteered because I had a farm, and they said I was there to protect it from the Germans.

"After I came back I found it wasn't the Germans. It was the people I had gone to fight for."

This drew loud applause from the gallery. The public cheered again and again. This angered the Chairman and members of the Tribunal.

The Chairman—I will give the people in the gallery the opportunity to leave quietly, or I will adjourn the court so that these fellows will have to come back another day.

We can understand the Chairman objecting to applause. But where was his judicial dignity, in referring to applicants as "these fellows." *A Chairman who speaks like this in court should be removed from his post immediately.*

The gallery was cleared finally, at the request of the applicants, although we cannot understand why they should agree to a private hearing.

The Tribunal decided that Law should be registered as a conscientious objector, conditionally on getting agricultural or forestry work.

The same decision was given in the case of Thomas William Richardson, of Springfield Road, East Ham, whose father was killed in action during the Great War, after winning the M.C., the D.C.M., and the Russian Cross of St. George. Richardson is a Methodist preacher and the Rev. A. E. Binks supported his application.

"Five months after his father's death," said the minister, "this boy was born; and his mother instilled into him a hatred of war."

The public report of these scenes roused the interest of the Rev. C. G. Holland, Vicar of Ewell. He attended the proceedings day after day and sat in the public gallery, a silent, keen-faced observer. He concluded that objectors ought to be legally represented.

He considered that the demonstrations made in the gallery were entirely justified. "I am convinced," he told the *Daily Herald*, "that under existing conditions, young men do not get an opportunity to express themselves adequately."

He also protested against the methods of the Tribunal:—

"Although the number of members was stated to be five, there have on many occasions only been three, consisting of a judge, a professor of philosophy at Oxford, and a third evidently a local man.

"The chairman and the more active partner have peculiar views on the teaching and example of Christ. As this has been seen to play so vital a part, I would like as a priest to rebut many of their mistaken arguments.

"By the standards of these men Christian consciences of the objectors are being judged."

This means that Swales did not attend to protect the interest of working-class youth as regularly as he ought to have done.

LETTERS

Dear Comrade Editor,—It has been a pleasure to read the October WORD. This is the feeling of all comrades here. As this war progresses the real character of individuals will be revealed. No words can erase the betrayal of the socialist cause by the lying parliamentarians. To-day is a time of supreme test for the principles of the socialist since propaganda cannot stop the war. The result of the Clackmannanshire by-election gives an indication of the war mood of the masses. For the time being the struggle for emancipation has been arrested.

I believe now that one can only play an individual part in opposing war. The future history of our fight will record that humanity had to pass through barbarity twice in twenty years to see reason. Our ideals will not be held in vain.

With fraternal greetings,

Wood Green, London, N.22, October 26, 1939. ALEC KAYE.

Dear Comrade Editor,—I beg of you, as I did Fenner Brockway, to unite with every stop-the-war, anti-imperialist movement. There's a colossal power for good in this benighted country of ours, if only we can organise and get together more. Look at the P.P.U. in a few short years!

THE WORD is an excellent paper, with a lot of bite in it. As Mat Kavanagh says "More power to your elbow." I won't flatter you foolishly, but I do wish we had a few more men like you.

In all sincerity and friendship,

Kilburn, London, N.W.6., W. A. RATHKEY.

October 28, 1939.

Dear Sir,—If you should have any of the little books on **John McLean, Martyr of the Class Struggle**, which you wrote could you kindly send me two copies? I am an ex-serviceman, 47 years of age, but I became a Pacifist after the last great disaster. I used to listen to you at West Regent Street with great interest. I have been unemployed for 6 years. I wish we had a dozen John McLeans and a dozen Guy Aldreds. Of course, there was only one John McLean and there is only one Guy Aldred! Oh! how we should recognise their worth, those men who remained true to principle and kept out of the Westminster Gas House. What a debacle we are having now!

DUNCAN KELLY.

Alexandria, Dumbartonshire, October 15, 1939.

Our Letter Box is on Page 43

GLASGOW "CONCHIES" TRIBUNAL—

The Glasgow and West of Scotland Tribunal for conscientious objectors opened its proceedings at the Sheriff Court, Glasgow, on October 16. The members of the Tribunal were :—

(1) Sir ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL BLACK, K.C., O.B.E., Chairman; Sheriff of Lanarkshire; Sheriff of Stirling, 1933-37; Procurator for the Church of Scotland, 1936-37; Asst. Editor "Encyclopedia of the Laws of Scotland," 1926-34.

(2) Sir ROBERT BRUCE, LL.D., born 1871; on *Glasgow Herald*, 1894-1936; Editor in Chief since 1917.

(3) WM. LORIMER, O.B.E., born 1875; official of the Associated Blacksmith's Union since 1909; General Secretary since 1919.

(4) ROBERT BRYCE WALKER, C.B.E.; born 1873; Solicitor since 1896; County Clerk of Lanarkshire, 1923-1938.

(5) J. J. CRAIK HENDERSON, born 1890; Professor of Mercantile Law at Glasgow University since 1929; joined Royal Scots, 1914; Commissioned and served until 1919; Ex-chairman Hillhead Unionist Association.

The Trade Union representative on this Tribunal was futile, just like Andrew Clarke, the T.U. representative on the Edinburgh Tribunal, and Swales, the T.U. representative on the London Tribunal.

Since this Tribunal has completed its labours for the present, we are able to estimate its conclusions more fairly than would have been possible at one time. During part of the proceedings, the Sheriff Principal of Lanarkshire revealed little of that knowledge of the first principles of jurisprudence, or the rules of primary or secondary evidence, to be expected of such a learned jurist. Then he changed, and once more approached the matter in a manner worthy of an academic mind. He put aside bias and without question saw the conscientious objector's side in some cases that had to be considered on merit alone. He had the opportunity of proving himself a great lawyer and a useful social thinker. It is a pity that he did not seem equal to his task equally all the time. Where he failed to apply his legal capacity, he sinned less against the conscientious objectors, whatever their future struggle, than against the law of thought. This is the unpardonable offence, the crime or error of fundamental rectitude. The right of conscience is not a whimsical concession to cowardly intellects or sentmental minds, but a constitutional principle of democratic society. Conscience is more than an individual right. It is an integral principle of the social development. Finally, society must be built on conscience and not on power or force or violence of any description. Wherever the Sheriff Principal reasoned against his academic training, or permitted his colleagues to do so, he shamed the logic of his training, and warred against the integrity of his mind. Even the lay mind can sense the gravamen of such an error.

Sir Robert Bruce asked questions no editor should have advanced. As a trained and distinguished journalist, he ought to have known that many of his questions were contrary to fact and to truth. Journalists are supposed to know and to interpret the world. Alas! they only serve the world and so betray and deceive humanity.

Walker is a solicitor who fits into legal ruts, a man of routine mind. The academic training of such men fails them as soon as they become solicitors. They become mere general practitioners of law, licensed traders, governed by typewriters, forms, the Parliament House Book, and occasional references to the Faculty Digest. Thinking departs from them once they put up their legal name-plate. Yet Walker was party to some decisions that did the Tribunal honour. We would respond more heartily to this fact were it not that we are conscious of the persecution to be faced by the youths who have been rejected.

Professor Henderson would prove a jurist worthy of his academic training, if he were to lose his financial interests and could forget his Tory associations. He cannot depart from his position as a bulwark of a tottering social order long enough to pause to reflect legally and constitutionally. He should go to a real law school as a student, and learn what academic training really means. He has the honours and degrees. Some of the decisions show that he has the mind. But he should exercise jealously his great gifts, and so make his every decision worthy of his academic distinction. A jurist must never sicken in his reasoning approach to fine problems of law and understanding.

Few great doctors have held degrees or have been honoured or recognised by the medical association. Many have been outcast. The corner-stones of the temple are rejected. Few men of vision have been divines. The greatest of English jurists was not entitled to practise law. Jesus typifies the same truth. He was without scholarship and had no legal status of divinity. He scorned professional learning. The adjective applied and not the noun. The latter was deleted that the shadow might become the substance. Did not Hans Andersen immortalise this truth in a fairy-tale? When Henderson's conclusions were conventional and ungenerous, they upheld the criticism of Jesus. Where Henderson showed understanding, he vindicated not only his humanity but his law-standing.

The Glasgow Tribunal was sometimes right in making its decisions. Often, it approached the problem with an awkward feeling—it must not grant exemption. The Rev. T. J. Harvey, Minister of the Partick Baptist Church, attacked its power and sense of decision at the annual assembly in Glasgow of the Baptist Union of Scotland. He accused the Tribunal of war-mindedness.

"I think that something should be done about this," Mr. Harvey told the Assembly. "I have attended this Tribunal, and I have noticed that all the members of the Tribunal are for war."

A delegate shouted "Question."

Mr. Harvey—There is no doubt about it. I have listened to the questions which the Tribunal members put to the lads who come before them. I think something should be done to ensure that those with conscientious principles should not be called upon to fight. We are all out for liberty of conscience.

The first three days' hearings of the Tribunal were October 16, 18, 19. During that period 59 cases were heard with results that fully justified the Rev. T. J. Harvey's criticism. The decisions were :—

Non-Combatant Service	26
National Service of a Civilian Nature	15
Entered on the Military Register	11
Unconditional Exemption	7

These results were recorded during what threatened to be the best period of the Tribunal hearings. After the first day, the Tribunal became, for a while, with certain rare exceptions, hostile to the applicants. Recruiting and open-attack became the order on the second and third days. After that the Tribunal ceased to enquire into the sincerity of the applicant, and conceived it to be a duty to persuade, guide, or command the applicants into some form of service. The youths, unused to the atmosphere of a court room, were subjected to ironic humour, which amounted almost to open brow-beating. Before closing its sittings, the Tribunal recovered its integrity and consideration.

One applicant from Partick, named Ross, had his case considered on its merit, without any unfair questioning. He was put at his ease and questioned pertinently. A thorough desire was shown to understand his viewpoint. At the end he was granted total exemption and thanked for answering the questions honestly and fearlessly. Not merely the decision, but the manner of the Tribunal in this case, did credit to every member.

Superficially, the first day's proceedings offered few grounds for complaint. Fundamentally, we think that it was open to grave objections. The first case decided only took a few minutes to decide. Total exemption was granted to A. W. Murdoch, "Morven," Tower Drive, Gourock; David Alexander Kennedy, 15 Blackwood Street, Barrhead, who described himself as a "pacifist propagandist and lecturer in the technique of non-violence"; his brother, John Kennedy; and David A. Murray, 4 Dalcross Street, Glasgow.

The Sheriff-Principal insisted on the oath being taken. This is an abuse of process whatever the regulations. In 1916 the applicant could be accompanied and represented by anyone he wished. He could speak on his own behalf, as a reasoner, which is another matter from oath-taking or affirmation. *Only evidence, and strictly evidence, should be given in this fashion.* The decision should rest with the applicant, to his peril maybe, and not with the Tribunal.

David Kennedy protested against the absurdity of taking the oath. But he took it, although not in the most respectful way. He averred that he had no objection to taking it. As a Christian, Kennedy ought to have known that Jesus forbade his disciples to swear, and declared that they must say "Yea" or "Nay." Why did not Kennedy uphold the Christian principle in this matter? It would have been dignified and true and would have become his stand.

Kennedy based his objection on three grounds : (1) Christian; (2) Humanitarian; (3) Ordinary Common Sense. He said that war was "just daft."

John Kennedy objected to work of national importance, because it was directed towards helping the military machine.

Sheriff-Principal—Would you refuse to eat bread provided for you at the risk of other men's lives?—No, I would not, because I was born into this society and cannot withdraw from it.

Bryce Walker—Assuming that the hosiery factory in which you are employed were for the service of the troops, would you feel compelled to leave that employment?—Yes.

Asked if he were a member of any religious body, he said he was not, but he was a Christian.

If the Kennedy decisions were correct, as we hold they were, the questionings put to other applicants, and the comments made by the members of the Tribunal on the replies received, were wrong **completely.**

Murray contended that his conscience was a moral law greater than that of the State. The Tribunal treated him with consideration and respect. Which only means that those less educated and less classically-minded than Murray should be represented. Even the dumb may be conscientious.

Sir Archibald Black—Can this law to which you refer not be described as high-grade materialism or is it more than materialism?—May I define it as moral intuition?

The applicant obeyed the Christian ethics without embracing the Christian faith. He had not yet made up his mind on religion, but contended that his pacifism was a faith.

The Sheriff—Is it?

"We are none of us concerned whether your beliefs are right or wrong," Sir Archibald pointed out. "What we are concerned with is the sincerity behind those beliefs. I may say we are extremely interested in your arguments."

Replying to the Sheriff that his belief prohibited him from taking part even in non-combatant military service, Murray said he did not desire that others should fight for him while he did work of national importance or of a non-combatant nature.

The Sheriff—Suppose there was an air raid and people were injured, would you regard it as wrong and contrary to your beliefs to give the injured any assistance?—If I did so in a casual way I would do what I could to prevent human beings from suffering, and that would be an end to it. But if I joined some body, civil or military, to alleviate suffering in war-time I would be to some extent supporting the war.

Questioned regarding civil work of national importance, Murray said if he took such work he would be doing the least possible for the prosecution of the war, and yet he would be supporting the war.

The Sheriff—You would rather go the whole way than quarter-way?—Yes.

The Tribunal retired to consider its decision. On its return the Chairman announced that Murray had been granted total exemption. "The Tribunal," said the Sheriff, "have considered your case, and we think that it is an exceptional one."

Other persons to whom the Tribunal granted total exemption included:—J. Robinson, 15a George Street, Port Glasgow, a Roman Catholic, who stressed his ethical objection to war and claimed to be a true Roman Catholic; E. Steele, a missionary student, living at 74 Bellville Street, Greenock; and E. G. Nairns, 22 Clouston Street, Glasgow, who declared that his convictions had led him to become a vegetarian.

Unconditional exemption was granted also to Peter McNaughton, of Orr Street, Glasgow. He read his case in a low voice from a sheet of foolscap:—

"I am a conscientious objector to military service because my home life has forced me to realise the horror of war.

"My father served in the last war and lost his reason as a result. He has been in an asylum ever since, and does not even know he has a son.

"I have my reason and I want to keep it. I am not pleading hardship, although I am an only child and support my mother. It is impossible to believe in God as a common father of mankind and yet to go out and kill my fellow men—my brothers in the sight of God."

The decision was given in this case without questioning. The conclusion, and the manner of giving it, did the Tribunal honour. The story behind the application is simple and tragic—a sidelight on the meaning of war. Private Peter McNaughton, of the King's Own Scottish Borderers, served almost throughout the Great War, and left the Army for a mental home in 1918. He has been there ever since and does not know his only son, born in the last days of 1918.

A. Day, 17 Dempster Street, Greenock; J. Brown, 71 Stratford Street, Maryhill; and H. A. Brown of 43 Gateside Street, Hamilton, were granted conditional exemption, provided each remained in his present trade.

Day stated that he was employed with J. G. Kincaid & Co. He was not employed in war-work, but was helping to built merchant ships.

Bryce-Walker—But these are surely necessary for the conduct of the war?

Day—They also can be used in time of peace.

Brown turned down a job as professional footballer at £8 per week because playing football was not consistent with his religion. His father told the Tribunal that his son had been offered 30s. a game by a football club when he was only 14½ years of age. He refused all offers because of his religious views.

"On the Sunday night he was converted," the father added, "he had to go to Aberdeen to play in a schools international match on the following Saturday. His whole outlook on life was completely changed and he did not go."

"I believe the cause of war is sin," Brown said, "and God abhors it. Therefore I cannot participate in anything directly or indirectly associated with it."

"I have not kicked a football since leaving school," Brown told a reporter afterwards. It is against all my belief and I have refused to sign up with clubs. I would rather be a bricklayer and obey my conscience."

It may not make much practical difference to Brown, but it is our view that he ought to have been placed on the register of conscientious objectors unconditionally.

J. Brown, an apprentice engineer fitter, should have received total exemption also. His statement carried its own evidence of truthfulness, as the reader can see from reading it in full:—

"As a child of ten I used to watch soldiers in nearby barracks. I would have a funny feeling and run away, and maybe a few days later I would go back.

"When I watched the soldiers drilling I had a feeling that they were like a lot of animals rather than men.

"Looking through a gate and seeing them drilling and marching and training sort of gave me a feeling that they were not human. I used to get frightened."

The following non-combatant decisions condemned the Tribunal rather than the applicants:

(1) J. Mitchell, 106 Crookston Drive, Ralston, Renfrewshire.
(2) J. A. Boyd, 207 Bonkle Road, Newmains.
(3) A. C. Hamilton, 253 Orbiston Street, Glasgow.
(4) R. McCallum, c/o Battison, 38 Eldon Street, Greenock.

In each case, total exemption should have been granted.

Mitchell is the son of a man who was a conscientious objector to the last war. The father said he was proud of his son's refusal to be a soldier. The only permanent result of war was graveyards. Mitchell based his refusal on humanitarian, moral, and pacifist grounds. Mitchell stated he had not decided yet his religion as there were so many beliefs. Man was the most inhuman animal that existed.

Boyd had these questions, among others, fired at him by the Tribunal:—

"Is it a matter of utter indifference to you if this country goes down in ruins, so long as your personal salvation is secure?"

"Is it your view that all the soldiers and sailors and airmen in H.M. Forces are not true Christians?"

These questions cannot be defended.

Hamilton declared—"I regard militarism as a mad, insane machine."

McCallum is a member of the Y.M.C.A. and a worker in the Christian Endeavour movement. He would resign from the Y.M.C.A. if called upon to assist in any work of providing comforts for soldiers. All military work was contrary to the teaching of Christ. He would not work in the R.A.M.C. because that was preparing soldiers to go back into the firing lines. He would do what he could to help a man injured in an air raid. What he did afterwards was none of the applicant's business. It would have made no difference to the act of the Good Samaritan if it transpired that the man he helped had resisted the robbers with force.

McCallum's answers were simple, true and direct. His reply was exactly the same as that of David Murray and the Kennedys. When he told the Tribunal that he would not help the State to prosecute war, he was accused of taking advantage of the food and other things provided for him by men who served the State. The Chairman commented: *"It looks to me a little like making the best of both worlds."*

If this taunt were correct, it is the *unanswerable* reply to *every* conchie. Actually, war destroys food and menaces the amenities of civilisation.

We pass to some of those who should have been granted unconditional exemption, but were placed on the military register without qualification:—

(1) J. A. Murray, Rock View House, Maryhill.
(2) J. H. Kier, 317 Wellshot Road, Shettleston.
(3) R. Rankine, 110 Cornwall Street, Glasgow.
(4) F. G. Boag, 59 Brawhirley Road, Greenock.
(5) D. R. Jamieson, 56 Old Dumbarton Road, Glasgow.
(6) S. W. Irving, Kilmory, Adele Street, Motherwell.
(7) Albert Begg, 73 Orchard Park Avenue, Giffnock.
(8) J. M. Logan, 50 Stewart Drive, Clarkston, Glasgow.
(9) J. McLaren, 62 Copland Road, Glasgow.

J. A. Murray was prepared to do nothing but pray *"for the removal of the spirit of war."* The London Tribunal granted total exemption to R. W. Bundle, who adopted exactly the same attitude.

Kier declared that he had no quarrel with the people whose lives he was being asked to take. They were absolutely innocent, and he would not take arms against them. It was sometimes necessary to take the life of an individual. He owed a greater allegiance to the human race than to his country.

Answering Sir Robert Bruce, Kier said:—

"I think of all evils the results of war are the worst. I do not think any evil that would result from passive resistance to an enemy would be comparable to the evils resulting through war."

Rankine had the last word to the Tribunal: *"I'm not joining up anyway."*

Boag stated his views very clearly. He described work of national importance as industrial conscription. He would appeal against the Tribunal's decision, and in the end, if necessary, resist. He was determined, as a Christian, to resist war uncompromisingly.

Jamieson wounded Sir Robert Bruce's delicate feelings about the League of Nations. He declared that the League was forgotten and that international regeneration could come, not from war, but only through a League of Nations.

Sir Robert Bruce—The League of Nations is not quite moribund!

Irving startled the Chairman. He averred that a State could find argument always for legal murder.

Sir A. C. Black—Would you ask for the assistance of the police if you were attacked by a gang?

Irving—That is quite an interesting point you have raised. Yes, I would!

Sir A. C. Black—Why?

Irving—In return for taxation I am entitled to police protection.

Irving won the argument but lost his case.

Logan was placed on the military register for his fearless logic. In addition to holding strong anti-war views, Logan objected as a Scots Nationalist, on the following grounds:—

"The Armed Forces Act is not constitutional in Scotland for three reasons.

"The Parliament by which it was enacted exists by virtue of the Treaty of Union. Every important clause of the Treaty of Union has been broken repeatedly in letter and spirit. Therefore this Parliament has destroyed the Treaty by reason of which it has jurisdiction over Scotland and has thereby destroyed its jurisdiction.

"The Scottish people are entitled to refuse obedience to its enactments.

"The Act is further in violation of Section 18 of the Treaty of Union, which expressly requires that no alteration can be made in laws concerning private rights in Scotland except by separate legislation for Scotland for evident utility of the subjects within Scotland.

"The Act is further unconstitutional because it imposes obligations on Scottish citizens which are not equally imposed on all other parts of the United Kingdom, contrary to the Treaty of Union.

"I am an advocate of Scottish independence. I believe that the United Kingdom has been dissolved by reason of the repeated breaches of the Treaty of Union.

"I do not regard myself as a subject of the so-called United Kingdom, but as a Scottish citizen, owing no allegiance to the King of England. I cannot and will not take the military oath of allegiance, or submit myself to any military or other authority constituted by the Government of the so-called United Kingdom.

"I do not recognise the right, legal or moral, of this Tribunal to pronounce judgment on my sincerity on this matter, nor do I acknowledge their jurisdiction over me. In appearing before this Tribunal I do so only as a courtesy."

McLaren offended the Tribunal with his naiveness. He declared that God had sent him a divine command to resist war and military service.

Professor Craik Henderson—How did you get these instructions?

McLaren—They came to me in a dream.

Craik Henderson—Did God send you to the No-Conscription League?

McLaren—Yes; to get their legal help!

Which was unanswerable. To prove it was not God who sent him, the Tribunal turned the application down.

Here are some Tribunal odds and ends, cited without relation to decisions.

J. A. Doherty, 17 Church Street, Uddingston, objected to taking part in war, or in civil measures for the prosecution of the war.

Professor J. J. Craik-Henderson—What is your job?—I work in a department which deals in dress shirts.

Professor Henderson—If you were put in a department dealing with khaki shirts you would resign?—Yes.

In another case, the Chairman attacked an applicant for reading Tolstoy, and asked if he had read John Knox's "Book of Discipline." He styled John Knox a great writer, whereas John Knox is unreadable. Knox may be a great and fearless character. He was neither thinker nor writer. Tolstoy was a thinker and writer and an immortal.

The Chairman asked:—

"Then why must you go stravaiging among foreign writers, and never give a thought to our own great writers?"

John Knox got his creed from stravaiging after a foreigner, a persecuting and most undesirable foreigner, John Calvin. The latter boasted, quite wrongly, of stravaiging after another foreigner much admired by Sir Archibald Black, but not respected too strictly—Jesus called Christ since his death!

The applicant apologised, being young, to his bullying elders, to the scoffers in high place, as the Psalmist would say:—

"It was purely an accident took me to Tolstoy, but no accident ever took me near John Knox."

It was not an accident that took him to Tolstoy, but circumstance, commonsense, and opportunity. It would require a calamity to take one near John Knox. The result would be complete catastrophe.

Questions that ought never to have been asked and incidents that ought not to have happened are these:—

"Do you think a municipality is justified in maintaining a police force?"

"Must I answer that question?"

Sheriff-Principal—"Refuse at your peril."

Two observations by the Tribunal:—

"It is the duty of a citizen to be loyal to the throne."

"Of course, Parliament may take away your conscientious objection."

The first statement is a fallacy. The duty of the citizen is to be loyal to his own thought.

Parliament can never take away conscience.

W. Ramsay, 43 Exeter Drive, Glasgow, was granted total exemption. Sir Robert Bruce asked what he would do if he was a Dutchman living in Holland. Would he do nothing at all to help to repel the invaders?

The applicant replied that he would do nothing.

Sir Robert—What would your attitude be?

Applicant—Passive resistance.

Sir Robert—What help would that be?

Applicant—If everybody adopted passive resistance there would be no invaders.

Sir Robert—How would you defend yourself?

Applicant—I would register a strong protest.

The Tribunal displayed humour, understanding and good-nature in the case of R. McBurnie, Orchard Cottage, Ruthwell, Dumfries, who requested:—

"If you cannot grant me my liberty, by which I mean my freedom of conscience, then I ask you to sentence me to death so that I may die with a clear conscience."

After concluding his appeal, McBurnie said:—

"If you are not going to sentence me to death I would like to catch a train leaving St. Enoch at 5.20."

McBurnie was granted unconditional registration as a conscientious objector. Professor J. J. Craik Henderson told him:—

"We will try to meet your request, but we cannot sentence you to death."

SONG OF THE MACHINE GUN.

Master, Master,
Feed me faster:
Let not the cost be reckoned.
The world has plenty
Of one and twenty,
Let me not waste a second.

—W. A. RATHKEY.

GLASGOW SECULAR SOCIETY—Meets in the McLellan Galleries, every Sunday, 6.30 p.m. Readers should attend the meetings of this organisation and so strengthen the cause of Free Thought, Free Speech, Free Press, and Radicalism of Individual Right and Civil Liberty. Members of Glasgow S.S. support the C.O's. and all friends of liberty should rally to the Glasgow S.S.

OUR LETTER-BOX

Dear Sir,—I attended all three meetings which you addressed while in Aberdeen and intended speaking to you at your last meeting (outdoor) but interruptions were considerable and darkness beginning to fall, so that I felt obliged to leave. Will you therefore accept by gratitude for the service you are rendering the common people and for Peace?

I am a member of the Peace Pledge Union, but I often feel disheartened, because I think that we do not work hard enough. I am not sure if I express myself very well, but I agreed with your criticism of Canon Morris—I do think that if one is against war one should not dabble in Red Cross work or such like; which seems to me as though one apologised for one's pacifism. Our attitude should ever be that of a courageous stand—we are right, **militarists are wrong.**

I lose no opportunity of spreading THE WORD. May I congratulate you on such an excellent paper. I never read a better one, and have converted quite a few by showing them statistics regarding pensions for Brass Hats in comparison with the rank and file, contained in the June issue.

Such a title too! A delicious satire on Bible-thumpers—THE WORD!

With renewed thanks for your lectures,

(Mrs.) ISOBEL KNIGHT.

Aberdeen, October 17, 1939.

[*This letter should have been published before our November visit to Aberdeen. The nerves of our former printer threw all the organisation's plans out of joint.—Ed.]

My Dear Friend,—Just to let you know I am still alive . . .

I take PEACE NEWS weekly and am glad to know you are still carrying on with your **noble** work. What a rotten crowd the labour fakirs have proved to be. Just what you prophesied 35 years ago when you denounced the Rev. Ramsay Mac. and the Rev. Philip Snowden.

I met Fred Howard last August in Hyde Park and had a long chat with him. He seems to have a great respect for you. He wrote to me the next day explaining why he went astray owing to the labour bosses of those times.

I thank you for THE WORD. You must feel very proud of your Army Discharge. What a fighter for righteousness you have proved to be!

I founded a Newbury Socialist Church here some years ago but could not carry on owing to the difficulty in finding a hall. Newbury is a Tory stronghold and I have been boycotted in my business a great deal.

I expect you have given Andrew Stewart a good lecture on the futility of parliamentary action.

With every good wish,

London, October 25, 1939. S. J. WILLCOCK.

Dear Comrade Aldred,—So far as I can gather from the reports given to me re the London Tribunal, Swales, the ex-T.U.C. chairman, has not helped the C.O's. very much. Hargreaves, the Judge, considering his bias, at first, endeavoured to show understanding and to be courteous. Later, his behaviour almost moved me to madness. A trained County Court Judge taking the rise out of youngsters of 20!

Best wishes to all Scots comrades,

Willesden, N.W.10., November 7. C. JONES.

Dear Guy,—I am on the "dole," and look like remaining so, at my age, and with my reputation. The chances for work are small. The only advantage is, I have time to work for the cause. Never was it more necessary to do so. I still stick to open-air propaganda and command good crowds, in spite of the weather and other adverse conditions.

Our little group of the N.C.L. contends that the organisation should be known as The Workers' Rights League, because:—

(1) Conscription is now the law, and the name, N.C.L., is a misnomer.
(2) Issues of equal importance, and of a clearer nature, will arise. We must have an organisation to cope with them. The N.C.L. should give birth to that organisation. Owing to their war policies, the Labour Party and the I.L.P. are discredited. We have clear and definite views, and we have urged them throughout the crisis.
(3) The program of the Workers' Rights League must be definitely Anti-Parliamentary.

Of course, if the majority of the organisation insist on the N.C.L., we will accept that decision.

The C.P. commands no respect. This leaves the field open for real revolutionary activity. It is a strange thing and has puzzled me a lot. Men leave the Labour Party to join the I.L.P., or become Anarchists. Sometimes they drift back, but they never lose contact entirely. Bolshies, as a rule, once they leave the C.P., seem to drift out of the movement altogether.

I hope and expect an article from you on the Pollitt incident. How completely consistent the whole affair is with the policy of the Party line! Another Moscow trial—in Britain! "The dog returns to its vomit." "I will," says the culprit, "with all due humiliation, cover myself with sack-cloth and ashes and eat my words. Whatever thou sayest, Holy Father Stalin, is right. In the true interests of Our Most Holy Church, I confess that I did wrong in having an opinion of my own. I should have changed my views three times in three days, as required by the Party Dictatorship from Moscow. I renounce my manhood for my weekly salary."

The rank and file of the Communist Party, who can follow such a leadership, are not worth converting or defending. They deserve to be conscripted and shot as soon as possible. The men of good records in the working-class struggle were attracted towards the C.P. in the early days of the organisation. Now, these seem to have faded away.

Clare Jones was down here last Sunday. Very fine open-air meeting. Last night we held a "Mock Tribunal." There was a good audience and much appreciation.

Jones and your son are coming down here soon, to give a hand on the front. We are making headway slowly. But what a fight it has been, since you and I spoke together in Liverpool, full of enthusiasm in 1906.

All good wishes,

MATT KAVANAGH.

Southend-on-Sea, November 10.

Dear Comrade,—I hope the next issue of THE WORD will publish a report of the success of the splendid meeting we had at the Belmont Cinema, addressed by Comrade Ethel MacDonald. The meeting was a rousing one. Comrade Fraser MacIntosh was in the chair. It is a pity that the Socialist movement has so few members of Ethel MacDonald's calibre. We, of the Aberdeen I.L.P., are hoping that she will be able to return soon to the Silver City to speak under our auspices.

We have been doing good propaganda work. Oliver Brown, P.P.U., spoke jointly under our auspices and those of the P.P.U. in another anti-war demonstration. A resolution was carried against Emergency Powers Regulations.

I have been urging the local branch of the N.C.L. to go ahead with its activity. Our branch of the I.L.P. is thoroughly loyal to the N.C.L. and is willing to grant the complete use of the Belmont Cinema on any Sunday, or to arrange a joint meeting. Since Bailie Tom Kerr of Glasgow opposed the last war, and maintains such consistent opposition to-day, although Senior Magistrate of Glasgow, we would like him to visit Aberdeen. We have advertised John McGovern as an anti-war speaker.

Please deal vigorously with Bailie Jones.

Yours in the Struggle,

JOHN S. THOMSON,

Propaganda Secretary, Aberdeen I.L.P.

Aberdeen, November 1.

Dear Sir,—The enclosed pamphlets may be of interest to you, perhaps. It is unfortunate that monetary reform should so often have been regarded as a rival to, or substitute for Socialism. The real fact is that it is something essential to the production of the best results under **any** political and social system, and **any** organisation of industry.

Make any use you like of the literature I send. There is no copyright.

Yours truly,

TAVISTOCK.

Newton Stewart, October, 30,1939.

[*The Marquis of Tavistock sends the following pamphlet: **"Poverty and Over-Taxation: The Way Out,"** 6d., and a series of other pamphlets, noticed elsewhere. Also, several MSS. One of these we have printed, not because we endorse its approach, but because it is simply and directly written. It challenges consideration. Hitlerism arises from national humiliation and dictated treaties like that of Versailles. But we are opposed to Hitlerism as to all imperialism and dictatorship. Only the German workers must destroy it.—Ed.]

Turn to Page 40 for more letters

WE HAVE RECEIVED

By The Marquis of Tavistock. Published by R. J. Scrutton, "Prosperity" Office, Paynes Lane, Coventry.

(1) Poverty and Over-Taxation. 52 pages; 6d.
(2) Why Not Think?
(3) Why Have This War?
(4) Some Critics' Fallacies.
(5) I Can't Understand Finance.
(6) The Monetary System as The Chief Cause of War.
(7) When There is No Vision The People Perish.

The prices of five of these pamphlets is not given. They should be either 2d. or 3d. each.

EDITOR'S PERSONAL APPEAL

This appeal is written in the first person single, instead of the editorial plural. It is a direct personal appeal from the editor to his readers.

The copy for the November issue was returned to me by the printers. They had omitted to place their imprint on a leaflet issued by the N.C.L., and were fined £5 in consequence and informed that they could have been fined £25,000. From the letter, dated November 9, accompanying the return of the M.SS. I extract this paragraph :—

"Sorry we could not print this, as everything of this nature would be suspect at the present time, as instance them serving a summons because of no imprint on a leaflet for The West of Scotland No Conscription League, whereby we are liable to a fine not exceeding £25,000.

As I could not find a printer, it became necessary to establish an independent press. The expense has been heavy. I ask comrades to help. A printing press has no meaning if the right to print what one feels is true is barred. The press is the engine of freedom and not of silent acquiescence in authority. It produced the Bible against authority in the days of Wycliffe and later. It produced the thought of Thomas Paine and pioneered Radicalism, Rationalism, and Free-thought in the glorious days of Richard Carlile and his brave shopmen and shopwomen. It must not be betrayed to-day.

The "Conchie" question is so important, the usual 8 pages are not sufficient space in which to do justice to the facts. Hence the present 12-paged issue. Even on the 8-paged issue, to date, I have incurred a loss of £70. In addition, there is maintained a postal mission which makes contact throughout Britain and is unifying the movement. About £30 has been spent on this postal mission since May. I think readers should make up this £100 deficit now. This will enable me to enlarge the paper permanently.

I appeal to readers to send along addresses of possible new readers and subscribers. Papers are sent gladly. It is spreading *The Word*!

Reports were published in the June issue of the police court proceedings in the Hyde Park case. I conducted the appeal in person in the High Court of King's Bench. The behaviour of the Lord Chief Justice (Hewart) and his two colleagues, recalled the behaviour of Richard Carlile's judges, and Karl Marx's censure of these dignatories. The Labour and Socialist movement in London did not support this struggle for civil liberties in Hyde Park. I lost the fight for ordinary propaganda rights, which affects all thinkers, because I stood alone, unbacked by any public opinion. I had to pay four fares to London specially for this case. My law reports cost £2 2s. Without these I could not have argued. The fine was £2. I had to pay £1 15s. to the Police Court and £2 to the High Court expenses.

The costs of the Treasury, which I had to pay, and for which I hold the receipt, were £33 16s. 3d. This makes a total outlay as follows :—

Court Costs and Fines	£5	15	0
Treasury Costs	33	16	3
Personal Expenses	22	2	0
Total Expenses	£61	13	3

To cover the losses on this paper, on the postal mission, and on these London Law proceedings, I appeal for a sum of £166 13s. 3d. Acknowledgments will be made in these columns.

Become also an annual subscriber.

Please address suggestions, criticisms, and help to me at my private address, rather than to the publishing office. It secures quicker attention. Please write: GUY ALDRED, 5 BALIOL STREET, GLASGOW, C.3.

The High Court Reports will appear in an early issue. The editor's other trials will be published also.

Socialists should shed Light not Blood

[Reproduced from "The Spur," February, 1915.

BOURNEMOUTH REGISTRATION CASE

The Bournemouth Daily Echo for November 20, 1939, published the following account of local police court prosecution :—

"MAN WHO REFUSED TO FILL UP FORM.
"Remarkable Letter Read in Court.
"Bench Decision: £5 Fine—or Month in Gaol.
"NATIONAL REGISTRATION CASE AT BOURNEMOUTH.

"A remarkable letter writtten by a young man who refused to complete the war-time national registration form was read in Bournemouth Police Court to-day.

"Michael O'Daye, 820 Christchurch Road, Bournemouth, pleaded guilty to committing a breach of the National Registration Act, 1939, by not making a return of the persons residing at the address of September 29th, although he was responsible for doing so.

"Mr. H. W. Rodd, of the Bournemouth Corporation, said it was necessary for the head of the house or the person acting as head of the house to make the return; and defendant had not done so, despite reasonable efforts to make him. Section 3 made it an offence to fail to comply with the regulations.

"Miss Wilkins, national registration clerk at the Town Hall, said no return was received; so O'Daye was sent another form in case he had lost the original—but no reply was received and a "reminder" letter was sent. He replied, refusing to fill in the form.

"Ronald George Dominey, the enumerator responsible for the district concerned, said that defendant handed him back the blank form and refused to sign it.

"Mr. Rodd then read a letter which defendant wrote to the National Registration Officer. It ran:

"'In reply to your communication in connection with National Registration, please note that I decline to complete the form, as I regard refusal to do so in some measures as an individual gesture of protest demonstrating that some few of us at least are determined to express our unwillingness to co-operate in the war schemes of the Government.

"'In itself such action, I am aware, carries comparatively little weight, but as a gesture, especially at the present time, acts such as this may be of untold value . . .'

"O'Daye told the Bench that he had nothing further to add to his letter. He was still of the same opinion as when he wrote the letter.

"The chairman (Mr. R. W. Poultney) said that defendant's excuse was a poor one.

"Defendant—'As I wrote in my letter, it was the only way I could voice my protest.'

"The Bench imposed a fine of £5.

"Defendant asked whether he had the alternative of going to prison instead of paying the fine.

"Chairman—Yes—one month.

"Defendant was about to make another statement when the Clerk asked the police to take him away, and he left the court in custody."

O'Daye's letter is not remarkable. It savours of old time Radicalism and Anti-Militarism. It expresses the democratic right of the individual to think and to protest.

"CONCHIE" COMMENT

At the Bristol Tribunal, on Wednesday, November 15, the Rev. E. J. Blythe, minister of the Brislington Congregational Church, handed the Tribunal a letter from the Rev. S. M. Berry, D.D., general secretary of the Congregational Union, stating that Mr. Hore-Belisha, Minister of War, had given him a verbal assurance that the position of young conscientious objectors wishing to join the R.A.M.C. would be safeguarded if they first registered as objectors and then offered their services.

Judge Wethered, the chairman, with his usual impartial cautiousness, pointed out that the Tribunal's only power under the Statute was to direct that an applicant should be registered for non-combatant duties. The rest was a matter for the Army authorities.

Arthur Masson, Chanterland Avenue, Hull, member of the British Union of Fascists, applied for exemption to the North-East Regional Tribunal at Hull. He conscientiously objected to participating in the present war, which he considered unjust. He would fight for the country if it became the victim of aggression. Judge Stewart removed Masson's name from the C.O. register, and stated: "This is not a case of a man possessed of genuine conscientious objection."

But is not refusal to participate in a war one considers unjust a conscientious objection?

The Rev. H. Marsden, Hawick New Chapel, writes in the *Manchester Guardian*, November 17 last :—

"I am a Nonconformist minister and an ex-N.C.O. of the Manchester Regiment. I was a theological student during the last war. Many of us (men of my own generation and outlook) believe that the total reservation of theological students is unreasonable. I myself do not agree that clergy or ministers should be exempt from military service. If young ministers and theological students are pacifists (as many hundreds are) they should take their turn at the C.O. tribunals. I am not, of course, speaking against their pacifism but simply against their total immunity."

Which is correct. The clergy ought not to be exempt.

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THE WORD

To Rouse The People, To Combat War, and To Speed Commonweal.

An Organ of the United Socialist Movement, Edited and Published by Guy A. Aldred, for the Bakunin Press and the U.S.M., at **Bakunin Hall, 29 Castle Street, Glasgow. C.4.** All unsigned matter is from the pen of the Editor. Annual Subscription, 2/6, post free.

Vol. 1. No. 7. FEBRUARY, 1940. Price: TWOPENCE.

WALTER STRICKLAND: Friend of Liberty

A MEMORY: Being the story of a Press report

Walter William Strickland, B.A., Trinity College, Cambridge, Ninth Baronet, and first to decline to use the title, was born at Westminster, London, on May 26, 1851. He died at Buitenzorg, Java, on August 9, 1938. During the last 29 years of his life, I was his only intimate English correspondent and confidant. There were serious quarrels on matters of principle and policy; breaks and reconciliations. I became Strickland's publisher and secretary. Forseeing the war, Strickland addressed, what proved to be his last letter to me, from "Buitenzorg, Java, Asia, December 14, 1937." This was an appeal to scientists and savants to stop "This March of Homicide." This letter was published in *The Malton Messenger* for April 8, 1939. It was abridged slightly by *The Varsity*, the Cambridge University paper, for May 13. Reference was made to this letter in the June 1939 *Word*. It is my aim to reprint and to broadcast this stirring call against war.

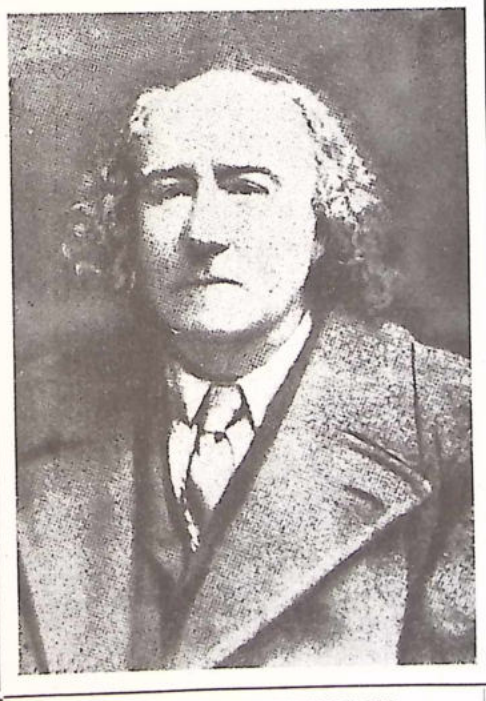
Walter Strickland addressed his first letter to me from Paris, in September, 1909. Never was a letter more welcome.

A few months before, the Liberal Government had suppressed Shyamaji Krishnavarma's paper, *The Indian Sociologist*. I did not subscribe to bourgeois Indian Nationalism. Nor did I subscribe to British Imperialism. I was a Socialist and wished to see a Socialist confederation of the world, organised according to best Republican interests of humanity, centralised or decentralised as Liberty and well-being of humanity everywhere directed. This was something different from nationalism, even in the best idealist conception of Mazzini and Garibaldi. I did not believe in nationalism but I did believe in Freedom of Speech, Thought, and Press. I believed in the unlicensed liberty of opinion. With Auberon Herbert, I held that there should be no restraint on the press, either as regards outlook, or even taste. I did not believe in the power-ghosts of blasphemy, heresy and sedition.

When the printer of *The Indian Sociologist* was arrested and imprisoned, after making contrite apology; and the Attorney-General had boasted that never again would the paper appear in Britain; and *The Times*, the Old Mother Hubbard of Printing House Square, had hiccoughed agreement; I thought it was time someone disturbed this dangerous complacency of the great and the entrenched. So I wrote to Krishnavarma and published the paper, without fee or reward. I charged exactly what I paid the printer, whose name was never revealed. No more. No less.

In due course I was arrested, tried, and sentenced to 12 months in the First Division. This sentence was served in Brixton Prison, London.

Since 1905 I had been associated with the Social Democratic Federation. Although I left the party in 1906, and gave up my parliamentary notes for *Justice*, I contributed odd articles to the paper exposing Imperialism. I was active in the Anarchist movement, since I had become an Anti-Parliamentarian. At the time of my arrest, I had intimates in both groups. When sentence was passed, Anarchist and Social Democrat alike used their press to repudiate me, and to declare that I represented no one but myself. They were unanimous in employing the very phrase, although there was no obvious collusion between them. The mediocrity of their common outlook rendered collusion unnecessary. I have represented myself ever since. Perhaps, one day,



WALTER W. STRICKLAND
(May 1851—August 1938)
Last Portrait taken.

such a small minority will prove to be at one with the majority of the oppressed, roused at last to revolt against politician, divine, and careerist. I was repudiated. A word of friendship and of cheer was needed urgently. That word came, out of the void, from—Walter Strickland!

Strickland sent me a letter of appreciation and suggested a life-friendship. He said he had bought a *Daily Mail* in Paris and an English friend had drawn his attention to the report of the Police Court proceedings. He enclosed the cutting, which the Prison Governor graciously passed on to me. Strickland had written a covering letter to the Governor, with the special request that it should be handed to "Guy Aldred, an Englishman who believes in conserving the abandoned Radical English traditions of Liberty and Justice."

The enclosed cutting was culled from the *Daily Mail*, for August 27, 1909. It read as follows:—

"INDIAN SEDITION

"PUBLISHER AT BOW STREET

"The Indian Sociologist

"A youth of twenty-two stood in the dock at Bow-street yesterday charged with seditious libel. He is Guy Alfred Aldred, the publisher of the "Indian Sociologist," the journal which is edited "safely from Paris," Mr. Bodkin said, by Mr. Krishnavarma. The defendant wore a Norfolk suit with knickerbockers, and throughout the day's hearing was keenly interested, taking voluminous notes on foolscap sheets.

"Mr. Curtis Bennett was the magistrate. During part of the proceedings Sir Charles Mathews, Director of Public Prosecutions was in court. Mr. Bodkin conducted the case for the Treasury. The police were represented by Superintendent Lewis, Chief Inspector McCarthy, and Inspector Ryley. No natives of India were in court.

"Aldred when placed in the dock looked round repeatedly towards where his young wife sat . . .

"Mr. Bodkin made an impressive speech, at considerable length, in which he laid stress on the gravity of the alleged offence. He explained that as a measure of precaution the "Indian Sociologist had been treated as a newspaper, and under the statutes action had been taken only after leave was given by a judge in chambers. The prosecution would disclose some very serious matters in regard to the dissemination of seditious prints in this country and elsewhere. The publication was done deliberately by the defendant after warning, and done by him not merely as a printer but as a writer also of some seditious matter in the paper.

"Counsel described the defendant as living at 35 Stanlake-street, Shepherd's Bush, and known by the name of Guy A. Aldred, of the Bakunian Press—whatever that might mean—and was a person, as appeared from the publication, who held seditious views. He was an associate of Anarchists in London, and, counsel observed, 'he thinks he has some journalistic capacity.'"

This *Daily Mail* account of the preliminary police court proceedings was responsible for an association that did not end even with Sir Walter Strickland's death. To-day, the task of editing Strickland's writings, compiling his biography, and making known his Anti-Militarist message to the world is in my hands, because a *Daily Mail* reporter so vividly pictured my stand in the dock. I should be grateful.

In interviews, and also in a special article in *The Malton Messenger*, I have recalled how Strickland wrote that the names of Strickland and Aldred had been associated together in the days of Cromwell. He referred me to Thomas Carlyle, for the story of those stirring days. His ancestor, also Sir Walter Strickland, and a Colonel Aldred, had been close colleagues on the side of Parliament against the King. Another Colonel Aldred had turned Communist, and so left the Cromwellian Army, finding salvation in the views of Winstanley the Digger. In the previous generation, their uncle, another Aldred, had described the scene when the Commons challenged the King. Strickland expressed the hope that I would remain loyal to the struggle for social freedom until I died, and that the names of Strickland and Aldred might be associated again, and finally, in the task of

battling towards peace, commonweal and liberty. Thus began a great and stormy friendship.

Among the MSS. left in my charge by Strickland is one, entitled: *"Why More War? Buddhism's Message of Sanity to the Western World."* This essay discusses the philosophy of Buddhism, the teachings of Freethought, the calamity of war, attacks the Church, and enounces Capitalism. It will be published in an early issue.

Strickland's Folklore translations; his Czech stories and love-lyrics; his defence of conscience against the myth of duty; his satirical verse; notes from his world travels, will be published as circumstances permit. Some of his work, and his biography, I would like to see published by an ordinary established publishing house, not afraid to deal with the eccentric, the useful, and the heretical.

The Strickland Press, established to print this paper when no printer would do so, is established to honour the memory of Walter Strickland, and accedes to his last request to stop "This march of Homicide." It is a memorial he would wish, if it achieves the task to which it is dedicated.

* * * *

N.B.—"Bakunian Press" for Bakunin Press is an error that appears in the *Daily Mail* report. Bodkin's *"known as Guy A. Aldred"* is nonsense.

LORD PROVOST DOLLAN

"Conscientious objectors were not considered desirable to have associated with the colours."—**Dollan's Counsel, High Court of Justiciary, Edinburgh, 1917.**

"Of recruitable age, and otherwise eligible."—**Lord Justice General's description of Dollan, 1917.**

CONDITIONAL EXEMPTIONS.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, *Tuesday, 10th July*, 1917.

Mr. MacCallum Scott asked the Secretary for Scotland whether he is aware that Councillor Dollan of Glasgow has been granted exemption by the Central Tribunal on the ground of conscientious objection, conditional on engaging in work of public importance; whether the Central Tribunal imposed as a further condition that the work must be found more than fifty miles from Glasgow, and if not, who imposed this condition: whether his appeal to the High Court against the decision of the stipendiary magistrate that he was an absentee has not been heard; and, if not, whether he ought to be released from prison until it has been finally decided whether he was rightly convicted of being an absentee?

The Secretary for Scotland (Mr. Munro)—I am aware of the decision of the Central Tribunal in this case. I am informed that it was intimated to Dollan that he should find employment in a district at least fifty miles from Glasgow. As regards the latter part of the question, I am informed that no such appeal has been heard in the High Court. The question of interim liberation has already been disposed of by the stipendiary.

Mr. Scott—Is it in order to impose such a condition as that he should find work of public importance at a distance of more than fifty miles from Glasgow? Is not that more suitable for the action of the authorities under the Defence of the Realm Act?

Mr. Munro—I see no reason whatever to doubt the legality of the condition.

Mr. Scott—What is the object of a condition like that? It is held that no work of public importance can be found within fifty miles of Glalsgow.

Mr. Munro—That is a matter entirely for the Tribunal and not for me.

Mr. Scott—Is it the case that the Tribunal can impose any condition whatsoever, no matter how irrational or how irrelevant to the matter at issue.

Mr. Munro—One must wait until such a case arises. This is not a case of that type.

A CALENDAR OF CODOLOGY

Only a "Decoy Duck!"

Tom Johnston's Verdict On Himself

The main caption of this essay is the title of an article published by the Rt. Hon. Thomas Johnston, M.P., in *Forward*, June 24, 1939. Johnston's article was the chief feature, on the front page of our contemporary. He bitterly attacked the Ministry of Information. *On September 4, 1939, it was announced officially that a Scottish Regional Committee of the Ministry of Information had been formed.* Its members were: Tom Johnston; James Willick, J.P., Chief Regional Information Officer; W. M. Ballantyne, Deputy Chief Regional, Information Officer. Dr. G. A. Waters, editor of the *Scotsman*, was co-opted to the Committee in an advisory capacity. As stated in our last issue, Tom Johnston is head also of the Scottish Civil Defence.

The second heading of this article is culled also from a Johnston article. The description "decoy duck" belongs to the time when Johnston was editor of the *Forward* and was writing his famous "War Points." Even as John Burns, never expecting to become a Cabinet Minister, labelled himself "Judas Iscariot," in an unfortunate moment of anticipation, so Tom Johnston, in *Forward*, for September 8, 1917, passed the verdict on himself: "a decoy duck." The description is specific and the application is accurate. Tom Johnston, editor of *Forward*, condemned the Rt. Hon. Thomas Johnston, M.P., Regional Commissioner for the Civic Defence of Scotland, and head of the Scottish Regional Committee of the Ministry of Information.

In the *Forward* mentioned, G. N. Barnes, since passed into deserved oblivion, defended himself against an attack Tom Johnston made upon him in the colums of that journal for September 1, 1917. Barnes headed his reply: *"Labour in the Cabinet."*

At the end of this apology, editor Tom Johnston exercised his editorial prerogative to comment between those awesome square brackets that make "editor's say" seem so final. The details of the dispute is of no consequence now, although they were part and parcel of the fact impeachment of parliamentarism. The following excerpt from Johnston's "last word" is of supreme import to-day. Rebuking Barnes—Rt. Hon then, as Johnston is now, and neither right nor honourable in reality—Johnston wrote:—

"We all see evidences of the struggle of the classes; we all want to subplant class consciousness by social consciousness. That is the orthodox socialist position. But class consciousness is there: capitalist class consciousness is in control of the State, and neither Mr. Henderson, Mr. Barnes, NOR ANY OTHER SOCIALIST IS OFFERED A GOVERNMENT POST, UNLESS ON THE DECOY DUCK PRINCIPLE."

Note, "the any other Socialist," Thomas! Presuming that you claim still to be a Socialist, you condemn yourself! Were you not offered a Government post? Have you not accepted a Government post? Has it been *"on the decoy duck principle?"*

Tom Johnston is Scottish Regional Commissioner for Defence and Information.

No one has attacked the Ministry of Information more bitterly than Tom Johnston. As explained in the opening paragraph of this essay, he attacked it in June and entered its service in September. He described its activity as *"A Calendar of Codology."* The calendar has not varied its purpose with its personnel. Its function remains the same, its science is unchanged.

In the *Forward*, for June 24, 1934, Johnston asked his readers to preserve certain press clippins, as they *"would do well to retain for future reference."* Knowing Thomas to be a well-informed lad, we followed his advice. The clippings commended by Johnston included extracts from the *Daily Telegraph* and *Times* for 1936; *Hansard* excerpts for 1937; and more extracts from *Times*, *Daily Telegraph*, and *Manchester Guardian* for 1939. These extracts most certainly condemned the Chamberlain Government, its Ambassadors in Rome and Berlin, and its active connivance at a Fascist supremacy in Europe, which serves as an official excuse for the present war.

Summarised, the story told by these press-cuttings is as follows:—

(1) The *Daily Telegraph*, for July 30, 1936, reported the denials, made in Rome and Berlin the previous night, that Germany and Italy intended to help Franco. Rome declared: *"Italy has already announced her intention of remaining strictly neutral in the Spanish Civil War."* The D.T. insisted on the truth of these reports.

(2) The *Times* (Berlin Correspondent) for August 28, 1936, announced that the German Government had informed the French Government that it would apply an immediate embargo on the export of arms and war materials into Spain.

(3) *Hansard*, February 1, 1937, records Anthony Eden's reply to Noel Baker. Eden, who became a kind of Communist Party pet for a while despite his own bland indifference to that party's advances, referred to the text of the notes addressed by the German and Italian Governments to H.M.G., declaring *"themselves favourable in principle to the prohibition of the despatch of volunteers to Spain. H.M.G. have expressed their appreciation of the helpful nature of these and other replies."*

(4) *Hansard*, March 15, 1937, records Viscount Cranborne's replies to Miss Wilkinson and Mr. Attlee. He had no knowledge of the landing of Italians in Spain to help General Franco. He explained his ignorance: *"I think the answer is that information that appears in the papers is not always correct."*

(5) *Hansard*, May 5, 1937, records Viscount Cranborne's inability to answer the member for Wolverhampton East as to the landing of German troops at San Sebastian.

(6) *Hansard*, May 26, 1937, records Viscount Cranborne's reply to Captain McEwen, that the British Vice-Consul at San Sebastian could not confirm the rumour that 1,500 Germans had landed there at the end of April or any other time.

(7) The *Times*, June 7, 1939, described the Berlin march past before Hitler of the Konder Legion of Germans, who had fought in Spain. There were 15,000 men on parade. *Hitler said that he acceded to Franco's request for help in July*, 1936.

(8) The *Manchester Guardian*, June 7, 1939, reported Field Marshal Goering's speech: *"All important victories of General Franco were obtained with the help of German volunteers."*

(9) The *Daily Telegraph*, June 6, 1939, reported Mussolini's speech of welcome to eight ships of Italian troops landed at Naples the previous day. Mussolini spoke of their "30 *months of victorious war against the democracies and Bolshevism"* in Spain.

Thus the *Times* and *Daily Telegraph* of 1939 answered the *Times* and *Daily Telegraph* of 1936. Thus were the statements made in the House of Commons by Anthony Eden and

Viscount Cranborne given the lie. They were proved to be both stupid and false. On June 8, 1939, the *Daily Telegraph* completed the indictment of the British Government's folly in this matter by publishing its Rome correspondent's summary of the Italian War Office's official account of Italian naval activities in Spain.

These started on July 24, 1936. On August 15, Italian naval units effected a surprise landing at Porto Cristo, in Majorca. September, a liaison was effected between the Italian and Franco's fleet at Cadiz. Between December, 1936, and April, 1937, fifty-two Italian ships transported 100,000 Italians; 40,000 tons war material; and 750 heavy guns to Spain. During the entire period of the civil war, 17 Italian transports carried troops to Spain, making 55 voyages; 68 convoy ships made 134 voyages with war supplies for Franco; and Italian submarines prevented aid reaching Republican Spain, by spreading "fear in the Mediterranean basin."

Commenting on these facts, Johnston denounced Lord Perth for the part he played in assisting Fascism by helping to create the British Government's false face of "official ignorance." Johnston proceeded to attack the Ministry of Information:

> "And now we await with interests the efforts of my Lord Perth to counter the effects of the Goebbel propaganda in the neutral countries. His lordship, of course, is not chosen for his journalistic nose for he has no training in journalism. But because of his long association with Signors Mussolini and Ciano, he has been selected as the fit and proper person to run our British Government's information service—about Democracy!
>
> "The new department is not to be called a Ministry of Propaganda. It is information, not propaganda, that Lord Perth is to supply, and to judge from the Rome appeasement stuff, that flowered so beautifully when Lord Perth was ambassador to Italy, we are likely to get some interesting 'news' shortly."

Johnstone proceeded to eulogise the propaganda department organised by Northcliffe during the great war, which in the words of Ludendorff, "poisoned the hearts of our soldiers" by dropping, in one week alone, 3,000,000 leaflets upon the German soldiery in the trenches, explaining how German officers were living in luxury and embezzling the funds of the canteen. Johnston explained that "some of the ablest brains of the country were at the service of that propaganda department: H. G. Wells, Wickman Steed, Beaverbrook, Seton Watson, Hamilton Fyffe," etc.

Was it not rather unkind to remind Hamilton Fyffe, who has posed so prominently in the Labour movement since the war, that he was a Tory militarist in 1914-1918? Of course, he is a Labour militarist now.

Johnston concluded by describing the purpose of the Ministry of Information:—

> "I could have understood a propaganda designed to incite the German and Italian workers against their rulers—and the more truthful the propaganda the more effective the propaganda—but this Lord Perth business is quite obviously not intended to provide an efficient propaganda for Democracy against Dictators; it is not a fifth arm of British defence; it is not designed for civil insurrection; it is not intended to strengthen whatever opposition remains in Germany. Lord Perth's record shows that!
>
> "Then what the deuce is the Perth appointment designed for?

This description of the Ministry of Information makes excellent reading and still applies. But what the deuce is Tom Johnston doing serving the same Ministry of Information as from three months after this vigorous denunciation?

Johnston does well to call this 1936-1939 Fascist diplomatic record of the Chamberlain Government under which he now serves "a calendar of codology." Does the phrase not describe, as accurately, Johnston's own career?

Let us consider the time when Johnston stood for Dundee in 1924, following upon the death of E. D. Morel. Johnstone opened his campaign at the Caird Hall, on Tuesday, December 2. John Wheatley, who lived long enough to retire from the Labour front bench, and to denounce Johnston for betraying the unemployed, was the chief speaker. He wanted the Dundee workers to vote for Johnston. Four days later, Emrys Hughes advised to the same effect in *Forward*. The same issue of our contemporary carried an appeal for financial help because *"Morel's seat must be held for Johnston."*

Why was this so necessary? Has the condition of the Dundee workers changed? Johnston's status has improved. He is now a statesman and a bureaucrat. His old age is secured. And he never goes near Dundee. What of the Dundee workers who voted for him? Funny, how parliamentary Socialists ask the workers to supply funds, so that the former may secure careers at the expense of the latter, without any intention of helping the latter!

Johnston was returned. He secured 22,973 votes. His majority was 12,739. *Forward*, for December 27, 1924, celebrated the victory by publishing a large portrait of Johnston, and a special article from his pen. He concluded this article:

> "The result is a ringing challenge to Capitalism, an encouragement to the Labour Party all over the country, and an emphatic indication to whomsoever it may concern that the nation is having no red-herring stunts about New Liberalism. Dundee has dug the grave of the New Liberalism, as Paisley dug the grave of the Old Liberalism. A people sunk in the horrors of the Capitalist Poverty system has no use for new political humbug.
>
> "My personal thanks to all who voted and worked, and honoured me with their confidence. My hope is that I may prove worthy of it."

How parliamentarians lie! The result was *not* "a ringing challenge to Capitalism" as Johnston's present status shows. Johnston has never challenged Capitalism. He has play-acted at Labour journalism—under Capitalism. He has pursued cercerism with a certain amount of dull successs that would have palsied a man of thought and have suffocated a man of honour. Johnston has imposed upon the people "political humbug" of the worst description. What are Johnston's personal thanks to the people of Dundee worth today? As to his hope—that was beyond the strength of his carcerist interests and outwith the scope of his ambition.

To what depths of humbug Johnston could descend was shown by the columns of the Glasgow *Evening News* for June 20, 1929. This paper published an "interview" with Johnston, beneath these wild and exciting "headings":—

> **"SCOTLAND'S IDLE ARMY.**
>
> **"First Steps to Relieve Unemployment.**
>
> **"Under-Secretary Interviewed.**
>
> **"'No Laggards in This Business.'"**

Then followed several paragraphs about Mr. J. H. Thomas, of unfortunate memory, having asked Johnston *"to assist him in launching the big crusade against unemployment generally."* The crusade that never got going!

We quote part of the *Evening News* letterpress:—

> "'There is to be no laggard in this business.'
>
> "This was the concluding statement of Mr. Thomas Johnston, M.P., the Under-Secretary of State for Scotland, in an interview with a 'News' representative this forenoon on the Government's plans for the relief of unemployment in Scotland.
>
> "Mr. Johnston has just returned home from London after a consultation with Mr. Thomas, and a bold move has already been made on behalf of the Scottish Health Department.
>
> "'There will be early decisions made,' added Mr. Johnston with emphasis, 'and there will be no laggard in this matter.'
>
> "But, from the impression given by Mr. Johnston, it is evident that he and his colleagues in the Ministry are determined that no time will be lost in tackling the problem that was so eagerly and earnestly pressed during the General Election."

As everyone knows, this unemployment gesture and chatter was undiluted rubbish. Capitalism has one cure for unemployment: reduce the human being—who cannot find a market for his labour-power to cannon-fodder. In 1930, John Wheatley denounced Johnston for doing nothing for the unemployed. He recalled a speech Johnston made at Balmore, on March 1, 1929. This speech was reported in the *Kirkintilloch Gazette* for March 1, 1929. Wheatley commented on the Balmore speech:—

> "At this meeting in Balmore Mr. Johnston adumbrated a scheme for providing India with steel ploughs, crushing machinery, and pumps that would increase British exports to India by £40,000,000. All our engineering shops would run merrily. Another scheme was, through small holdings, to raise at home the eggs they imported so extensively from Egypt and China. He further stated that afforestation could be extended to save the import of £36,000,000 of foreign timber. He also had a scheme for helping the Scottish herring industry. He summed up by stating that he believed the Labour Party, if given a chance, could, within six months or a year, come out with an economically useful scheme to provide work at useful and economical rates for the men presently idle. If this was not enough, he continued, 'he would give 800,000 old men and women now working an addition to the 10/- of £1 per week, and replace them by 800,000 young men and women presently idle and drawing relief.'
>
> "Mr. Johnston is now in office. He is the Scottish representative on the Employment Committee, and, so far as I know, not one man has found work through one of those schemes, or one penny has been paid towards those increased pensions, and he is not now in the sixth, but in the eighth, month of office.
>
> "I want to support his schemes, and I want to know when I may have a chance to do so."

Wheatley's indictment was unanswered. So is John McGovern's.

That there may be no doubt on this score we refer the reader to *Forward* for November 5, 1932. Under the two-column heading, "A BUDDING STATESMAN," the Tom Johnston organ says:—

> "John McGovern's speech in the House of Commons denouncing the Communist leaders of the Hunger Marchers has brought him bouquets galore from the Capitalist press. 'Beware when the press speaks well of you,' has long been a watchword for Socialists. And judging by the praise that is being handed out by the bucketful to John and his group, it is time that they pulled themselves up, too."

Forward quoted the Liberal *News Chronicle* for November 2, 1932, *"description of how John captured the House of Commons on Monday."* The *News Chronicle* depicted McGovern speaking *"in the most correct Parliamentary manner, with all the weight of a Cabinet Minister, speaking from the Treasury Bench . . . The Tories cheered. For the first time in his Parliamentary life, Mr. McGovern—firebrand, revolutionary, mob orator—found himself warmly supported from all parts of the House."*

Commenting again, the Tom Johnston organ said:—

> "Everybody who has read a little of the history of the Socialist Movement is familiar with the phenomenon of the real red hotter developing into the super statesman in record time.
>
> "And by the holy smoke John McGovern's bump of statesmanship seems to be developing in double quick time."

To whom do these words apply to-day? To John McGovern, fighting conscription, standing firmly against the horror of war; or to Thomas Johnston, of the Regional Defence and the Ministry of Information? John seems to have nipped his zeal for statemanship in the bud. But Tom has budded—into a full-fledged bureaucrat! That is, if one can follow the *Forward's* and Tom Johnston's variety of metaphors, and refer to "a decoy duck" budding. Agitators do bloom into "statesmen" and so prove to be "decoy ducks." That is the transformation parliamentarism achieves.

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GLASGOW SECULAR SOCIETY—Meets in the McLellan Galleries, every Sunday, 6.30 p.m. Readers should attend the meetings of this organisation and so strengthen the cause of Free Thought, Free Speech, Free Press, and Radicalism of Individual Right and Civil Liberty. Members of Glasgow S.S. support the C.O's. and all friends of liberty should rally to the Glasgow S.S.

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64 pages. Price 4d. Postage extra.

New matter deals with Spain, Cardinal Manning and the Workers' daily struggle, etc. This is No. 1 pamphlet of the new **Word Library.**

"Silver City" Socialism!

The Aberdeen I.L.P. is the centre of Socialist propaganda in the North of Scotland. For years it has conducted a consistent and untiring agitation and continues to go strong. In connection with a recent Communist Party demonstration, it issued the following handbill :—

BLACK VOTING RECORD OF W. GALLACHER, M.P.

Emergency Powers Act ... ... National Services (Armed Forces Act)	**No Vote.**
(Extension of Conscription) ... ... Control of Employment Bill **(Industrial Conscription)**	**No Vote.**
Local Elections Temporary Provisions Bill **(Suppress Local Elections)**	**No Vote.**

"A Straight Challenge Demands a Straight Answer."

"If you give me a chance I will go straight to the Music Hall and join the Army."

This was the promise given by George Will, of no occupation and no fixed abode, when he appeared before Bailie Jones, at Aberdeen Police Court, on Monday, October 30. Will was charged with being drunk and incapable. *Bailie Jones is a Unitarian Minister, a member of the Peace Pledge Union, and a member of the Labour Party.*

In continuing the case for three weeks, the Rev. Bailie Jones, Labour Party and P.P.U., said :—

"You are physically strong, young, and fit. You could be a national asset, instead of a national liability. I will give you an opportunity, but if you do not keep your promise you will get the fou' o' the ladle."

Is it the business of a Unitarian Christian to use the pressure of the police court as a recruiting medium for war? Is such a method of recruiting a tribute to the military occupation or to the memory of the men conventionally referred to as heroes? Does the Labour Party endorse the attitude of Bailie Jones? Is this consistent with P.P.U. membership? We demand a reply.

In our view, Jones should be expelled from the P.P.U., from the Labour Party, and from all Christian fellowship. Also, his methods are unbecoming to the dignity of a magistrate.

The day before Jones was making social indiscretion a personal ground for military recruiting, the Aberdeen Burgh Labour Party and Trades Council was discussing problems which the war had created.

Councillor Brown declared that some members of the Labour Party were not satisfied that the party had taken the proper course in declaring a political truce or in accepting the cancellation of the municipal elections.

He added :—

"If the present conditions continue, many of us who are now in the Labour Party may be found in the opposition in order to rally the working classes to freedom and Socialism."

Passing to local problems, he attacked the miserable and callous patriotic subterfuges of the Town Council. In the case of many families which were felt to be overcrowded, *and would have obtained better houses but for the declaration of war*, the Factional Sub-Committee of the Town Council had decided that because the men had been called up the families were not now so badly overcrowded and would not be given houses.

This decision represented the "city fathers'" sense of the proper reward of patriotism. It was a scandal. So was the method of calculating income for rent rebate purposes. The Council had the audacity to take into account the pay of the soldier husband and the value of the food he gets in the Army.

Referring to reserved occupations, Councillor Brown instanced the case of an unemployed plasterer who was not allowed to take other employment which would have given him a wage of £3 a week because it was outwith his trade.

A meeting under the auspices of the I.L.P., in co-operation with the Peace Pledge Union, in the Belmont Cinema, Aberdeen, on Sunday, October 29, passed a resolution protesting "against the Government proposals to destroy the right of free speech under the Emergency Power Act, and calling on the Aberdeen M.P.s to resist this measure."

On Thursday, November 14, 1935, North Aberdeen returned G. Garro Jones for North Aberdeen in the official Labour interest. Garro Jones was supported by the Communist Party and all the official Trade Union elements. He is a barrister-at-law and was previously M.P. for South Hackney, 1924-9. His 1935 election address described him as : *"The Labour candidate unanimously adopted by the Aberdeen Trades and Labour Council and officially endorsed by the National Labour Party."* We are sure the Aberdeen Trades and Labour Council must feel proud of its pet now.

Garro Jones addressed the electors from his Central Committee Rooms, 1 Gallowgate, Aberdeen. In true Socialist fashion, worthy of a barrister, he addressed the electors as *"Ladies and Gentlemen."* Not Citizens or anything that savoured of democracy! The good old-fashioned, public school-tie, careerist mode, *"Ladies and Gentlemen!"* What a wealth of psychology this phrase contains!

The following extracts from Garro Jones' election address make good reading to-day :—

"For the second time in four years a so-called crisis is being used to manœuvre a Tory Government back into office. If the Government wished, they could remain in office for one more year, but Britain's difficulty is their opportunity. Do not again allow them to prostitute patriotism as a first line of defence of their party. *This time the nation should remember the words of the old Quaker* :—'If a man deceive me once, shame on *him* : if a man deceive me twice, shame on *me*!' . . .

"Peace and Armaments.

"War can be prevented only by the system of Collective Security, under which the nations stand together to prevent war. *On this fundamental policy the Conservative Premier and Cabinet have wobbled.*

"Armaments for Profit.

"There is to-day a large and profitable British trade in weapons of war which can only be described as a trade in massacre. *Our late Tory member, under the Tory whip, twice voted for its continuance.* Its participants cannot even plead 'patriotism' as a defence, for the arms go to foreign countries and may ultimately be used against ourselves or the League. The Tory 'National' Government has refused to stop this evil. Labour would deal swiftly with it.

"The Tory-'National' Government are asking you for a blank cheque for armaments. *They want a sum so vast that they dare not name it.* I warn you that it cannot be less than £200,000,000, equal to £5 from every man, woman, and child in the country. This will inaugerate the greatest armaments race in history. Tempers will rise. Where will it end? I earnestly beg of you by voting Labour to say NO . . .

"Ex-Service Men.

"To Ex-Service Men I will only say that I am their comrade. I have stood shoulder to shoulder with them in the trenches. I have fought, with them and for them, in the air; I have urged justice for them in the House of Commons. I would value their support now.

"A Personal Note to All Electors.

"I wish all the electors to know that I want no office and no honour but their esteem and confidence. All who labour, by hand or brain, will find me ready to give untiring attention to their needs.

"The Labour Cause is great and noble—help me to bring about its inevitable triumph."

The Italics are in the original.

Beneath the text of the main address, in a facsimile of his handwriting, Garro Jones said :

"Women of Aberdeen! Note well the words that I have underlined. They are my special messages to you."

Beneath this again, in ordinary print, Garro Jones warned :

"Free Speech.

"As this goes to print, I am compelled to warn the free men and women of Aberdeen that their local press, controlled from London, suppresses and misrepresents the Labour case and policy. Your best answer is to vote Labour."

Having been returned to Parliament for Labour, Garro Jones now writes for that London press which misrepresents Labour and supports war and conscription and the destruction of democracy.

The women of Aberdeen noted well the words Garro Jones underlined. They believed him. What has he done to serve that great and noble cause and to bring about its inevitable triumph?

He asked the electors to say *"No!"* to armaments and war by voting Labour, by returning Garro Jones to Westminster! The electors accepted his word. They returned him. They said *"No!"* according to his instructions. What has Garro Jones done? With emphasis he has reversed their instructions. He has said, *"Yes! Yes!!" He is a Yes-man of Toryism, war, and conscription! He stands for the massacre of youth!*

Garro Jones recalls the shame injunction of the old Quaker. Let Aberdeen remember those words well.

Let us consider what Garro Jones has done.

In the House of Commons on Tuesday, 17th October, 1939, John McGovern and Campbell Stephen divided the House on the Second Reading of the Government's Bill to abolish local elections for the duration. James Maxton was absent from the House. *Not a single Labour M.P. voted with the I.L.P.* Willie Gallacher spoke against the Bill, *but did not vote! Seventy-two Labour M.P.s supported the Bill!* the list including Garro Jones. The result was, as the tellers do not count :

For the destruction of democracy	222
Against the destruction of democracy	0

By 222 to 0 the Government, the Tory "National" Government, abolished municipal voting during the war. North Aberdeen's Labour "Yes-man" was one of the Tory 222!

On Saturday, 2nd September, 1939, John McGovern and Campbell Stephen divided the House on conscription. Again Gallacher did not vote and again Garro Jones voted with the Tory "National" Government for conscription. The "Noes" to Conscription were :

Buchanan, G.
Harvey, T. E. (Eng. Univ.).
Jones, A. C. (Shipley).
Maxton, James.
Salter, Dr. A. (Bermondsey).
Sloan, A.
Wilson, C. H. (Uttercliffe).

Tellers—Campbell Stephen; John McGovern.

The following Labour colleagues of G. Garro Jones voted with him for the abolition of municipal elections (October 17) :—

*D. M. Adams.	D. G. Logan.
W. M. Adamson.	V. L. T. McEntee.
*C. G. Ammon.	*W. H. Mainwaring.
C. R. Attlee.	G. Mathers.
*A. J. Barnes.	*J. Milner.
*W. W. Benn.	*F. Montague.
G. Benson.	G. Muff.
*W. A. Burke.	*T. E. Naylor.
*W. S. Cluse.	*P. J. Noel-Baker.
*P. Collindridge.	*G. H. Oliver.
G. Dagger.	W. Paling.
*W. Dobbie.	J. Parker.
E. Dunn.	*T. A. Parkinson.
A. Edwards.	*F. W. Pethick-Lawrence.
C. Edwards.	*M. P. Price.
N. Edwards.	*G. Ridley.
*B. W. Gardiner.	B. Riley.
*D. R. Grenfell.	W. A. Robinson.
G. A. Griffiths.	*E. Shinwell.
J. Griffiths.	*B. Smith.
G. H. Hall.	*T. Smith.
*W. G. Hall.	*H. G. Strauss.
A. Hayday.	E. Summerskill.
*J. Henderson.	*E. Thurtle.
A. Hills.	*J. J. Tinker.
*D. Hopkin.	*G. Tomlinson.
*G. A. Isaacs.	S. P. Viant.
*J. Jagger.	*F. C. Watkins.
A. Jenkins.	*J. C. Wedgwood.
W. Jenkins.	E. J. Williams.
W. John.	T. Williams.
*B. V. Kirby.	*J. Wilmot.
G. Lothian.	*W. Windsor.
W. Leach.	G. S. Woods.
F. Lee.	R. Young.
J. R. Leslie.	

Those marked with a star also voted for conscription on September 2. Aberdeen will be interested in the votes of Pethwick Lawrence, in view of the appeal he made to the Silver City during the 1914-1918 war. Those starred do not include all the Labour M.P.'s who voted for conscription.

Picture Garro Jones' Labour colleague, Emmanual Shinwell, voting for conscription, when he is over military age, on September 2, 1939, and then turn to the old volumes of Hansard, and read the following:—

EXEMPTION APPLICATION

(E. SHINWELL) *Tuesday, 26th February*, 1918

Mr. Stanton asked the Home Secretary whether he is aware that Mr. Emmanuel Shinwell applied to the Glasgow Tribunal for exemption from military service, that his application was rejected, that he received a calling-up notice, and that such notice was not in order, with the result that he had to appear before the Tribunal again; if he is aware that he is a conscientious objector; whether instructions were sent to the Tribunal that the case was not to be proceeded with; if so, were such instructions sent with his sanction; whether any information can be given as to the total number of cases in Glasgow where similar instructions have been sent; and why steps were taken to protect this person against military service?

Mr. Beck—Mr. Emmanuel Shinwell was granted conditional exemption by the Glasgow Local Tribunal in July 1916. The case was reviewed in December 1916, and exemption continued. This decision was upheld on appeal by the Appeal Tribunal. In September 1917 this case was again reviewed by the National Service representative, but application was, in error, made to the Appeal Tribunal instead of to the local Tribunal as provided by the Regulations governing Tribunal procedure. The case was accordingly remitted to the local Tribunal by the Appeal Tribunal after a decision had been given withdrawing his exemption, and on the 12th October, 1917, the local Tribunal heard the case and continued the exemption granted to Mr. Shinwell. Against this decision the National Service representative appealed, but on instructions from the National Service Department the appeal was withdrawn. No instructions were sent to the Tribunal. The appeal was withdrawn on the representation of the Shipping Controller and the Admiralty that Shinwell was doing important work in connection with the engagement and supervision of crews for merchant ships, both requisitioned and unrequisitioned, and that in the opinion of those Departments it was desirable in the national interests that his exemption should continue. The Minister of National Service is not aware that Shinwell is a conscientious objector.

That is how Shinwell avoided conscription during the great war, whilst posing to the movement as a conscientious objector, and an associate of conscientious objectors.

We have chaired one N.C.L. meeting at St. Andrews Hall, Glasgow, and have been advertised as a speaker at another. May we remind M.P.s and Councillors that it is a breach of courtesy to crowd out questions and also to crush out the Anti-Parliamentarian speaker, one's own enthusiasm notwithstanding. We have something to say on this peace question that needs to be said. We wish to say it in Glasgow. If it cannot be said under N.C.L. auspices for the reasons already given, it must be declared under U.S.M. auspices. Next time we speak in St. Andrews Hall we trust we shall be permitted to develop our theme and that questions will be permitted from the audience. Every speaker is entitled to the same right of speech and the audience is entitled to question.

We object also to the N.C.L. platform being used to make careers for persons advertised as "Prospective Labour Candidate" for this or that place. This is only new parliamentary careerism.

ARMISTICE DAY.

Please to remember
The eleventh of November,
Season of treason and plot.
But the boys who will die
Because of Versaillies,
Will all of them soon be forgot!

—W. A. RATHKEY.

WAR—FOR WHAT?

The Concentration Camp Argument Considered

By THE MARQUIS OF TAVISTOCK

One of the most serious obstacles confronting workers in the cause of peace is the indignation aroused in the minds of people, often of great intelligence and the highest principles, by stories of atrocities in German concentration camps. Much as they hate war, certain men and women feel that these atrocities are so evil that even war itself may be a sad necessity to overthrow the régime which perpetrates them. They also feel that no better alternative to war exists.

Making every allowance for the propagandist enthusiasm of our not too intelligent or fair-minded politicians and for the lies and exaggerations of our peculiarly satanic National Press, it cannot be denied that acts of brutality have been committed, often against quite innocent people, and that such acts rightly provoke feelings of great indignation and a passionate desire to prevent their continuance.

Let us not forget, however, that many acts which are wicked and indefensible are, at the same time, perfectly understandable.

Nations or classes which have suffered greatly, when they rise to deliver themselves, usually produce leaders who are ruthless in their treatment of those whom they regard as their countries' enemies and, once they have labelled the suspect groups, they are prone to punish the innocent with the guilty.

This, in the past, has happened in France and more recently in Russia and it might even happen in our own country if we were as hard driven as the German people after the last war.

It is beside the point to argue that the Germans brought the consequences of the last war upon themselves and that they would have given us even worse treatment if they had won. Even if this were true, two wrongs do not make a right; most of the Germans who suffered after the war had little or no responsibility for causing it. and over-severity creates just the same evil consequences whether it be unprovoked or administered on a tit-for-tat basis.

Do not let us forget, either, that in Britain there are plenty of people with the "concentration camp" mentality. They write, or cause to be written, letters and articles in our daily papers and sometimes they speak in Parliament. Indeed, the matter may be brought even nearer home: which of us at some time or another has not felt the temptation to wish that he had power to imprison or banish from the country, whole classes of persons whose actions or ideas seem highly obnoxious? (Of course *our* bêtes noires *deserve* their punishments; it is always the other fellow who is so unjust in his antipathies)!

The German leaders have been accused of "delighting" in torturing innocent people. This charge could only be substantiated by those who are intimately acquainted with them. Although sadist rulers are not unknown, it is more than usual for those in authority who issue orders which produce much suffering, not to take any special delight in the pain they cause, but rather to regard it as an unavoidable necessity for the attainment of a (to them) right and moral objective. The German Government regard Jews, Pacifists and religious leaders who meddle in politics as enemies of the State and there is no reason to doubt their sincerity, however little we may respect their judgment.

In the matter of willingness to cause innocent suffering in the pursuit of what seems to them to be a high moral end, there is no difference between the German Government and our own Government. To the German Government the welfare of the State appears to be the supreme good and to purge it of dangerous elements, Jews, Pacifists and religious leaders who indulge too freely in political criticism must endure suffering. To our Government the liberation of Europe from Nazi aggression appears to be the supreme good and in pursuit of this objective they also decide, by a declaration of war, to subject to suffering large numbers of persons, most of whom are entirely innocent. No one, however, could fairly accuse British statesmen of "delighting" even in the suffering of German soldiers and their bereaved relatives.

There is, too, a well-known saying, "What the eye does not see, the heart does not grieve for." It is unlikely that Hitler and his colleagues have been eye-witnesses of the atrocities committed as a result of their orders and it is all too easy for any person who has, for the achievement of what he believes to be a good end, given orders which involve suffering, to drug his conscience with the reflection, "It is hard luck for some, but it simply *has* to be and there is no other alternative."

In regard to those Germans actually guilty of inflicting physical cruelty and apparently enjoying doing so, most nations, our own included, produce a certain percentage of unpleasant bullies, especially among their young men, some of whom, incidentally, in time outgrow their evil ways. This percentage of bullies need not be high to cause much mischief and to attract much attention. On the principle that if a dog bites a man it is not news, but if a man bites a dog it is news, kindly or tolerant treatment of Jews, etc., by German men and lads goes unrecorded, but cruelty is news and is therefore brought into prominence.

It is important to remember that the vast majority of the German people, also, are not eye-witnesses of the crimes for which the policy of their government and the sadistic tendencies of a minority of their fellow-countrymen are responsible; very much, indeed, as the vast majority of our own people are not eye-witnesses of the unpleasant things sometimes done as a result of Government policy in the more remote parts of our far-flung Empire. The Germans share with ourselves a weakness common to most patriotic peoples in that they are prone to ignore and brush aside any evils in their own régime which are not brought forcibly to their notice; while they are easily moved to sincere indignation by stories of similar evils perpetrated within the boundaries of rival States.

There is only one really effective and Christian method of putting an end to concentration camp atrocities and that is to reduce the fear which often gives rise to them and to inspire with a livelier sense of concern or shame, decent Germans and other Germans, perhaps less decent, who happen to be in authority.

The less the fear of enemies without, the less will tend to be the fear of enemies within and in consequence the less temptation there will be to treat the latter with severity.

In regard to the second point, to whose opinion are normal people most sensitive? Whose respect do they most desire and whose censure do they most fear? That of proved friends and benefactors and of persons whose efficiency they admire? Or that of enemies and of hostile critics whose blunders they despise? Obviously the former: therefore if we desire to influence

the German Government in the direction of greater leniency towards those whose fate we pity, we should earn their respect by setting our own house in better order and putting right those abuses which they, with more or less justice, find to criticize. We should also take immediate steps to earn the goodwill of the German nation by acts of practical generosity and helpfulness, especially in the economic sphere where such service can most easily be rendered. It is an interesting fact that the people of every nation which has recently earned the name "aggressor" have shown evidence of a strong desire to justify their conduct in the eyes of friendly foreigners and to do nothing to earn the latter's contempt.

As a method of bringing to the German Government and people a sense of guilt for the severities of the former's régime, war is completely useless, and, from a psychological standpoint completely ridiculous.

War always accentuates a combatant nation's sense of its own rectitude and also its belief in the wickedness and hypocrisy of its adversary. How can it do anything else when we remember the effect of war propaganda and the natural reaction to news of casualties?

War punishes the wrong people. Few indeed of those responsible for concentration camp atrocities are likely to be killed in this war. Thousands not responsible are sure to be victims if hostilities are continued. *No high moral purpose can ever be attained by killing the wrong people.* Would that this truth could burn its way deeper into the minds of our tender-hearted but often muddle-headed champions of the victims of Nazi oppression!

Finally, do not let us forget that in this war we are fatally handicapped by not starting with a clean slate. Versailles, the British starvation blockade, and the vindictiveness of the French Government are not forgotten. Every day of a new war and a new blockade will intensify these memories, memories fatal to our chances of bringing home to the hearts of the German nation any sense of shame for the shortcomings of their Government.

Indignation, however righteous, must be tempered not only by a realisation of *all* pertinent facts, but also by an ever-present awareness of the normal workings of the human mind.

EDITOR'S PERSONAL APPEAL

Last month I made a personal appeal to readers to raise a special sum of £166 13s. 3d to cover losses on the paper prior to the issue of the Xmas number, on the postal mission, and on the London Law proceedings in connection with the Hyde Park fight.

This was not my personal fight, as I rarely visit London, and have been for years a settled Glaswegian. Hyde Park speaking is of no personal moment to me. The stand was made by me absolutely in the public interest. One day it will have to be repeated successfully. Meantime, I think those who live in London should contribute to my costs.

The following donations have been received in response to my appeal:—

Marquis of Tavistock	£10	0	0
Mrs. Isobel Knight	1	0	0
Lady Constance Malleson	0	10	0
Lawrence Rose	0	5	0
J.P.	0	4	0
Gavin Caldwell	0	3	0
George McAndrew	0	2	6
Anglo-Scot	0	2	6
Alec Kaye	0	2	6
R. C. Mekey	0	2	6
Sid Kaye	0	1	0
Total Received	£12	13	0
Total to Come	£154	0	3

Comrades are asked to make up this loss *now*. We are producing a 12-paged paper, on good paper, without advertisements of any description. N.C.L. and all such announcements are inserted free and unconditionally. Please help.

THE MANCHESTER CONSCIENCE TRIBUNAL

The Manchester Tribunal opened at the Assize Court, Manchester, on November 2. The sittings concluded on November 24. The Chairman was Judge E. Burgis. Other members of the Tribunal were: Alderman C. Aveling (Southport); Laurence O. Holt (Liverpool; Sir Miles E. Mitchell (Manchester); and A. Roberts (Amalgamated Society Card, Blowing, and Ring Room Operatives, Salford).

When the Tribunal assembled, the Chairman expressed a desire for a friendly and understanding basis of approach. The Court realised the suffering that war entailed and entered upon its duties with sympathy and diffidence. In questioning applicants, the Court was not seeking to persecute conscience, but to plumb the depths of conviction, so that conscience might not be made a cloak for cowardice and irresponsibility.

In the main, the Chairman's opening remarks were admirable and did point to a desire to discharge onerous duties with fairness and understanding. This, notwithstanding, during its first day's sitting, the Tribunal failed to appreciate the limit of its power in reference to non-combatant duties. An applicant who agreed that he would serve in the R.A.M.C. was registered without comment in the military register for non-combatant duties. It was not made clear that the Tribunal had no power to guarantee him R.A.M.C. service or to specify any particular form of non-combatant service, which is determined by the military authorities in accordance with their needs. It is thus possible that this applicant, who thought that he was accepting service in the Medical Corps, may find himself required to perform other non-combatant duties such as transport of munitions, to which he will object. He will find himself court-martialled for disobeying a "lawful command," although his refusal will proceed from a conscientious objection that has been admitted to be genuine.

Another fault of the Manchester Tribunal was its marked tendency to direct the energies of applicants, whom it deemed genuine, to some form of State service, usually first-aid work.

It never occurred to the Tribunal that a course of first aid is merely a mean apology for pacifism. It is also an easy attitude to adopt, much easier than an endeavour to get down to first causes. War is an evil. To know the cause of war, and to work with all one's energy to remove the cause, is a far greater service to humanity than to spend time in acquiring knowledge of how to patch up some of the effects of the evil. Pacifism may seem a poor allegiance to the State but it expresses a loyalty to mankind which is to the best interests of the State whenever the State does not conflict with society.

Eighteen people appeared before the Tribunal on the opening day. Two were registered unconditionally. Eleven were registered conditionally. Three were placed without qualification on the military register.

A. C. Adshead, Manchester Road, Heaton Chapel, and F. Bickerdike, Bowker Street, Radcliffe, were registered as C.O.'s unconditionally.

Four other members of the Society of Friends were registered on condition that they qualified for the Friends Ambulance Unit. Six Christadelphians were registered as C.O.'s, on condition that they attended Christadelphian civil ambulance classes. One of these was P. Adams, Mile End, Stockport. He stated that Christadelphians were granted exemption during the American Civil War and during the Great War. Christadelphians were willing to perform civilian work under the Ministry of Labour, but would not take an oath of allegiance to the King for military service.

When the Tribunal sat for the second day, fifteen young men stated their objections to performing military duties. Six were conditionally registered as C.O.'s, four were registered unconditionally; two were placed on the list of persons liable to be called up for non-combatant duties; two were adjourned; and only one applicant had his name removed unconditionally from the provisional register of conscientious objectors. The case was that of M. C. Marson, Ashford Lodge, Bowdon. His father had served in the last war, and was invalided out of the Army, having lost an eye. The Tribunal stated that Marson had not established his conscientious objection, but that this decision must not be taken to prejudice an appeal on the grounds of hardship. The Tribunal considered that he had a hardship case.

E. Mason, Minshull New Road, Crewe, was registered as a C.O., on condition that he took up ambulance work. He said:—

"Christianity does not recognise the geographical divisions into which mankind has fallen."

A. A. Mainwaring, Duke Street, Old Trafford, made a long and effective statement.

Registration under the Military Training Act, he said, was a suppression of personal rights, and it was wrong that the State should turn men into careers which were against their Christian teaching. Registration compelled men to take training in order to kill, and created an atmosphere which was ungodly, unchristian, and given over to nothing more than savagery. Were young people to be brought up in that atmosphere? He objected to performing any duties which would aid military action, encourage animalism, cause intense suffering, lower the standard of living, and bring about things which were hideous. He would willingly give his life in a passive resistance to everything connected with war.

Pacifism, properly applied, he added, was not just non-resistance. He would feel impelled to help anyone in difficulties, but he would not serve under military control.

H. Brayshaw and D. J. Hepton, both of Dalton Hall, Manchester; H. Makin, Hilton Street, Little Hulton; and J. T. Marsh, Trafford Grove, Stretford, were registered unconditionally as C.O.'s. Brayshaw said he was born into a family connected with the Society of Friends. He refused to serve in the Friends' Ambulance Unit, because it was not run by the Society of Friends, but only by a few members of that body who were not Absolutists. He was an Absolutist and would not compromise with war.

J. Mitchell, Standedge Road, Diggle, was registered as a person liable to be called up for non-combatant duties. Prior to rejecting his appeal, the Tribunal adopted an amazing attitude. Mitchell mentioned that he believed in the brotherhood of man. He had been to Switzerland and had met a number of people of other nations.

Mr. Roberts—And you feel we ought to have an international brotherhood?—Yes, sir.

Mr. Roberts—I feel like that, too, and I think we all do on this Tribunal.

After this, the Tribunal virtually rejected his appeal!

On Saturday, November 4, the Tribunal heard seven cases. Three applicants were placed on the military register without qualification. It was directed that another applicant should be liable to be called up for non-combatant duties. One person was registered as a C.O. on condition that he took up first-aid work. Two were registered unconditionally as conscientious objectors.

H. Nixon, Broadfield Road, Moss Side, and L. P. Barnett, Hartley Victoria Methodist College, maintained that war was contrary to the teaching of Christ. Barnett refused to have his

case adjourned indefinitely, as suggested by the Tribunal, on the ground that he was a theological student. He maintained that he had no right except that of a conscientious objector under the Act. He took his stand as a Christian Pacifist, convinced that war, in every form, was contrary to the teaching and example of Jesus. He explained :—

"As a Christian I can never support or sanction war or preparation for it. Peace and security can never be attained by preparing for or engaging in war or by possessing armaments, as the present situation amply demonstrates. Peace is a practical, positive policy which must be obtained by free co-operation between nations, putting the good of all before the selfish interests of each."

He maintained that it was essential to this end that it should be made abundantly clear that Britain would not resort to mass murder. War was, at present, so interwoven in national and social life that he realised it was impossible for anyone to escape all connection with it. There was no such thing as logical, consistent absolutist pacifism possible, but under the Military Training Act his position was clear. He could not take training in order to kill.

Questioned by Mr. C. Aveling, he said he had always been a pacifist at heart, but his views were crystallised in 1937 when he left home to live in London and came under the influence of a dominantly pacifist Christian community.

Both were registered without condition.

The Barnett decision was clapped. Judge Burgis ordered the offenders to leave at once. They were sitting in a court of Justice; and he would have neither clapping nor expressions of approval or objection. Such conduct was an insult to the Court.

The fourth sitting was on November 6 Seventeen objectors were dealt with. Two applicants received unconditional exemption Five were placed on the military register without qualification. Three were given non-combatant service. Conditional exemption was given to I Grant, Gladstone Grove, Heaton Moor, who was employed at engineering and was prepared to do International Voluntary Service for Peace overseas. Unconditional registration was granted to J. D. Gabbort, King's Drive, Heaton Moor, and H. Briggs, Duffield Road, Salford Gabbort was a Scoutmaster but refused during his schooldays to join the Hulme Grammar School O.T.C. Briggs is a full time evangelist of the Calvary Holiness Church, Oldham.

J. G. Campbell, Devonshire Road, Stockport, and G. R. Cattell, Nearmaker Avenue, Benchill, Wythenshawe, were ordered to do non-combatant work. Campbell is costs-clerk in an aircraft factory and Cattell is a time-clerk at an aviation company's work. Campbell said he could not accept responsibility for the use to which aircraft was put, and made a religious explanation, which put the responsibility on God.

Judge Burgis—You are part of the machinery in the manufacture of an aeroplane?

Applicant—As a clerk my participation is very indirect.

On November 7, the Tribunal heard eleven cases. Three were registered unconditionally: five conditionally; and three removed without qualification.

H. Hesketh, Doctor's Lane, Bury, was registered as a conscientious objector, conditional on his remaining in his present industry of farming. The Rev. H. Lonsdale, Congregational minister, described Hesketh's hard life and described him as "inarticulate and not well educated" but a "real Chistian pacifist."

The Chairman (Judge E. C. Burgis)—What is there about his life that has made you form the view that he is a Christian pacifist.

The Rev. H. Lonsdale—Well, he lives with his mother-in-law. (Loud laughter, in which members of the Tribunal joined.)

J. Holroyd, Shaw Road, Oldham, a member of the executive of the local branch of the Peace Pledge Union, was unconditionally registered. As a child he had refused the gift of a toy fort equipped with soldiers. He had refused a gas mask as being part of the preparations for war and would not make use of an air-raid shelter.

W. Jevons, Chapel Street, Edgeley, Stockport, was questioned at length by Mr. Holt. The Court retired to consider his case. On retiring the Chairman said :—

"My colleagues have listened to this case with much interest. Of all the cases to which we have listened during the last few days, there is no case in which we are more satisfied that the applicant has a genuine conscientious objection."

Jevons was registered without conditions. The Chairman explained that it was difficult for Jevons to make up his mind as to the precise form his service to community should take, "*but we are so satisfied with his integrity that we shall leave it to his honour.*"

J. Harding, Junior, St. George's Road, Bolton, was registered conditionally on his qualifying for first-aid work. He said that the affairs of this world were not his concern and his only duty was to preach. The Tribunal decided that he had a conscience which they despised: but it was a conscience.

On November 8, the Tribunal heard eleven cases. Unconditional exemption was granted to the following four applicants: Harry N. Sheldon, Windermere Lane, Reddish; John Hartley, Birch Grove, Longsight; Gerald H. W. Pullen, Plumbley, near Knutsford; and J. K. Lawton, Queen's Road, Cheadle, Hulme.

In the case of Pullen, the Chairman said :—
"We feel strongly that pacifists as a whole are under the illusion that they have performed all the service they need for humanity when they have done peace work."

The Tribunal asked Hartley to place his knowledge of languages at the service of the Council for Social Service for work among refugees. The Chairman complained that, unlike most applicants, he had understated his case.

The Tribunal released J. L. Hurst, a clergyman's son, to the care of his godfather, Canon Peter Green, to find him social service for which he is fitted, and that is in the public interest. The Chairman said that, but for the Canon's interference, the Tribunal would have deemed Hurst "*a humbug, come here for purposes of self-advertisement.*"

After Canon Green had given evidence on Hurst's behalf, the applicant returned to the witness box and apologised for his "arrogance." Judge Burgis said that the apology was worthless and that the applicant had made a bow to the audience.

Mr. Hurst—It was a bow to you, sir.

Judge Burgis—It was a bow to the audience.

The Tribunal removed J. H. Lindars, Timperley Vicarage, Altrincham, from the C.O. Register, because his ideas lacked the depth of conviction necessary to justify the conclusion that he had a conscientious objection to war.

Asked by Judge Burgis why taking part in war went against his conscience, Mr. Lindars replied, "I don't know. It just does."

Judge Burgis—Why shouldn't you take part?

Mr. Lindars—I can't conceive why I should. It is so horrible and beastly. A great hatred of it has just grown up in me.

On November 9, the Tribunal ordered six out of fifteen applicants to be removed from the register of conscientious objectors. One was a Jew. The Chairman said that several of the objectors had "views" but not the clear, strong, deep conviction needed to justify conscientious objection.

Conditional exemption was granted to Harold C. Jones, Garston Street, Bury. Canon Hornby spoke to his sincerity.

Judge Burgis—What social service such as Christ would have performed are you prepared to perform?

Mr. Jones—I think Christ would have been preaching his Gospel to-day.

Judge Burgis—He did other things besides preaching. I can't help thinking that when you say in your statement that some people may think you are a shirker you are in danger of being right.

Mr. Jones—I don't worry much about what other people think of me.

Although the Tribunal granted unconditional exemption to Benjamin Stoddart, Albert Road, Levenshulme, the Chairman had a passage of arms with him. He is going to a post at the Stockport Grammar School. When he mentioned education as his social service, Judge Burgis said, "Leave out education. That is something you make money by."

Lippa Kunovici, Caroline Street, Lower Broughton, Manchester, said his father was a Rumanian. The suffering of the Jews in Germany was a direct outcome of the last war. It was always wrong to kill. The Chairman said his case had been considered sympathetically because he was a member of an outraged race. But there was no circumstance to justify his exemption. He was removed without qualification.

Barry Woollerton, Rochdale Road, Manchester, was removed from the Register after he had expressed his objection to all killing with much eloquence. He belonged to no organisation. His confidence and speed in answering questions caused many bursts of laughter.

Without retiring, the Tribunal decided against him. The Chairman said :—

"A budding demagogue, glib of tongue and with ability to use words, but without sincerity or conviction."

On November 10, the Tribunal gave unconditional exemption to Harold Jones, Princess Road, Levenshulme, who has been for eight years a member of the Bettisham Tabernacle, which is in "voluntary fellowship" with the Assemblies of God. Jones said that a Christians main concern was with the state of people's souls. The Chairman said that such views filled the Tribunal with surprise and almost contempt. The Tribunal was satisfied that they were held conscientiously.

A second member of this organisation, Albert A. Parr, Thornton Street, Openshaw, was registered as a C.O. conditionally. He said that the only way to serve Christ was by preaching. He believed that praying would give a man a new leg or a new arm or new head.

Judge Burgis stated the view expressed by Parr was not an honest conscientious view.

On November 15, the Tribunal unconditionally registered as Conscientious Objectors: Ted Whittaker, Banstead Avenue, Rownswood Estate, Northenden; John E. Wilkinson, Sherbourne Road, Cheadle Heath, Stockport; Frank Wilson, Newark Road, Rochdale; John P. Wragge, Walton Hall, Manchester.

Whittaker said that there was no religious background to his objection. He had no conscientious objection to non-combatant work, but he had to taking life, and he was not prepared to take non-combatant work as a compromise. The Tribunal adjourned for lunch with the case still undecided, and on returning Judge Burgis asked :

Are you prepared to give up your job for this objection?—Yes.

I believe there are certain pension rights attached?—Yes.

And you are prepared to lose those rather than give up the objection?—Yes.

Judge Burgis gave reasons for refusing exemption to Frank Platt, who, when the war broke out, was studying philosophy at the Sorbonne in Paris and who as an agnostic based his objection on utilitarian grounds.

Platt said that he accepted the arguments of Huxley, Bertrand Russell, and Joad on the practicability of one-sided disarmament. He said that the majority of people in Czecho-Slovakia, who had accepted invasion without armed resistance, were happier than the majority in Poland. As an agnostic his objection was one of expediency.

Judge Burgis summarised :—

"It is clear that this young man is not repeating a number of phrases which he has picked up and he has addressed his mind to the subject. His outlook as an agnostic is different from that of most young men before us, and it is with his agnostic's outlook that he urges his case. I am disposed to take the view that an agnostic may have conscientious objection. But he must not merely object to war, he must do so conscientiously. He says frankly, 'I don't object to killing. It may be necessary to kill—to execute the murderer. I don't object to killing in war. War may be justifiable.'

"Parliament has not laid down that a man is excused from military service if he thinks that the grounds on which the war is waged are not justifiable. Parliament has given an exemption on three grounds only. I hold that the applicant does not

come within the exemption which is allowed to those who conscientiously hold these views. In my view he does not conscientiously hold these views which he says he does."

The day's decisions were :—

Registered unconditionally as C.O.'s	4
Registered conditionally on doing work specified by the Ministry of Labour	1
Registered on condition of continuing spare-time food-growing	1
Transferred military register, non-combatant service	3
Transferred military register, without qualification	4

On November 16, nine of the fifteen applicants were removed from the C.O. register without qualification.

Unconditional exemption was granted to Douglas Cottrell, Richmond Road, Fallowfield, Manchester; Harold R. Bedson, Buxton Avenue, Crewe; Derek Brook, Buxton Avenue, Crewe. Bedson and Brook entered uniform applications as Christadelphians.

Douglas Cottrell is an Anglican, who opposes conscription because it is opposed to "the right of freedom of decision which every person possesses from God." He was willing to do medical service voluntarily.

In announcing the Tribunal's decision, Judge Burgis said they were favourably impressed and they hoped he would feel it his Christian duty to render service for those who might be injured.

George Grand, Heaton Lane, Stockport, and John F. R. Holden, Churchgate, Stockport, were removed from the register without qualification for stressing their Socialist approach.

George Grand said that he would not kill men who were no different from himself. He would not help an injured soldier, even in civil life. The war was maintained by "foul propaganda" and "the whinings of statesmen."

John F. R. Holden said that war was promoted by "the press and ranting politicians." As a worker, he had nothing to defend. He had no vote. He "detested being a butcher and a murderer."

Judge Burgis—All of us here are most opposed to the idea of killing. It is physically repugnant to us.

Giving the decision in Holden's case, the Chairman said :—

"We view this case with considerable sympathy. We feel that this young man has probably had a sad and bitter experience in life. He has been nurtured in class warfare, and in consequence his whole outlook on life has been warped."

We think the decision entirely wrong, and the expression of sympathy, hypocritical. Judge Burgis, who spoke frankly about the hypocrisy of others, will not resent frank comment in return. Grand and Holden did make out cases for total exemption on the ground of conscience. The class-war is a social and economic fact. The workers' outlook, if warped at all, is warped in reality: the reality of poverty and class distinction. We believe that these applicants stated their case unwisely but not untruly.

Cyril Jacobs, 9 Darlington Road, Cheetham, was represented by a solicitor, Mr. J. H. Minor. He was told at the Labour Exchange not to register as an objector until he received calling-up papers. James R. Clegg, Cookland Street, Cockbrook, Ashton-under-Lyne, went for medical examination and then asked to be put into the R.A.M.C. He stated he objected to killing and an officer said he must register as a C.O. at once. Both Jacobs and Clegg were denied exemption.

Arnold R. Hutchings, Braemar Avenue, Stretford, was registered for non-combatant service on his own statement that he was willing to join the R.A.M.C. He wanted a written undertaking that he would not be asked to do combatant work.

Judge Burgis—The Government, I gather, has given assurances that the R.A.M.C. will not be used for fighting purposes.

Hutchings—In the last war these assurances were given, and there were many cases of many being required to do other work. I want written assurances.

Judge Burgis—I cannot give any written assurance. The only assurance I can give is the assurance that has been given in Parliament.

Hutchings—That is no guarantee.

Judge Burgis—It is no guarantee, but if we recommend you for non-combatant work you will not get into a combatant corps. You can be sure of that. That is the best we can do. In announcing the decision, he said they would make a strong recommendation that Hutchings should be admitted to the R.A.M.C.

On Tuesday, November 21, Manchester Tribunal granted exemption, on condition that he did work prescribed by the Ministry of Labour, to Leslie Emery Bracewell, Providence Street, Bacup. Bracewell opposed war in the interests of civilisation. He described conscription as a surrender to Hitlerism. The Chairman described the case as a difficult one :—

"This boy has been brought up in a strongly pacifist home and has lived in a strongly pacifist atmosphere. We think that that outlook on life has affected his views and that what he has really been trying to express to us is not that he objects to dictatorship or doing what he is told: we think he has been trying to express to us the fact that he objects to doing anything of a military character."

Kenneth Douglas Bundy, Broad Walk, Buxton, signed the military register, submitted to medical examination, applied to the Hardships Committee for a postponement of his service, and did not suggest, until September 29, that he was a conscientious objector. Bundy said his grounds were religious, humanitarian, and moral. The Court removed Bundy's name from the C.O. register unconditionally. The Chairman stated that he was a young man of superior education and his claim was rejected because the Court doubted his credibility. A conscience was not developed overnight. It was a plant of slow growth.

The following were registered unconditionally as conscientious objectors: Garvin Alexander Stuart Warnock, Trafalgar Road, Salford; George Douglas Barnett, Rever Street Farm, Copperhall, Crewe; Ronald Byrom, Myrtle Street, Bury.

The following day the decisions were somewhat dull. John Francis Salter, Oldfield Road, Sale, was opposed to leaving his family. Harold Davies, Bedford Street, Crewe, objected to war breaking up his home. Douglas Dingwall Mittall Cottage, Ramsbottom, had resigned from the Boy Scouts because he objected to military training. All three were placed on the military register without qualification.

On November 23, John Godfrey Heathcote, Brunswick Street, Manchester, refused to accept exemption on condition that he does civilian work specified by the Ministry of Labour. He claimed total exemption and based his claim, as a Roman Catholic, on the tests laid down by Catholic Theologians, from the time of St. Augustine, to determine what is a righteous war.

1. It must be in defence of a strict right, proportionate in importance to the means invoked.

2. All other means of settlement must have been tried and have failed.

3. There must be a reasonable hope of victory for the just cause.

4. The war must be entered upon simply with the intention of righting a certain wrong.

5. The means used must be in accordance with the virtues of truth, justice, and love.

6. The evils caused by war must not be greater than the evil it is sought to destroy.

The applicant said he was convinced that the nature and scale of modern warfare made it impossible for all the conditions to be satisfied. He agreed that the Catholic hierarchy in England had stated that our cause was just. He himself doubted whether it was just entirely.

Judge Burgis—It is only a theological objection?—It is a profound conviction.

Applicant said that although some people felt able to justify modern warfare by Catholic principles, he did not know how they did it.

Judge Burgis—Your whole objection is because of the magnitude of modern war?—Not the whole. It is sinful in its methods and does more harm than it averts.

Applicant said he could not accept any service as a condition of exemption.

Alderman Aveling questioned him about the oppression of Catholics in Germany. He replied that Catholics in all countries, following their hierarchies, thought they had a just cause. If he fought he would only be fighting other Catholics.

Unconditional exemption was granted to Cyril D. Hughes, Hertford Road, Blackley, Manchester. Judge Burgis said :—

"We have no hesitation whatever in arriving at the conclusion that this young man is a man of deep religious conviction, and his religious convictions are so deep and genuine that he finds himself unable to take part in any military act. We are also satisfied that he is a young man who recognises his responsibility to society. He does not merely preach. His acts satisfy us that there is no need for this Tribunal to attach any conditions whatever."

On November 24, John Edward Robinson, Green Lane, Hopwood, Heywood, was registered as a C.O., conditional on doing work prescribed by the Minister of Labour. In announcing the decision, the Chairman said :—

"This young man's views are founded on false premises. He has become imbued with the idea that everybody in the Army hates everybody on the other side. Although his views are founded on false premises, they are none the less sincere."

John Pritchard, Egerton Road, Whally Range, Manchester, was registered unconditionally. Pritchard stated that he had been willing to lose his job for freedom of opinion. He explained that he had been definitely told by his employers that as he was not prepared to do his bit either by fighting or helping those who do fight he must look for another job. Several letters were read describing Pritchard's consistent pacifist attitude since at fourteen he refused to join the cadet corps at Hulme Grammar School, although his father wished him to join.

Pritchard's mother was in the Court and in the witness-box and expressed opposition to her son's views. Pritchard returned to the box and in reply to Alderman Aveling said he had done propaganda in the works and had had to give an undertaking to his departmental manager not to propagate pacifism in any way.

In announcing the decision that Pritchard should be registered unconditionally, Judge Burgis said :—

"We have felt considerable regret at seeing mother and son in the witness-box, and we hope nothing which may have been said to-day by either of them will tend to enstrange the relations between them. . . . This is the clearest case we have had before us. We have no doubt whatever that the applicant is a conscientious objector. There is no clearer test of the depth of a person's conviction than the fact that he is prepared to endure persecution and to suffer disadvantages."

Referring to the action of Pritchard's employers, Judge Burgis explained :—

"His employers have taken the view, and we do not feel they can be criticised, that it is impossible to maintain the discipline of their works if there is someone there carrying on propaganda opposed to the views of those who are working in their works. I do not doubt that he has carried on this propaganda knowing they were not going to tolerate it. All this is evidence of his courageous outlook and the depth of his opinions. It is only in that aspect that this question of his dismissal is relevant."

The case of Alan White, a student at Manchester University, who was registered unconditionally, had been adjourned to enable him to clarify his attitude to the R.A.M.C.

The Editor has been in correspondence with the Divisional Controller of the Ministry of National Service and Labour, with reference to the Glasgow Local Tribunal, and the defence of C.O.s before the Appeal Tribunal in Edinburgh. The correspondence will be published next month.

Reports of other N.C.L. Tribunals will appear in our next issue. We are obtaining full reports from all the centres. Order now and send along any data. The C.O. cases and decisions are both news and history.

THE WORD-TO THE WORLD!

(Written and Published by the Editor in "The New Spur," Dec. 1933. Reprinted by Request)

Many decades since, the word challenged an unbelieving world through the lips of a prophet thus: "Behold ye despisers—and perish for I work a work in your days which ye shall in no wise believe, though a man declare it unto you."

The old-time prophet was poor and his authority was the inward wisdom generated of poverty. He died, as such men die, mourned by a multitude of half-believers, who yearned rather than understood. They were powerless from their very poverty. Generations later they were to be succeeded by semi-believers, who were to prove powerless from their very sense of comfort. There is a gulf widely fixed between a half-believer and a semi-believer. The first responds to the teaching and desire to believe the second despairs of the teaching and has no desire to believe but deems it wisdom to mock with his lips that which he dare not subscribe to in his mind or thought. Although even the half-believers were few, somehow the prophet's message lived. It still lives as it must live, until understanding brings power of achievement unto the poor.

Prophecy is a strange business. The vision of the prophet gives radiance to his word. It outlives the prophet himself. He dies scorned and neglected. His word continues and increases until the struggle ends in triumph. The man is mortal—a mere instrument. His word is the verity, and is embodied in the scheme of things that serves man by using men. One generation of unbelievers and despisers hear without understanding and scoff merrily; the second generation of those who scoff hear and perish: spiritually in themselves; materially and finally as a class. The epoch of critical poverty throws up the agitator or prophet to proclaim the doom of the idling world of exploitative luxury, and lends the power of working with the tools of poverty, the mean methods of starvation. The powerful cannot believe and even the poor find it hard to sense that the power of the word consists in the very poverty of its machinery. The Jews could not believe that Jesus was the Messiah because he came without arms and was clothed in rags and had not where to lay his head. How could truth obtain arms in a world of oppression and unctious self-interest? How should truth have where to lay its head when the palace was built on falsehood and the hovel rests on lies? Have not the parliamentarians urged that one must capture Parliament and the State Power and so inaugurate the revolution with the ceremonial robes of legal majesty? Did they not put their theory into operation in Germany? Behold! the Messiah came with pomp and ceremony, duly arrayed in purple and fine linen. He came; at first he was Mars, the God of War and the Son of Mammon. Then he became Nazism, reaction incarnate, the offspring of Parliamentarism. He came because the poor were blind and their leaders could not see.

He who has vision is more than an angel—he is a man and an agitator: not a serf, not a stomach, not a brain subordinate to digestion: but a man, a mortal arrayed in the invincible armour of light. His manhood stamps his word with authority. Friedrich Nietzsche, greatest of Anti-Christians, has revealed the power of the word in his poem:—

There the gallows, rope, and hooks,
And the hangman's beard is red:
People round and poisoned looks,
Nothing new and nothing dread!
Know it well, from fifty sources,
Laughing in your face I cry:
Would you hang me? Save your forces!
Why kill me who cannot die?
Beggars ye! Who hate the tougher
Man who holds the envied lot;
True I suffer, true I suffer—
As to you—ye rot, ye rot.
I am breath, dew, all sources,
After fifty hangings; why!
Would you hang me? Save your forces!
Why kill me who cannot die?

The same idea is well expressed by Ferdinand Freiligrath in "The Angel of Revolution":—

Ye see me in the cell, ye see me only in the grave;
Ye see me only wandering lone beside the exile's weary wave;
Ye fools! Do I not also dwell where ye have sought to pierce in vain?
Rests not a niche for me in every heart, in every brain?
In every brow that brooding thinks, erect with manhood's honest pride?
Does not each bosom shelter me that beats with honour's generous tide?
Not every workshop brooding woe, not every heart that shelters grief;
For am I not the breath of life that pants and struggles for relief?

Nietzsche and Freiligrath both express the revolutionary early Christian idea. Says Proudhon outlining the history of that idea:—

All at once, a man appeared calling himself the "Word of God." It is not known to this day who he was, whence he came, or what suggested to him his ideas. He went about proclaiming everywhere that the end of existing society was at hand; that the world was about to experience a new birth; that the priests were vipers, the lawyers ignoramuses, and the philosophers hypocrites and liars; that masters and slaves were equals; that usury and everything akin to it was robbery; that proprietors and idlers would one day burn, while the poor and pure in heart would find a haven of peace.

"Society was saved by the negation of its own principles, by a revolution in its religion, and by violation of its most sacred rights. In this revolution the idea of Justice spread to an extent that had not been dreamed of before never to return to its original limits. Heretofore Justice had existed only for masters; it then commenced to exist for the slaves."

The word, seemingly declared in vain, becomes manifest in the flesh. Even when the critics of the messenger denounce his teachings most vigorously they pronounce his message most definitely. A certain school of freethought, not content with its many excellent attacks on superstition, thought it ncessary to deny all virtue to early Christianity. This school is very much opposed to my activity in the press and on the platform. It forgets that when G. W. Foote was indicted for blasphemy, his main and most excellent argument was that Jesus had been indicted for blasphemy before him. It may come as a surprise to this school of Freethought to read the following extract, culled from "Acid Drops," published in *The Freethinker* of June 17, 1889, page 193:—

"Christian Socialism was explained at St. Catherine's Church, Rotherhithe, last Sunday afternoon by the Rev. Stewart D. Headlam. Christianity is Socialism, said Mr. Headlam. So it is, if we are to go by the New Testament. But it is not Mr. Headlam's Socialism. Christian Socialism, as taught by Jesus and practised by the primitive Church, is downright Communism.

"Now, Mr. Headlam, do be honest and go the whole hog. Half-and-half measures are unworthy a man of your spirit."

Foote's evangel was very limited. Although his followers would deny it, his interest in life was essentially theological. Atheism and Pantheism relate as much to theology as Deism, Theism, or Polytheism. The history of theology is a history of negation. The Idea of God destroys itself by a process of expansion. The Idea expands until God loses all his physical attributes in universal spiritually. He grows vaguer and vaguer until at last he gives up the ghost entirely. From being located in Heaven he grows into occupation of the entire universe. He ceases to occupy and begins to permeate the universe so as to occupy it more completely. His followers grow jealous not only of the universe but also of space. They identify him with space as well as matter. He expands into everything. Nothing he is not. Nothing he becomes. Until he becomes nothing, until his real definition and purely poetic existence is understood by the human mind generally, the atheist is as great a theologian as the theist. He spends his nights and days in company of this God that does not exist. He pretends an interest in the secular happiness of mankind. His interest is pretense. It is elementary, unformed, and purely pious. He has no real interest in the emancipation of the poor from poverty. God is his obscession. He is at no greater pains to make his dream complete so as to secure the secular wellbeing of every man, woman and child on earth, than is the Christian to realise the brotherhood of man. He is purely a theologian, of an advanced character, continuing the useful negative work of former heretical theologians, and setting up a small respectable Bethel of his own within the limitations of class society. Richard Carlile is to G. W. Foote as Jesus Christ is to a modern Anglican minister. I refrain from saying the Archbishop of Canterbury because I respect the fact that Foote was concerned with an idea and not merely a property sinecure. He bowed none the less before the cause of property and had no live enthusiasm for that of poverty. Richard Carlile was original. He set his cause on nought. Foote was merely conventional. He based his cause on the mediocre interests and current practice of conventional society. Christianity was false to Richard Carlile because it was untrue. That was his position, plain and flat. Christianity was false to Foote and to Charles Watts and others of the Secular and Rational Fraternity because it did not conform to society and was inconsistent with political reformism. The fact that he was not a Liberal in the English political sense was a serious secularist complaint against Jesus. The fact that he was not a Liberal like the late J. M. Robertson is an excellent recommendation of the teachings of Jesus to the consideration of working men. Bradlaugh and Foote never thought of that.

There are traditions about Jesus, recorded in the sermons and writings of the early fathers, that are not to be found in the New Testament. One such tradition is an excellent proletarian story. It is said that Jesus, as a child, played in Nazareth with a gibbet. He did many strange things with that cross of wood. Years later, those who loved his manhood, his mission, his way of living and of dying, regaled themselves with the wonder of his early plaything. The symbolism of it amazed them. It implied that he set his life on nought. He desired no fame, no military glory, no kingship, no power to destroy; only the power to influence through being destroyed. He literally set his cause to nought. A great Polish writer has passed the idea on to the working class. The ruling class prepares for their children many wonderful toys, all eulogistic of the capitalist system, symbols of pomp, circumstance and power. The worker's child gazes in the shop windows and anxiously desires these toys. His or her father made them so that his own offspring might not have them. Wonderful world! Wonderful Providence! Why not accept this irony of Providence? Why not give the child of the workers, if he resents injustice early, the toys of his future with which to play? Give him chains and let him play at wearing them. Give him handcuffs and let his wrists respond to the touch of steel. Let him have the wheelbarrow and so grow accustomed to pushing it. Permit him the hangman's rope so that he shall not dread it. Train him to solitude and let him grow articulate through silence. Let him shun fame and seek ignominy for ignominy is the workers' lot. Let him play at hue and cry. Let an unknown spy accuse and let the one accused defend himself before a perjured court. Children play at mothers and fathers, at

schools, at Indians, and at play-acting. Why not at courts? Let the court give no heed to the truth the accused one tells. Let the spy and his employer have the last word and let the judge speak for the prosecution. Let the accused one make his poverty's garments look more poor. Let him play at standing before a tribunal of pomp. Let the judge steal a coloured tablecloth or curtain and wear it so that he may look ermined and respectable. Let the accused one pretend to be killed and to be buried far away from all his friends. Yes, let him anticipate in play his destiny.

Whoso is born poor and would be a prophet has all history for his guide. He knows what will be when he is dead. A cross in some men's hearts for a monument; a fragrant memory in place of a stone; a wilderness, his habitation and his grave. Girls weep for his memory and their tears are dried by charlatans.—Men talk of him a little—and the talk dwindles to nothingness. Such is the life and death of the prophet of the poor. Let the working class child play at the symbolism of his destiny. Maybe, in the knowledge of it he will grow up a Socialist, loyal to his class and loyal to truth; mild, serious, but not afraid. His anticipations will make him proof against disappointments. He will have mastered the mysticism that inspires the race of Messiahs. He will become a prophet without honour or reward. He will, lose the world and gain his own soul. His glory will be his shame before men.

"I have set my cause on nought." Such is the declaration of the prophet. It emphasises the power of his word. Not his word as a man, but his word as a messenger. It explains why the prophet disappoints all the world's conceptions of power and grandeur. The prophet's story is an ironic biography of unequal circumstance translated into an epic to please our childish wonder. Have not Whittier and Lowell, each in his own style, reserved for us wonderful pictures of William Lloyd Garrison's printing office, so meanly furnished, "in which the freedom of the race began"? One day, poets will romance about prophets no more. The marvellous stories will be collected as so much data from which to induce the philosophy of freedom. Liberty will be a fact, unquestioned and unquestionable, socially registered in the universally amiable terms of social revolution. The registration wil be very quiet and formal. It will be so tame and natural that it will be impossible to realise the agitation and crisis that was necessary to its achievement. Social revolution, for all the dread that men have of it is but the incidence of history. Anticipated by the lone voice of one crying in the wilderness, it moves forward like the thief in the night. In the immortal words of Proudhon, "like the Nemesis of old, whom neither threats nor prayers could move, the revolution advances, with sombre and inevitable tread, over the flowers with which its devotees strew its path, through the blood of its champions and over the bodies of its enemies." The revolution advances inevitably because it sets its cause on nought.

The great German philosopher, Kaspar Schmidt, better known under his pseudonym of Max Stirner, depicted the material poverty and spiritual completeness of the bearer of the word, in his challenge to the world: "I have set my cause on nought." The word is nought. The world is everything. But the world perishes and the word prevails. Caesar before Jesus; the Pope before Luther; Calvin before Servetus; Capital before Labour. Great is truth for the truth shall prevail.

WE HAVE RECEIVED.

The Truth About This War. 126 pp. Price 2/6. Published by The British People's Party, 13 John St., London, W.C.1. A very interesting book, which will be reviewed at an early date.

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Pensions at Fifty. Price 3d. Published by G. Hickling, c/o Blackfriars Press, Ltd., Smith-Dorrien Road, Leicester.

PRISON: WHAT IT MEANS AND REQUIRES

AN ESSAY FOR CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS

I. Genius in Prison.

Many of those who have made up their minds to resist war and military service, and who have declined to compromise by considering work of national importance, are wondering what the future has in store for them. Could their generation have escaped war, the lives of these enemies of authority would have been protected, conventional and respected. Until the Government challenged their consciences with compulsory calls to militarism and war, these persons had no idea of rebellion, passive or active. Resistence to authority was an idea that never occurred to them. Now all this is changed. True, when governments descend into war, they change the life of every human being in the belligerent countries. But ordinary folk look forward to army life, and to death on the battlefield, with more equanimy than they look forward to imprisonment even in war time. Militarism is harsh and involves regimentation. But it is according to rule and represents the normal man's response to abnormal conditions. It keeps to the ruts. Collectively we do not think. Militarism and uniforms become the fashion. When the trumpet sounds, the great majority respond. Marching to disaster becomes the herd-like impulse. It is very difficult to keep out of step. Thought is an individual function and imposes a double burden on the unfortunate thinker. He is stamped as a creature of anti-social tendency because he stands apart from his fellows. The sensitiveness which causes him to question war and the claims of the State upon his allegiance, even unto murder, does not belong to the criminal mind. Psychologically, the C.O. does not belong to the prison type. He faces the realisation that his destiny is to be fulfilled in prison with uncanny dread. Death indeed would be preferable even though less useful. It is good to go to prison. It is good to survive prison. It is good to return from prison and to plan to end the prison system for ever.

This article specially addresses itself to conscientious objectors. The writer does not intend to describe his own prison experiences. Instead of depicting his own reaction over a period of eight years, to the horrors, the sorrows, and humours of jail life, he proposes to roam through history, and to refer to some of the masterpieces of the writer's thought, that were the direct consequences of imprisonment. The solitude of jail has proven often the needed stimulus of genius.

Amongst those who are anticipating imprisonment for conscience, there may be some possessed of a latent power that imprisonment will energise into expression. That power may be stirring within them already, and they may wish to learn of that astonishing company, the old world men of talent, who had their lives branded and their gifts marked with the prison stain. The story takes us to many lands, and represents a thread running through the ages.

There was Charles of Orleans, whom the English captured after an unfortunate charge at Agincourt. He spent twenty-five years in exiled-captivity at Windsor, and later, at Pomfret Castle. He was rhyming ever in his native tongue; and his songs and poems place him in the front rank of French medieval poets. Then there is Sir Walter Raleigh, although doomed, a somewhat indulged prisoner. Dishonoured because a great adventure, which proved to be his last, had failed, he spent his days in the Tower of London, waiting the end, writing a History of the World. We have all heard of the great deeds of gallantry of Arthur and his Knights of the Round Table. Only some of us know that the story was composed by Sir Thomas Malory. How many know that Sir Thomas was a victim of the Wars of the Roses and that his Morte d'Arthur was composed in captivity? Have we not all heard of Paganini? It is said that he acquired his superhuman mastery of the violin because he was compelled to practise on a single string in prison.

One of the favourite instruments used in his days of fame by Paganini was a violin made by Guiseppe Guarnieri, the greatest maker of violins after the master, Stradivari. Guarnieri also landed in prison, and all the hope of making those marvellous violins which had been his glory and his fame was taken from him. Then comes the story of how genius found a way. The jailer's daughter procured wood, of various kinds, tools, mostly bad, varnish. All these things she begged. She gave them to the fallen master craftsman and in his dim barred cell he set himself to make violins as he had done in the days of his glory.

The mention of Guiseppe Antonio Guarnieri (1683-1745), the greatest genius of his family, recalls the name of another craftsman, Benvenuto Cellini (1500-71). For purposes of registration, Cellini was a goldsmith, sculptor, and author. He excelled in all three crafts. He was also a warrior and a man of genius. Behind the pose of braggart, he concealed a miraculous ease of mastery in art and crime. He proved that a braggart is not always a coward; nor yet need he be destitute of ability. Cellini was in and out of prison many times. He knew the meaning of repeated imprisonment if not of the truly civilised, truly legal repeated sentence. During his prison spells he found consolation and philosophy in the Bible, in the writing of wonderful prose and as wonderful verse. Because of the knack with which he could beat out a cup or set a ring he was permitted not only to divert himself with hammer and graver. Thus he won the forgiveness of the popes and princes who had sentenced him. Cellini's greatness saved him from ending his days in prison as it saved him from ending his life on the scaffold. The genius of Oscar Wilde brought him to his doom.

Conscientious Objectors are not likely to give much heed to the shade of the immortal John Bunyan. Certainly, he was a soldier as well as a preacher. Yet his dourness for conscience is worthy of recalling and the memory of him will encourage much through hours of gloom. Bunyan spent twelve years of his life in prison as the price of his nonconformity, and for his examples of conscience. His trials are magnificent, for the way in which he defends the laymen and attacks the professional mind, whether cleric or jurist. He may have been a narrow scholar but he was a brave thinker. The law said he must not preach and Bunyan said that he must preach. He would compromise nothing and demanded that the State withdraw its invasion of his conscience. He went to prison without genuine trial, because the right, in law, of the State to decree could not be challenged. The State gave itself absolute power. To Bunyan we owe much of that liberty the present war is attempting to steal from us.

Denied the right to preach from the pulpit, Bunyan took up the pen. He has handed down to us books of unequal worth and of dubious and now discarded theology. In their happy portrayal of human nature, they are as great as the works of Dickens. Bunyan satirised all the follies of mankind and left us pictures of his contemporaries, magistrates, clerics, politicians, saints and sinners, and commonplace citizens, that are immortal. Bunyan the genius and convict has given to us that immortal character we know so well. He is a member of every church and a

strong supporter of the Labour Party. His name, thanks to John Bunyan, is known to us all. It is Mr. Worldlywiseman.

Bunyan's theology makes him seem a tiresome person. The range of famous convicts afford plenty of scope for more attractive personalities. Everyone has heard of Robinson Cruseo. This may not be the greatest work of Daniel Defoe but it ranks as his best-known. Defoe once wrote a very unwise political pamphlet and so languished in Newgate Prison. His capacity for producing prison literature gave him a means of vague communion with the world of free men. Behind prison bars he actually edited and produced a kind of periodical, his "Review," which continued after his release and grew into nine large volumes. This "Review" founded in prison became the model of Steel's famous "Papers."

More worthy of being recalled is the name of the immortal Cervantes, the creator of "Don Quixote." Then there is Voltaire who composed one of his greatest works from the Bastille. Less fortunate, alas, for mankind, was Roger Bacon, the father of philosophy and of science, denied the means of writing even to the smallest extent because the darkness of authority feared the brilliant reflections of his fettered and imprisoned genius.

In his prison cell the conscientious objector has roamed through the centuries and communed with the ghosts of many illustrious convicts. He has seen the crowded fools' parade of suffering: all that is sombre and purely great, and much that is at once great and charlatan. Wit and scholarship, rogue and craftsman, all mingle to make one amazing personality mocking his drab garb of shame. If he will leap the centuries as he ponders through the endurance, the conscientious objector may vision Oscar Wilde, no longer mocking, but fallen from his jesting high estate and eating out his soul in Reading Gaol, planning his tremendously true and semi-fictional "Ballad of Reading Gaol," and writing that strange, sad apology for his life, "De Profundis."

There must be few who do not know the story of Wilde. How he captured London by his glamour of words as playwright, essayist, and wit! How his audacity turned to folly, and a worse man than himself, an uncouth man of title devoid of genius, angered him and trapped him to his doom. In 1895 came the setting of his sun. The sentence was two years hard labour, which Wilde endured and survived, only that he might die five years later in Paris, an exile living in poverty, charity and disgrace. In prison he maintained his courage by his pride of intellect and with magic words endeavoured to make a bravely pitiful appearance of mastering the doom that had fallen upon him. His last witticism, uttered to a friend in a Paris cafe just before his death, applies with even more force to his period in prison than to the few years he lived afterwards. "You see," he said with a strange smile, "I am dying beyond my means." Fortunately this can never be said of a man who goes to prison for his principles. He is oppressed by an opposed inertia that he might give vitality to human endeavour, social and individual. He suffers darkness that he might become a light unto the world. He faces destruction gladly because there dwells within him that which cannot be extinguished. He is of the immortal choir invisible that gives harmony to the universe.

Of those who go to prison from misfortune and class persecution, become rogues from temperament and economic duress, yet retain some peculiar spark from manhood or womanhood some indestructible element of character and individuality, it may be said that they struggle and endure beyond their means. Their stories become tragedies, only understood when death ends their careers. They must die to be understood. Such was Thomas Dowd.

To be Concluded.

Owing to printing changes and difficulties, the Trade Union Scandal matter and an important essay by the Editor has been postponed for a later, but early, issue.

OUR LETTER-BOX

Dear Comrade Aldred,—

Allow me to thank you for the copies of THE WORD. I also wish to congratulate you on having produced a "Journal" which gives revolutionary socialists something which the other socialist papers don't give. Our "New Leader," I expect you get it, is valuable for the day to day struggle against Capitalism.

THE WORD gives history which, in my opinion, is helpful to younger socialists like myself, who don't remember much about the last blood bath.

I wish your THE WORD every success in its work. I notice one of your correspondents says that the money spent on "this filthy rag would be better spent on the Left Book Club, etc." I think, perhaps, it would be better that valuable money be spent on "Journals" such as THE WORD.

I enclose donation towards same. With all good wishes.

Yours very sincerely,

12 Rose Square, JOHN F. WEST.
Ferryden, Montrose, November 20.

[Councillor West has been doing splendid propaganda for Socialist thought and the N.C.L. in Forfarshire. An account of I.L.P. and N.C.L. activity in this county will appear in an early issue.—Ed.]

Dear Guy,—Thanks for December WORD, which was excellent. Hope some of the addresses I sent out have proven useful. I mean not merely subscribers, but sellers and distributors. Which is much more important. For THE WORD is the only really No-Conscription paper there is.

The NEW LEADER is a political paper. No-Conscription is only a side-issue with the I.L.P., owing to the tradition existing in the party from the last war. Even up to the U.S.S.R. invasion of Finland, the I.L.P. was putting it forward as the party line, that the workers of the world must defend the "Socialist Fatherland"; quite oblivious of the fact that there had been a steady and consistent departure from Socialism for many years. Since 1919 in fact. Not that there had been, at any time, since the Bolshevik Revolution, any liberty of the press, meeting, or individual rights. Now, circumstances ought to drive the I.L.P. leadership into some sort of political consistency. The I.L.P. leaders and "intellectuals" can no longer plead that they are defending Communism in defending the U.S.S.R.!

If the I.L.P. stands for individual rights against the State military and industrial machine during war, why not all the time? Peace under Capitalism is only an interval between wars. The political virus seems to have got so thoroughly into the I.L.P. members' blood, that they cannot free themselves from the fetish of the State. They cling to all the old fly-blown tags of getting the right men into power—which is, of course, themselves—and then everything will be well! Forgetting that, if the individual has the right to-day, under Capitalism, to resist the State invasion, that same right must remain invulnerable under any condition.

One thing, I think and feel, is certain. The present war, and the crisis that must arise out of it, will force all honest Socialists to reconsider their position. It will disillusion them of the folly of hoping to gain their emancipation through the Capitalist carcerist machine, Parliament!

I hope we will both be alive to see that day. Papers like THE WORD will make that day possible. Therefore, I hope you will secure the support you deserve. So far as I am able, I will do all I can, to get new subscribers, and to sell and circulate as many copies as possible. On with the Fight. All good wishes.

Yours For Freedom,

MATT. KAVANAGH.

Southend-on-Sea, January 5, 1940.

Dear Comrade,—Through the introduction of comrade McCarthy, I have had much pleasure in reading copies of THE WORD. Both the above comrade and myself are members of the local I.L.P. branch, and we consider your paper one of the best regarding reports of C.O. Tribunals.

Your reports and exposures of the Sham Labour Party, Dollan, Morrison, & Co., are excellent. I am beginning to think, and to hope, that the rank and file are awakening, at last, to the true facts. So there is hope in that quarter yet.

In conclusion, may I wish, on my own behalf, and that of many more true Socialists, the best of luck to your efforts in the future.

Yours fraternally,

HAROLD BUTTERS.

Millbrook, Southampton, January, 6, 1940.

The NO CONSCRIPTION LEAGUE

Glasgow and West of Scotland Council Headquarters—

S.S.P. Rooms, 70 Robertson Street, Glasgow, C.2.

Chairman—GUY A. ALDRED.
Hon Secretary—BERT VALLANCE.
Hon. Treasurer—W. McCLURE,
1720 Great Western Rd., Glasgow, W.3

This is a League of Individual Members and Affiliated Organisations opposed to War and to Military and Industrial Conscription.

The League appeals to all conscientious objectors to join its ranks for mutual aid and support, and the furtherance of the end of violence.

Finance is urgently required. Send donations to the Treasurer.

GLASGOW AND WEST OF SCOTLAND COUNCIL C.O. FUND—Already acknowledged, £26 13s. 8d. Councillor George Smith, £1; Youth's Section, N.C.L., 11/4; J.L.P., 5/-; Scottish Brassmoulders' Union, £1; J. Brand, 1/6; Pollokshaws Co-op. Society, £1 1/-; Govanhill Area Group, £4; U.D.C., £1 1/-; Eliz. Burnett (Dumbarton), 2/6; J. Dunipace, 2/10; Anonymous, 5/-. Total received, £36 3s. 10d.

Further contributions will be acknowledged in our next issue. Communications regarding the fund should be addressed to the Fund Secretary, **DAN McARTHUR, 8 Househillwood Crescent, Househillwood, Glasgow.**

AGGREGATE MEETING. Central Halls, Bath St., Glasgow, 7 p.m.; Wednesday, February 7 and 21. This meeting is held every fortnight. All N.C.L. members should attend.

ADVISORY BUREAU: 104 George St., C.1.—Every Afternoon, 3—5 p.m.

GLASGOW N.C.L. CENTRAL GROUP—Every second Wednesday (alternate to Aggregate Members' Meeting) and every Thursday. Bakunin Hall, 29 Castle Street, C.4, 7.15 p.m.

YOKER AND KNIGHTSWOOD N.C.L.—Every Sunday, 3 p.m. Band Hall, Knightswood Road. All comrades in this area are invited.

GOVANHILL N.C.L.—Every Monday and Friday, I.L.P. Rooms, Batson Street.

BRIDGETON N.C.L.—Every Friday, I.L.P. Rooms, 548 London Road.

GOVAN N.C.L.—Every Thursday, I.L.P. Rooms, 634 Govan Road. All comrades in the South West Area invited. Secretary: A. Porter, 164 Carsaig Drive, Craigton, Glasgow, S.W.2.

S.C.W.S. EMPLOYEES' BRANCH—Every Thursday, S.C.W.S. Welfare Rooms, Morrison Street, Glasgow, C.5., 7.30 p.m. Secretary, Malcolm Walter, 76 Ruel Street, Glasgow, S.4. All employees invited. Subscription, 1/- per annum.

PARTICK N.C.L.—Every Monday, 7 p.m., Young Painters' Hall, Chancellor St., Partick, Glasgow, W.1.

Comrade Ross, who received total exemption, has addressed many branches on his "Impressions of the Tribunal."

CORBALS AND HUTCHESONTOWN N.C.L.—Every Friday, I.L.P. Rooms, 207 Rutherglen Road, at 7.30 p.m. Secretary, J. Vincent, 768 Rutherglen Road, C.5.

SPRINGBURN N.C.L.—Every Friday, Reid Hall (lower), Queensihill St., 7.30 p.m. prompt.

MARYHILL N.C.L.—Every Thursday, 4 Landsowne Crescent, 7.30 p.m.

OUTWITH GLASGOW.

SOUTHEND W.R.L. (or N.C.L.)—Every Thursday, I.L.P. Hall, 6 Broadway Market, 7.30 p.m.

HAMMERSMITH N.C.L.—Secy: Annesley Aldred, 85 Addison Gardens, London, W.14.

Hammersmith Group meets every Monday at Secretary's address until headquarters are obtained. THE WORD can be obtained in London from this address.

A. Aldred is addressing N.C.L. meetings throughout London. Phone: Shepherd's Bush 5402.

HAMPSTEAD N.C.L. Hon. Secretary, Mrs. M. Westrope, 3 Warwick Mansions, Pond St., Hampstead, London, N.W.3.

All other N.C.L. Groups or Branches are invited to send announcements.

SOUTHAMPTON N.C.L.—Albert McCarthy, Secy., 14 Colebrook Avenue, Shirley, Southampton.

ABERDEEN N.C.L.—Every Friday, 7.30 p.m., I.L.P. Hall, 126 George Street.

ABERDEEN I.L.P.—Branch Rooms, 126 George St. Branch meets every Monday, 8 p.m. All unattached Socialists should join. Comrades in outlying districts should contact and send subscriptions. Sunday meetings, 8 p.m., Belmont Cinema. Questions and discussion at all meetings. Anti-war films shown.

For further announcements turn to Page 47.

WHEN GLASGOW WORKERS DEMONSTRATED AGAINST WAR AND CONSCRIPTION

MASS MEETING OF ANTI-CONSCRIPTIONISTS HELD ON GLASGOW GREEN YESTERDAY

The above heading is from "The Bulletin." The letterpress beneath the block read:—"A snapshot of the crowd at an open-air meeting held on the Green yesterday and addressed by anti-conscriptionist speakers, one of whom is figured on the right. The place was the base of the Nelson Monument, chosen no doubt with a certain ironical intent, seeing that Nelson won Trafalgar with the help of pressed men.—'Bulletin' Photos."

A DEMONSTRATION THAT WAS SUPPORTED BY THE PRESENT LORD-PROVOST DOLLAN

On Sunday, January 30, 1916, a demonstration was organised by the Glasgow Trades and Labour Council against the war and conscription. The Glasgow *Bulletin* for Monday, Jan. 31st, 1916, published two pictures of the meeting: one showing the denseness of the crowd which thronged the Glasgow Green to voice its opposition; the other, showing one of the platforms from which the audience was addressed. This huge demonstration was supported by Councillor Dollan, then a member of the I.L.P., and an opponent of the war and conscription. Dollar delayed his personal fight against conscription til 1917 as is made clear in previous issues, in which we published full reports of his trial before the Stipendiary and the High Court Appeal. Subseqently Dollan made a very short sojourn in Wormwood Scrubs prison and wrote an account of his "reception" and experience in the *Forward*

EDITOR EXPLAINS ERRATA

The Christmas issue was produced under circumstances of stress and storm. We obtained premises after a vain search of the city, installed a press, and printed on a press with which we were utterly unfamiliar. The result was good for part-amateurs. But it was not good enough. Some copies had more errors than others. The last batch issued was guillotined neatly and well-finished. An apology for errata is due to most readers. Here are the corrections.

All the letters and all the words that should be there are placed beneath the front-page block, ridiculing a favourite question posed by the Tribunal. But half-a-line was transposed and the wording is muddled. The correct wording reads:—

"The above illustration and letter-press are reprints from *The Spur*, April, 1916. Question was a favourite one with members of the Military Service Tribunal to conchies of that time. A short article, written by the cartoonist, accompanied the article, discussing the expediency of *dodging* the point!"

The third column of page 34, first paragraph, reporting the Edinburgh Cases had two lines inserted wrongly from page 35. The paragraph went wrong in the page proofs. It should have read:—

"Harvey was asked what he thought would happen to the country if all the young men had similar views. He replied that he thought it would mean the salvation of this country."

In some issues page 42 does not follow on from page 41. In these cases the readers should place these lines at the top of page 42, opening the paragraph:—

"The Sheriff—Suppose there was an air raid and people were injured, would you regard it as wrong and contrary to your beliefs to give the injured any assistance?—If I did so in a casual way I would do what I could to prevent human beings from suffering, and that would be an end to it. But if I joined some body, civil or military, to alleviate suffering in war-time I would be to some extent supporting the

THE BISHOP OF BIRMINGHAM

Dr. Barnes, Bishop of Birmingham, has addressed wo powerful letters to the *Manchester Guardian*, eplying to the Chairman of the Newcastle Tribunal, nd stating the Christian attitude towards war and conscientious objection. Dr. Barnes defends the bsolutist position with firmness, understanding, and lear historical approach. He writes not as a fanatic ut as a thinker and a scholar. The views enunciated y Dr. Barnes are defended by another great scholar, Professor C. J. Cadoux.

It would be a mistake, in the space at our disposal, o attempt to summarise the Bishop of Birmingham's statement. So we propose to make this contribution o the literature of Christian thought a feature of the ext issue. Dr. Barnes, attacked in the past for his heological heresy, takes his stand, at this time of crisis, s a political heretic. In this way he establishes his laim to rank not only as a Christian scholar but also s a Christian thinker.

If we must have Bishops, their function should be o think and to aid the democracy to think; to inspire s towards right social living and to develop our visdom and sulture by their scholarship; to promote a live understanding of the inspiration of conscience nd the one-ness of humanity against the dull, complacent world-liness amid which we live. Bishops should not serve cless iimperialisms nd war but humanity and so define in their lives the Christian ethic proclaimed so long ago. They should make the universe warm with love, service and understanding.

So far as we know, alone among the Bishops, Dr. Barnes has taken his stand. Not theologically or superstitiously, but symbolically and actually Dr. Barnes has taken his stand: against Caesar and war. He proclaimed his position simply and directly. For this we honour him.

AN ANTI-CONSCRIPTION ORATOR

This is the "Bulletin" description. The speaker is James Maxton, now M.P. for Bridgeton. The other speakers waiting their turn are: Guy Aldred, Harry Hopkins (A.E.U.), and John MacLean.

Printed by the STRICKLAND PRESS, at 104 George Street, Glasgow, C.1., and Published by the BAKUNIN PRESS, at Bakunin Hall, 29 Castle Street, Glasgow, C.4.

THE WORD

To Rouse The People, To Combat War, and To Speed Commonweal.

An Organ of the United Socialist Movement, Edited and Published by Guy A. Aldred, for the Bakunin Press and the U.S.M., at **Bakunin Hall, 29 Castle Street, Glasgow. C.4.** All unsigned matter is from the pen of the Editor. Annual Subscription, 2/6, post free.

Vol. 1. No. 8. MARCH, 1940. Price: TWOPENCE.

ALFRED TAYLOR

SENTENCED TO DEATH

STORY OF THE OBJECTORS WHO WERE TRANSFERRED TO FRANCE

STUART BEAVIS

FRED MURFIN.

Three of the C.O.'s Sentenced to Death in 1916

[In the Christmas "Word," we listed the names of the men sentenced to death in 1916. The following article relates their sufferings, experiences, and stand.—Editor.]

The story of the thirty-seven conscientious objectors who were transferred to France in May, 1916, and of the thirty who were sentenced to death, has been told well by Hubert W. Peet. We summarise his story.

Whilst conscription was passing through the House of Commons, the highest civil authorities promised that no conscientious objector would be transferred from Britain. The undertaking was given because it was known that such transference meant the death sentence for the genuine conscientious objector. The military authorities rode rough-shod over the parliamentary pledges, and the conscientious objectors were transferred to France from Landguard Fort, Harwich; from Richmond, Yorks.; and from Seaford.

The first rumours of the intended transference reached the No Conscription Fellowship from Harwich, where a party of conscientious objectors were in irons at Landguard Fort. Definite information was received that the Non Combatant Corps, and its C.O. prisoners, were on their way to Southampton. This warning reached the N.C.F. in a letter, thrown out of the train by one of the ordinary N.C.C. men, while it was passing through a London suburb. The letter was posted by unknown hands and the facts became public property.

The party was delayed at Southampton, by the discovery of an outbreak of measles in the corps. Mr. Asquith, then Prime Minister, telegraphed to Southampton, ordering the retention of the C.O.s in Britain. But the prisoners had been separated from the other men and shipped to Havre. The Army authorities intended to make an "example" of them, it would seem.

They were technically "released" after leaving England. Their first real contest with the Military Authorities came on May 10. It was then that 17 of the Landguard party, alone in the midst of the B.E.F., began their refusal to be coerced into being soldiers.

On the parade ground at Cinder City, this May morning, an extraordinary scene was witnessed. The C.O.s were hustled into their places in different parts of the ranks. The order, "Right turn! Quick march!" was shouted. The company moved briskly off! *But dotted on the parade ground were seventeen conscientious objectors still in their original positions.* This was actually and symbolically true. These men stood in their original positions to the end, the bulwark of the protest against war and militarism, tested, well tested, and not found wanting.

Physical ill-treatment, bullying, and threatening ensued. Here and there an ordinary private whispered: "Stick it!" Finally, the party of C.Os were split up. Some of the men were ordered 28 days' Field Punishment No. 1. They were marched to the Field Punishment Camp at Harfleur. They refused to work in the quarry and were returned to the main camp.

SOME OF THE C.O.'s SENT TO FRANCE IN 1916.

Hubert Peet described the subsequent happenings by quoting from the account of his experiences, written by one of the men who stood firm:

> "The Quartermaster Sergeant had us each handcuffed to a tent with our hands round the pole behind us, which made the shoulders ache to a quite excruciating degree. The young Canadian, who had been so hostile the previous evening, came up. He broke into a torrent of curses at the authorities who imposed such penalties. After three hours, one of the handcuffs was unlocked to enable me to feed myself, after which the punishment was again inflicted."

Finally, hands were handcuffed in front. "Crucifixion" followed.

> "Each of us was placed with our backs to the framework, consisting of uprights at intervals of four or five yards, and cross-beams at a height of about five feet from the ground. Our ankles were tied together and our arms then tied tightly at the wrists to the cross-beams; and we were prepared to remain in this position for the next two hours."

"Crucifixion," on the second evening, was in a different part of the camp.

> "We were placed with our faces to the barbed wire of the inner fence. As the ropes with which we were tied fastened round the barbed wire instead of the usual thick wooden post, it was possible to tie them much more tightly, and I found myself drawn so closely to the fence that when I wished to turn my head I had to do so very cautiously to avoid my face being torn by the barbs. To make matters less comfortable, it came on to rain and cold wind blew straight across the top of the hill."

In imposing this sentence, the Commandant explained:—

"I have no special instructions about C.O.s. I shall treat you as ordinary soldiers."

The shamefulness of this sentence did not consist in the suggestion that C.O.s should be treated as ordinary soldiers. The shame was that any Commandant could sentence an ordinary soldier to such punishment, for the merest trivial offence.

The prisoners were hurried back to Cinder City and told that they were being sent to Boulogne, *en route* for the front line, *"where you will be shot if you continue to disobey orders."*

In the eyes of the soldiers and the guard, the threat was no idle one. The following weeks were big with a very real danger to these determined objectors.

Arrived at Boulogne, the men were taken direct to the Field Punishment Barracks, a disused fish market near the Quay. They refused to work. They were placed on bread and water diet, in dark and disgracefully crowded punishment cells. Their arms were handcuffed behind their backs for certain periods. They suffered one imposition of "crucifixion." And they still discussed: The existence of the Devil; the truth of Marx; the merits of Esperanto; the influence of Tolstoy; vaccination.

Meantime, two further parties of conscientious objectors had been sent from France, straight to the Henriville Camp, outside Boulogne. They were placed immediately in the guardroom.

As a result of agitation at home, the War Office permitted Dr. F. B. Meyer and Hubert Peet to cross to Boulogne to see the prisoners, on Wednesday, June 7, 1916. Three days before the C.O.s at Henriville had been warned, solemnly, that continued resistance would result in death. Stuart Beavis smuggled a letter out to his mother. It read:—

"Just a line. We have been warned to-day that we are now within the war zone, and the military authorities have absolute power, and disobedience may be followed by very severe penalties, and very possibly the death penalty, so I just drop you a line in case they do not allow me to write after to-morrow. Do not be downhearted if the worst comes to the worst; many have died cheerfully before for a worse cause.—Stuart."

For circulating copies of this letter, H. Runham Brown was prosecuted under Dora, and "deemed to be fined £50 or imprisoned for two months." His case caused questions to be asked both in House of Commons and the House of Lords and led to debates in both Houses of Parliament.

The seventeen C.O.s who had been taken to France first were each warned. A list was read out to them of men who had been shot already for disobedience.

Hubert Peet was allowed no communication with the imprisoned C.O.s. Colonel Wilberforce, the Base Commandant, finally permitted him to shake hands with four men he knew personally. Dr. Meyer was allowed to speak briefly to the prisoners in the presence of the Commandant and an imposing and impatient staff.

At this time, the prisoners had been court-martialled, but not "read out." Ten days later, J. Rowntree Gillett, who acted as Quaker Chaplain, brought back the news that the death sentences had been passed, though commuted to 10 years' penal servitude.

The writer of the diary, already quoted by Peet, describes the "reading out":—

"On Monday, the 9th June, we were informed we were to be read out. We found an escort waiting us in the courtyard below . . . We turned towards the outskirts of the town, and climbed one of the hills overlooking it, which affords a wide view of the Channel. I cast many a glance in the direction of the white cliffs of Dover, for this might be our last opportunity. We turned into the midst of a huge military camp and many curious eyes, evidently puzzled by our cheerful demeanour under such circumstances, followed us as we made our way to a large open space in the middle, 150 yards or more square, and evidently used as a parade ground . . . After a wait of perhaps three-quarters of an hour, the various groups of soldiers began to form themselves into three sides of a huge square until several thousands were present . . . When an appropriate hush had been arranged, the Adjutant, who was to read out the sentence, took charge . . . 'Private ——, No. ——, of the 2nd Eastern Company Non-Combatant Corps, tried by Field Court-Martial for disobedience whilst undergoing field punishment. Sentenced to death by being shot."—(Here a pause.) 'Confirmed by General Sir Douglas Haig'—a longer pause)—'and commuted to ten years' penal servitude." . . . I was number three on the list, and as I stepped forward I caught a glimpse of my paper as it was handed to the Adjutant. Printed at the top in large red letters, and doubly underlined, was the word 'Death.'

"I can hardly analyse the feelings that flashed through my mind as I caught sight of the word. They could certainly not be described as an emotion. I had faced the possibility of a death sentence before, and now accepted the fact almost without concern, whilst my mind was occupied mechanically and dispassionately with considering the immediate practical effects. It would be a great trial for Mother. My sister would have to leave school. People in England would make a great fuss. The thought of why I should receive a different sentence from the others did not occur to me. I simply accepted it as a fact. . . .

"'And commuted to ten years' penal servitude.' So it was not so after all!

"But as I stood listening to the sentences of the rest of our party, the feeling of joy and triumph surged up within me, and I felt proud to have the privilege of being one of that small company of C.O.s testifying to a truth which the world has not yet grasped, but which it would one day treasure as a most precious inheritance."

"These men aren't normal. Look at the shape of their heads!" Colonel Wilberforce said to Hubert Peet before he left Boulogne.

THE BISHOP OF BIRMINGHAM

Dr. Barnes Defends Absolute Opposition to War

The *Manchester Guardian* for Thursday, December 7, 1939, published a report of one of many of Judge Richardson's indiscretions as Chairman of the Newcastle Tribunal. The next day Dr. Barnes, Bishop of Birmingham, wrote a powerful letter to the *Guardian*, which appeared in the columns of our contemporary on Monday, December 11, 1939.

Dr. Barnes summarised the incident:—

"It would appear that on Wednesday a man applied to the Newcastle tribunal that he might be registered as a conscientious objector. He was supported by a friend who said that it was not Christian to take up arms. 'How dare you presume that?' said Judge Richardson. 'There are plenty of good Christians helping to remedy the evil of aggression.' Finally the Judge expressed his opionion of the two men who described themselves as 'Jehovah's witnesses,' by saying, 'You are a lot of cranks'."

Dr. Barnes then poses the direct Christian challenge to Judge Richardson and to the militarists of Church and State in the following trenchant terms:—

"Does the Judge know that for the first two and a half centuries of its history the Christian Church was predominantly pacifist? A careful examination of this question by a first-rate scholar is to be found in the book, 'The Early Christian Attitude to War,' published by Professor C. J. Cadoux in 1919. If it be thought that Professor Cadoux uses the evidence mistakenly, I would refer to the 'Cambridge Ancient History,' vol. xii., 1939, page 659, where, at any rate as regards the leaders of the Church, his conclusions are accepted. Take a concrete instance. Does anyone think that Marcus Aurelius, 'the saint of paganism,' persecuted the Christians merely because they did not worship Jupiter, Mars, Venus and the rest of the traditional gods? **The offence of the Christians was a refusal to offer incense to the genius of the Emperor or to the genius of Rome, a refusal to serve in the armies of the State even against what at that time was literally 'the menace of German barbarism.'**

"Judge Richardson's words were addressed to men known as 'Jehovah's witnesses.' Such are members of an organisation called the International Bible Students' Association. Their approach to the New Testament differs widely from my own. They regard it as verbally inspired: my own attitude is that adopted by modern critical scholars. But we agree in our conviction that Christ forbade his followers to do wrong that good might come. We agree, therefore, that Christians ought not to serve in the Army. We agree that even to join the R.A.M.C. is to belong to an organisation forbidden to Christians. We must serve the State by our prayers and give such 'civilian' help as the Christian conscience will allow. Such was the early Christian attitude, as the perusal of a famous passage in Origen's 'Contra Celsum' (ca. A.D. 420) will demonstrate: such is the attitude of present-day Christian pacifists."

Dr. Barnes proceeds to ask Judge Richardson, if, when he calls the Jehovah Witnesses "cranks" for opposing war and militarism, he knows what is happening in Germany. *More than 6,000 Jehovah Witnesses are interned in Germany, with Jews, criminals, "and the depraved," for refusing to bear arms in defence of Hitlerism.* They are nicknamed "Bible bugs" and wear a lilac or violet badge. The recent British White Paper on the "Treatment of German Nationals in Germany, 1938-39" (Cmd. 6120), mentions these men always with respect.

The White Paper states that they are *"proscribed by the Gestapo since they refuse military service."* It describes *"their courage and religious faith"* as *"remarkable."* It explains: *"They are allowed no communication with the outside world."*

It must be clear that, if Jehovah's Witnesses are to be applauded for opposing war in Germany, they cannot be condemned for refusing to assist militarism in Britain.

Comments Dr. Barnes:—

"Cranks? I suggest that such pacifists are rather enduring and praying for the Europe that is to be, a group of nations forswearing war and living in unity and peace."

The italics, in the passage referring to the early Christians, are ours. We wish to emphasise the fact that anti-militarism was the offence for which the early Christians were martyred.

S. Simpson, Russell St., Brandon Colliery, County Durham, was one of the Jehovah's Witnesses whom Dr. Barnes defended in his letter. Simpson appealed on Tuesday, December 19, to the London Appeal Tribunal. He was represented by Mr. R. Fuller, a London solicitor, who belonged to the Jehovah's Witnesses. Fuller produced Dr. Barnes' letter.

Sir Leonard Costello—The Bishop of Birmingham points out that a great many of your faith have been put in concentration camps?—That is world-wide; not only in Germany.

Would you be content to allow the same thing to happen here without opposition from anyone?—They are content to do it in Germany.

They have no power to do otherwise. Do you suggest that no one in this country should resist an invasion by a ruthless and unscrupulous enemy?—Yes, so far as we are concerned.

Do you think other people should resist?—That is their responsibility. As Christians we should not resist.

You are suggesting there are no Christians in the Army?—Emphatically there are none, otherwise they would not be slaughtering their fellow-men.

Isn't that a little intolerant?—No. That is according to the Scriptures.

The Tribunal dismissed the appeal.

Opponents of Dr. Barnes challenged the scholarship and veracity of Professor C. J. Cadoux, to whom the Bishop had referred. Replying to these critics, Professor Cadoux pointed out that his two works, *The Early Christian Attitude to War*, and *The Early Church and The World*, aimed at being strictly historical, presenting and summarising evidence. Professor Cadoux added that the terms employed by the early Church Fathers in denouncing bloodshed excluded participation in warfare.

Professor Cadoux explained:—

"Tertullian certainly had a horror of the contamination by pagan worship to which Christians in the armies were exposed. But he also makes it perfectly clear that he had an equally strong objection to the killing. This comes out quite definitely, both in his pre-Montanist work 'De Idololatria' and in his Montanist work 'De Corona Militis.' Neither Origen nor Lactantius, in dealing with the question of military service for Christians, even mentions the danger of idolatry: they both concentrate on the iniquity of bloodshed. Origen in particular (about A.D. 248) is concerned to reply to the complaint of the heathen philosopher Celsus, who (about A.D. 178) had criticised Christians for refusing to serve in the Imperial armies. Presumably Celsus, like Origen, knew that their objection to military service was mainly humanitarian. Yet both Celsus and Origen wrote as if refusal to serve was the general attitude of the Christians of their day."

It was asserted that Dr. Barnes' translation "Blessed are the pacifists" was a "serious misquotation" of Matthew V.9. Professor Cadoux denied that this was so. He added:—

"It is perhaps not a happy rendering, since the word 'pacifist' raises a host of modern associations: but linguistically it is the exact equivalent of the Greek word used, and, seeing that Jesus was in all essentials himself a pacifist in our sense of the term (see 'The Congregational Quarterly,' January, 1936, pages 58-67, for the evidence in detail), the bishop's translation cannot be ruled out as incorrect, in deference to 'the recorded translation.' And, in any case, what authority has a translation by virtue of the fact that it is 'recorded'?"

Writing from the Bishop's Hostel, Lincoln, the Rev. Patrick Blakiston supports the Bishop's attitude, by stating that there are other pacifists among the ante-Nicene Christian writers, besides Tertullian, Origen, and Lactantius:—

"'Thou wishest to make war,' says Tatian, 'and thou takest Apollon as thy counsellor in murder.' [xix, 849.] Apparently to Tatian murder and war are one and the same thing. Minucius Felix states: 'It is not right for us either to see or hear of a man being slain.' [xxx. 6.] St. Cyprian speaks of wars scattered everywhere with the bloody horror of

camps.' 'The world,' he says, 'is wet with mutual bloodshed, and homicide is a crime when individuals commit it, but it is called a virtue when it is carried on publicly.' [Donat, 6.] To conclude, 'Fraud, adultery, homicide is mortal sin.' [Bon. Pat. 14.] Arnobius affirms that 'We, a numerous band of men as we are, have learned from His teaching and His laws that evil ought not to be requited with evil, that it is better to suffer wrong than to inflict it, that we should rather shed our own blood than stain our hands and conscience with that of another.' [Adv. Gent. i. 6.]

"That these are not just the voices of individuals may be shown by the rules laid down in the Egyptian and Syrian Church Orders and in the Canons of Hippolytus, which forbid Christians to join the Army. Finally, there is Maximilianus, saint and martyr of the Catholic Church, who in the year 295 at the age of 21 laid down his life for Christ as a conscientious objector."

Against this historic statement one correspondent quoted Article 37, which insisted that war was lawful in order to combat the Anti-Militarist views of the Anabaptists.

Dr. Barnes answered very effectively by declaring that the Articles of Religion of the Church of England were not decisive against the ancient (and modern) Christian refusal of military service. He added:—

"What are the facts? In article 37, entitled 'Of the Civil Magistrates,' there appears, after a number of other statements, the assertion that 'it is lawful for Christian men, at the commandment of the magistrate, to wear weapons, and serve in the wars.' The Elizabethan framers of the articles had a nice sense of words and were not wholly ignorant of the early history of the Christian Church. So they contented themselves with a platitude. Military service, when commanded by the State, is obviously lawful. It is not, for a Christian, lawful 'and right'."

Mr. W. P. W. Barnes, undergraduate son of the Bishop of Birmingham, appeared before the Conscientious Objectors' Appeals Tribunal in London on February 8.

He appealed against a decision of the East Anglian Tribunal to remove his name from the register of conscientious objectors without qualification.

Barnes said he was willing to do voluntary work, but not in the Royal Army Medical Corps.

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PRINCIPLE OR CRIME

When the history of this war comes to be written perhaps the most discreditable thing connected with it, so far as this country is concerned, will be found in our treatment of the admittedly genuine conscientious objector to military service—leading Quakers and others as to whose complete sincerity there can be no manner of doubt. Several of them have lately died in prison, not directly from the result of the severe ordeal of long periods of hard labour, but in all probability through the prostration which made them the ready victims of any casual infection. Some time ago it was understood that the Prime Minister had so far relented as to agree that men who had served the maximum period allowed by law of two years' hard labour, should be released. The most ordinary sense of equity, to say nothing of mercy, would appear to dictate that the limit placed by law on sentences of hard labour for single offences should apply also to sentences for repeated offences when these are virtually the same offence and a man is re-arrested and resentenced almost as soon as he is released. But it is not being done, and this injustice and cruelty go on in defiance, or in pure evasion, of the law. Several of these prisoners were yesterday released from Pentonville Prison, but it is understood that they are to be rearrested shortly, or so soon as it is thought they have somewhat recovered strength to endure a further term of the hardest punishment known to the law. We publish a letter to-day from the editor of the "Spur," who has been sentenced four times for the same offence and already suffered two and a half years' hard labour, aggravated by extreme special punishments for what is regarded as contumacy. He has been hunger-striking, was let out for a month to recover, and is shortly to start on the miserable round of protest and punishment again. He and several others who acted with him expect this will be their last arrest; the next he feels pretty sure will come from the hand which sooner or later arrests us all. And this is our way of giving thanks for victory and approaching peace and of encouraging men who, however mistaken, prefer principle to life. It is a glorious device, and, if truth be told, fools though they be, such men are of the salt of the earth, and perhaps there is not one of their persecutors, from the Prime Minister downwards, who can compare with them in high regard for the things of the spirit and for loyalty to what they believe to be truth. It is a sorry and degrading spectacle. When is it to end? — *The Manchester Guardian*, Tuesday, January 14, 1919.

. . . . .

By the time these lines are in print many who were hardly born, or else were mere infants, when the *Guardian* "leader" was published, will be facing their first court-martial. Ere long, some paper, maybe the *Guardian*, will have to refer to their cases, in similar terms to those employed in 1919. Where is it all going to end? How long must mankind endure war and militarism? How long must sanity and service and brotherhood be outlawed among the nations?

Youth and Conscience

Dear Sir,—The chairman of the Lancashire Tribunal (Judge Burgis) was reported in the press recently as having said that a man should examine his conscience about participation in war at frequent intervals.

If this is true of those about to register for military service or to appear before a Tribunal, it must surely hold good for all young men of military age at all times; and they must continue to examine their consciences while training for military service and when they reach the front, and, if they come to the conclusion that they have chosen the wrong course, they must take steps to follow the guidance of their consciences.

May I ask what provision, if any, is made by the Government for men who may thus become troubled in conscience about their decision to perform military service?

Yours sincerely,

C. GASKILL.

The Vicarage, Littleborough, Lancs.,
26th February, 1940.

MEDITATION

[This meditation was written on the eve of my first Court Martial. It was published in "The Spur," June, 1916. E. Armand translated it into French and published it in his paper, "Par dela la Mêlée," Orleans, February, 1917. It was reproduced in other French Anti-Militarist papers and widely circulated in leaflet form by French War Resisters.—Editor.]

I have a sheet of paper on which to prepare my defence to the many charges standing against me before to-morrow's court martial. And I intend to use it to prepare no defence. I am thinking of things good and bad, of persons virtuous and vicious. I want to indict the good, to deplore the bad, to denounce the virtuous and to heal the vicious. For good and bad, virtue and vice, are not what they seem.

I am thinking not of the good in essence, but the accepted good, the good in appearance. This good of fair speech, modish manners, and pretty dresses has been accepted as good throughout the ages. And it is a lie. It is vice through and through, lust instead of love, adultery instead of integrity, sham, upon sham. It is a business piety, a carnal wit, a stomach morality. Christ denounced it, Guatama exposed it, Socrates analysed it. And we must slay it.

What is reputed vice then? But reputed virtue in disgrace—the pomp with the shoddy showing, the respectability with the prostitution exposed. Sometimes even, reputed vice is real virtue seeking a resting place for the night, after a weary day of witnessing to the truth.

Man is ignorant. But there is an ignorance of innocence, which one day will know truth and testify accordingly. That ignorance is splendid. Its charms are felt like the possibilities of a marvellous child, whose brilliant future all can foresee. But there is an ignorance of squalor, of mental and moral mud, of stagnation, crime, filth, disease. That ignorance breeds war, feeds on superstition, is found on the bench, preaches in the pulpit, and exalts itself in politics. That ignorance counts itself respectable and controls the marriage mart. That ignorance I fain would destroy.

And now let me pray. To the destiny of man, to the instinct of my own nature; to the martyred spirit of all dead pioneers, let me pray. Let me commune for health and strength and endurance in captivity. Let me pray for zeal of spirit and power of faith. Let me pray for intellectual vision and fervour of passion. Let all vulgarity slip from me and the word the spirit of truth, become incarnate in me. Let me never deny the truth either in word or spirit. Let me work for the overthrow of scoffers in high places, for the destruction of the scoffing. Let me become a prophet against the scepticism of worldly piety and social unbelief. Let me become a son of man, the enemy of God, the foe of kings, the destroyer of ritual, ceremony, and all useless form. Let truth and truth alone be my mistress, and may I bring witness to her integrity from all lands and climes. May no worldly ambition, no temptation in this wilderness of understanding, lead me to serve the enemy of man, the principle of power and domination.

O holy spirit of truth, thou comforter, I have felt thy warm inspiration. May I deny at no time thy claim upon me. Dwell thou in me and with me in the days to come, and grant me perseverance in thy cause, until harmony shall dwell in the habitation of man, and peace and justice prevail through the land.

Fovant, Tuesday, May 16th, 1916.

THE C.O.—THE TRIBUNAL—AND AFTER

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C.O.s WHO DIED: 1916-18

Facts Revealed in the House of Commons

Below we reproduce questions from the House of Commons reports, relating to those who died. The date in italics is that of the day when the question arose in Parliament.

1. DIED IN PRISON.

1. ARTHUR BUTLER.

Thursday, 13th December, 1917.

Mr. Snowden asked the Home Secretary whether he is able to report the result of his inquiries into the health of Arthur Butler, a conscientious objector, now undergoing his third sentence of imprisonment at Preston?

Sir G. Cave—At the time when I made the inquiry the prisoner was recovering from an attack of influenza and doing fairly well. Last Tuesday, however, an attack of pneumonia suddenly developed, his parents were summoned to see him on that evening, and I regret to say that he died last night.

Mr. Snowden—Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that more than a month ago I made representations to him in regard to the condition of the health of this prisoner, who, at that time was known to be spitting blood as the result of consumption; that I received a report from the Home Secretary saying that there was little or no foundation for these allegations; that letters which had been sent out of the prison by this prisoner have had statements in regard to his health obliterated; and in view of the fact that this man undoubtedly died yesterday as a result of the treatment he has received in prison, does the Home Secretary intend to take criminal proceedings against the medical officer and the Governor of the prison?

Sir G. Cave—In consequence of the inquiries which the hon. Member and others made a careful medical examination of this man was made, and he was reported not to be suffering in any way from tuberculosis. With regard to the other statements, the doctors did take the greatest care in this case. An inquiry will be held, and all the facts will be gone into.

Mr. King—Is the right hon. Gentleman able to assure us that he will give his personal consideration to this matter, and not leave it merely to some subordinate like the head of this institution, who may be himself in some way implicated?

Sir G. Cave—Of course I will try and do so.

Monday, 17th December, 1917.

Mr. Snowden asked the Home Secretary whether he has received a further report upon the case of Arthur Butler, a conscientious objector who has died in Preston Gaol; and what action he has taken or proposes to take in the matter?

Sir G. Cave—The inquest in this case, which was opened on the 14th instant, has been adjourned to the 18th to allow of a postmortem examination being held. I can, therefore, make no statement at present.

Thursday, 20th December, 1917.

Mr. Snowden asked the Home Secretary if he is now able to make a statement about the case of Arthur Butler, who recently died in Preston gaol?

The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Sir George Cave)—Owing to delay in the post, I have not yet received a full report of the inquest, but I understand that the verdict of the jury was to the effect that Butler died from pneumonia, that he received proper care and attention during his illness, that he had been humanely treated and properly nursed, and that no blame whatever attached to anyone. The post-mortem examination showed that he died from pneumonia, and that there was no trace of tuberculosis.

2. ARTHUR HORTON.

Thursday, 5th February, 1918.

Mr. Whitehouse asked the Home Secretary if he has made any inquiry into the circumstances of the death of Arthur Horton in prison; and, if so, with what result?

Sir G. Cave—An inquest was held in this case, and all the circumstances were fully investigated by the coroner and jury, who found that this man died of pneumonia. Allegations had been made that the prisoner had not been properly treated in prison, but the jury, after having heard the evidence and seen the diet, found that these allegations were not founded on fact. I can see no reason for any further inquiry.

Mr. Lees-Smith—Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that after this man caught pneumonia he lay a month in his cell without any nurse and without any fire, which is a sentence of death upon the strongest man; and it was only after the Home Office Inspector, Dr. Dyer, came that nurses were suddenly summoned when it was too late; and will he have inquiries made into the conduct of the prison doctor.

Sir G. Cave—That was the allegation which was made before and at the inquest. It was contradicted by reliable evidence at the inquest, and was disbelieved by the jury. I regret very much that it should be repeated here.

Mr. Whitehouse—Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that not only that, but many other shocking allegations have been made regarding the treatment of this unfortunate man in prison, and has his attention been called to the fact that the doctor who gave evidence and whose evidence had weight, is reported in the *Manchester Guardian* as having made a very great attack in public upon these prisoners who are in gaol?

3. E. W. BURNS.

Monday, 15th April, 1918.

Mr. R. Lambert asked the Home Secretary whether the inquest on the death of E. W. Burns, who died in Hull Prison on or about 13th March, shows that death was in any way connected with forcible feeding; and whether an independent inquiry has been ordered?

Sir G.Cave—At the inquest held in this case the jury found that death resulted from pneumonia consequent on the inhalation of some fluid food during forcible feeding, and that no blame whatever was attributable to the doctor. Although I had not reason to feel any doubt as to the finding of the jury, whose inquiry was perfectly independent, I thought it right, in view of the importance of the question of forcible feeding, that a special inquiry should be made by medical men of the highest standing, and at my request my hon. Friend the Member for the Universities of Edinburgh and St. Andrew's, who was recently president of the Royal College of Surgeons, and Dr. Maurice Craig, Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, who has an exceptionally wide experience of this matter, undertook the inquiry. I have now received their report, which entirely confirms the finding of the jury. They are satisfied that the case was one where resort to artificial feeding was necessary, and that the death of the patient was not due to any want of care or skill on the part of the medical officer.

Monday, 10th June, 1918.

Mr. T. Richardson asked the Home Secretary whether an inquiry was held in Hull Prison on or about 6th April, 1918, into the death of E. W. Burns; whether the Report is to be made public; who conducted the inquiry; what action has been taken on the Report; how many prisoners gave evidence; if any were legally represented; if they were indemnified or protected should their evidence be against the staff; if the evidence was taken down; if it can be made public; and how many of the staff gave evidence?

Mr. Brace—The inquiry in question was made by the hon. Member for the Universities of Edinburgh and St. Andrews, and by Dr. Maurice Craig, F.R.C.P. The result of the inquiry was fully stated by the Home Secretary in reply to a question in this House on 15th April last. To what he said I need only add that it is not proposed to publish the evidence, but that evidence was given by the governor, the medical officer, and three other officers of the prison, and by three prisoners who asked to be examined. The prisoners, who were all conscientious objectors, were given an opportunity of making their statements privately to the Commissioners—the governor and all prison officials withdrawing at the governor's suggestion.

4. P. E. GILLAN.

Tuesday, 9th April, 1918.

Mr. Richard Lambert asked the Home Secretary whether Paul Leo Gillan died in Winchester Prison on 16th March; whether the inquest showed the cause of death; whether the medical officer had already reported this case as one of acute heart disease; and whether the Home Office possesses and exercises the power to release from prison any prisoner whose continued detention is likely to have grave consequences?

Sir G. Cave—Gillan was admitted to hospital on the 12th March but serious symptoms only developed on the 16th, the day of his death. The inquest showed that death was due to heart failure following on pleurisy. The medical officer had not previously reported the case, and there were no symptoms to show that the prisoner's heart was affected until the day on which he died. I have no reason to think that removal from prison during his illness would have been in any way beneficial to the prisoner.

Mr. Byrne—Is there any evidence to show that this man died as the result of ill-treatment, and was he ill-treated because he was an Irishman?

Sir G. Cave—There is no evidence of ill-treatment of any kind?

Mr. Whitehouse—Has the right hon. Gentleman made inquiries as to why the medical officer did not report the condition of this man's health?

Sir G. Cave—The matter was thoroughly gone into at the inquest, and it appears that the medical officer had no reason to suspect serious illness until the actual day of the death.

2.—DIED IN THE ASYLUM.

1. ALFRED EUNGBLUT.

Wednesday, 14th March, 1917.

Mr. Chancellor asked the Secretary to the Local Government Board whether he is aware that Alfred Eungblut, a conscientious objector who voluntarily gave himself up on 12th September last, was court-martialled at Salisbury, sentenced to two years' hard labour, sent to Wormwood Scrubbs, and from there to Epsom lunatic asylum; and, seeing that this man was driven insane by the ill-treatment that he received at the hands of the military, and is now in a serious state of health and possibly dying, will he say what action he proposes to take?

Sir G. Cave—My right hon. Friend has asked me to reply to this question. This man was sentenced by court-martial on the 28th September last to 112 days' imprisonment. On the 10th November he was certified to be insane and removed to an asylum. I have no reason whatever for supposing that his insanity was due to ill-treatment by the military, but if the hon. Member has any evidence to support this very serious allegation he should submit it to the Army Council. The case is one for their consideration and not one that comes within my purview.

2. JOHN TAYLOR.

Tuesday, 13th November, 1917.

Mr. King asked whether John Taylor, a conscientious objector at the Wakefield work centre, recently attempted suicide by cutting his throat; whether this man is the John Taylor, No. 23,162 D Company, 3rd Battalion, Essex Regiment, who was granted a non-combatant certificate by his tribunal, was forced into a combatant regiment, ordered to do rifle drill, and afterwards subjected to field punishment No. 1; whether it is owing to this and subsequent treatment that the

man was driven to attempt suicide; whether he has now been certified insane; and whether inquiries will be made into this case with the view to fix responsibility?

The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Sir G. Cave)—The answer to the first part of the question is in the affirmative. I have no information as to the allegations contained in the second part, which should be addressed to the War Office. As regards the third part of the question, six of Taylor's friends among the men employed at Wakefield have voluntarily supplied a report on the facts of the case and on Taylor's mental condition. It is not suggested in this report that his condition was in any way due to his treatment while in the Army or in prison: on the contrary, it is mainly attributed to anxiety caused by an explosion near his home and by subsequent air-raids in London. Taylor has now been certified insane. I see no ground for further inquiry into the matter.

Mr. King—Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that this man is now in a dangerous condition and that his friends have been sent to see the last of him?

Sir G. Cave—I have not heard that, but I am sorry if it is so.

Tuesday, 5th February, 1918.

Mr. R. Lambert asked the Home Secretary whether John Taylor, a conscientious objector, has recently died in Wakefield work centre; whether an inquest was held; if so, what verdict was returned; and whether he will have an independent inquiry by persons other than officials concerned into the circumstances of the deaths of the various conscientious objectors who have died during the last twelve months?

Sir G. Cave—This man died on the 20th January at the West Riding Asylum, of which he had been an inmate for over two months. His death was the result of wounds which he inflicted upon himself on 2nd November while he was an inmate of the Wakefield Work Centre. As regards the causes leading up to the suicide, I would refer the hon. Member to my reply to a question addressed to me by the hon. Member for North Somerset on the 13th November, from which it appears that at the time when he committed the act he was in great anxiety as to the effect of the air-raids upon his home in London. An inquest was held on 25th January, and a verdict of felo de se was returned. I see no ground for any further inquiry.

3.—RELEASED TO DIE.

Tuesday, 30th October, 1917.

Mr. Snowden asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department if he will make any statement as to the health of Thomas Darling Matchett, a schoolmaster, of Bath, confined to a Dorchester prison as a conscientious objector; whether his wife has been sent for as the man is not expected to live owing to haemorrhage of the lungs; and can it be stated what circumstances brought about this condition?

The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Sir George Cave)—This man, who had not previously been in bad health, had on the 12th October a severe haemorrhage from the lungs probably arising from latent tuberculosis, and his wife was sent for. He is now much improved, and is no longer considered in immediate danger. If his friends can arrange for his reception in a sanatorium, I shall be prepared to exercise my power of release under Section 17 of the Criminal Justice Administration Act, 1914.

We propose to exhaust completely the questions in Parliament concerning the treatment of the conscientious objectors during the Great War. Also we shall reproduce some of the splendid debates in both Houses.

The list published in the Christmas issue, under the heading: "CONCHIES, 1916-1919," should be corrected. The line reading: "B.S.P. Objector . . . 21" should read "S.L.P. Objectors."

CONSCIENCE STRUGGLE: 1916-1919

Told in Press Cuttings

Those conscientious objectors who have not been deemed genuine by the Tribunals are facing a great struggle. For them the 1916-1919 struggle will have some interest. Part of the story is related in the press cuttings we reproduce. The *Daily Herald* had become *The Herald* for the duration of the war. With all its faults, it endeavoured to be some kind of a workers' paper during the Great War of 1914-1918.

GUY ALDRED.

Guy Aldred, a conscientious objector of indisputable sincerity, whose views were widely known long before the war, has been in prison since May 17, 1916, without intermission, and has just been re-sentenced to two years more of imprisonment. We are informed that his state of health is such as to make the sentence highly dangerous; but, indeed, this endless torture would break the health of the strongest man. We call upon the Labour movement to *do* something about these outrages.—*The Herald*, September 7, 1918.

THE ABSOLUTISTS.

Whether the Government cannot, or whether it will not, understand the attitude of the absolutists, is immaterial. Certainly it does not. And the Wakefield scheme is only the latest of its follies. Some 120 men who had consistently demanded absolute exemption and had refused the Brace scheme, or any other system of industrial work under semi-penal conditions, were brought to Wakefield and offered the following conditions:—(1) nine hours' industrial work a day; (2) 3d. a day pocket money, spendable at the canteen; (3) free association with each other after 6.30 p.m.; (4) one censored letter and one visitor a week; (5) "idleness" or "misconduct" to be punished by confinement in a separate wing under ordinary prison conditions. The inevitable result has followed. On Tuesday a general meeting was held to consider the position. On Wednesday 11 men were transferred to "Wing F" for "idleness" or "misconduct." A second general meeting by 102 votes to 1 rejected the scheme, and a unanimous vote proclaimed (a) a strike while any men remained under punishment, and (b) refusal to do any prison tasks or to recognise any prison discipline while in Wakefield. The Government's answer is to return the men, in small batches, to various civil prisons. So ends a futile scheme. Meanwhile Guy Aldred at Wandsworth is undergoing solitary confinement for refusal to work. There are, indeed, only two courses open to the Government—the old course of brutality or a wiser one of decency. Is their imagination so dead that they still cannot see that they have everything to gain and nothing to lose by respecting their own laws and their own pledges, by granting to these men that absolute exemption to which they have so gallantly proved their right?—*The Herald*, September 28, 1918.

Mr. Guy A. Aldred, the conscientious objector, and editor of "The Spur," has been released from prison owing to failing health. He maintained a six-day hunger strike.—*Daily News*, January 7, 1919.

GUY A. ALDRED RELEASED.

After six days' hunger strike Guy A. Aldred, the well known Shepherd's Bush Socialist and conscientious objector, was released on Monday last from Wandsworth Gaol. Readers will remember that he put up a very elaborate defence at Blackdown Camp, where he was last court-martialled, but was for a second time, following two shorter sentences, sentenced to two years hard labour. He expressed his intention to work strike from the beginning, and this he carried out with a discipline strike at the same time. He hunger-struck with the commencement of the new year, and his health failing, was released under the Cat and Mouse Act for one month. He is now in a very bad state of health.—*West London Observer*, January 10, 1919.

CONGRATULATIONS.

Fourteen absolutionists—including Guy Aldred—were released from Wandsworth Gaol on Tuesday after hunger strike. Congratulations to them on the success which has rewarded their pluck and determination. They are out under the Cat and Mouse Act; and it is now up to organised Labour to see that they are never sent back again.—*The Herald*, January 11, 1919.

CONSCIENCE MEN IN PRISON.

Of the 1,500 conscientious objectors who are still in prison 700 have served terms of hard labour amounting to 2-year sentences. By the end of February 140 will have completed 2-year sentences without any break whatever; 115 have been court-martialled since the armistice. Of the 54 men who have died since arrest 6 committed suicide; 37 men have become mentally affected; and 189 have been released because of their shattered health.

Mr. Guy Aldred, a conscientious objector, has been released from Wandsworth Prison after hunger striking.—*Daily News and Leader*, January 31, 1919.

Mr. Guy A. Aldred sends us a protest against the desertion of the C.O.'s in prison, and calls for a general strike, both inside and outside prison, to effect their release. He himself is to be re-arrested under the "Cat and Mouse Act."—*Forward*, February 22, 1919.

HUNGER "STRIKES" IN GAOL.

Mr. Henry Sara, formerly assistant editor of the "Spur," and eleven other men are on hunger strike at Winchester Gaol. Mr. Guy Aldred, editor of the "Spur," was released on January 8 after a work, discipline and hunger strike. Fourteen men in all have been released from Winchester and 14 from Wandsworth under the "Cat and Mouse" Act, but it is understood that warrants have been issued for the re-arrest of some of the men.—*Daily News*, February 27, 1918.

Over 60 conscientious objectors have been released from Wandsworth, Maidstone, and Winchester Prisons. They include Guy Aldred, Henry Sara, and P. C. Herbert.—*Daily News*, Tuesday, March 4, 1919.

THE "SUPER-MOUSE."

G. Aldred, editor of the "Spur," was yesterday again released from Wandsworth prison under the "Cat and Mouse" Act after hunger striking for four days. This is the second time this year he has been released after hunger striking.—*Daily Express*, Thursday, March 6, 1919.

To the Editor of the *Manchester Guardian*.

Sir,—At the request of my husband, Guy A. Aldred, I send you this intimation of his arrest this afternoon on Clapham Common, after addressing a meeting protesting against the treatment of C.O.'s. He proposes to pursue the policy of hunger-striking. I have great fears of the effects forcible feeding will have upon his system, weakened as he is by three-years' imprisonment. May I through you urge upon the House of Commons the cruelty and futility of forcibly feeding men who have suffered so much already at the hands of the law for the sake of principle, and pray that such barbarous treatment as was recently meted out in Wandsworth Prison may be ended?—Yours, etc.,

—Rose Witcop Aldred.
17 Richmond Gardens, Shepherd's Bush,
London, W.12, March 2.
—*Manchester Guardian*, Tuesday, March 4, 1919.

THE COWARDLY PERSECUTORS

By George Lansbury.

Last week we briefly announced the fact that the "Herald" petition, containing nearly 130,000 signatures, asking for the release of conscientious objectors, had been presented to Mr. Shortt, the Home Secretary, by myself and Gerald Gould. I would like readers of the "Herald" to understand that these martyrs for conscience sake are being kept in prison and persecuted simply because of the callous indifference of their friends in the Labour movement. I know that organised Labour does not desire these men to remain in prison, but I also know that organised Labour does not desire their release strongly enough to take drastic action to compel the men in office to release them. The latest reports from Wandsworth Prison prove how vilely some of these men are being treated, and prove, too, that we should demand a full and impartial inquiry into the charges brought against the Governor and other officials at that prison. Guy Aldred and scores of other well-known men are being dragged back to endure again the tortures of hell in prison. . . .

The C.O.'s, whose only crime is that they have demonstrated in the most definite manner their claim to receive the relief accorded to men of their faith by Act of Parliament, are now persecuted by being kept in prison, and Ministers, when asked to explain, sit like mutes. They refuse any explanation, and take their stand on what those men have been deemed to be by the tribunals.

Where The Real Power Lies.

I appeal not to Governments but instead to those with real power, if only they will use it, to Miners and Railwaymen, Engineers and Dockers; indeed to all my fellow men and women, who care for righteousness, who care for justice, to get together, and by the organised force of will compel the Government to forthwith release all political prisoners of every sort and kind, including the C.O.'s and soldiers.

—*The Herald*, March 15, 1919.

THE LIVERPOOL CONSCIENCE TRIBUNAL

The personnel of the North-West Tribunal for Conscientious Objectors, sitting at Liverpool, is the same as that of Manchester.

This Tribunal was dealt with very fully in the February issue.

On Thursday, December 7, 1939, Charles H. Lawton, 63 Karslake Road, Liverpool 15, a Methodist local preacher, said that he was prepared to bring food on any merchant ship that was unarmed, or to serve in an ambulance, but not in the Royal Army Medical Corps. He stated that he would not be allowed to preach "Love your Enemy" in the Army. This would be interpreted as incitement to disaffection.

He was registered as a conscientious objector, conditionally on undertaking approved civilian work.

James Lowe, Pearl Lane, Chester, a Methodist and Sunday School Secretary, said in a written statement:—

"Try to imagine Christ in khaki, saluting a Union Jack!"

To imagine Christ murdering a man, just because he was a German, was utterly fantastic! The mind of God, he explained, could not be altered at will by Act of Parliament.

Lowe said if he joined the R.A.M.C. he might be called upon to resist a so-called enemy, and he would want to assist wounded Germans. He had no guarantee that he would be allowed to remain in the R.A.M.C.

The Chairman—But you have. The Minister of War has given it.

Lowe—I regard the guarantees of such Ministers as quite worthless, in view of the Prime Minister's guarantee that conscription would not be introduced. Ministers might plead circumstances.

He was registered conditionally on doing civil work to be found by the Ministry of Labour, and, in the meantime, on rendering suitable civil service.

James Maddocks, 28 Speedwell Road, Claighton, Birkenhead, had his name removed from the register of objectors. We hold that this decision was wrong.

Maddocks said he could not accept training to kill his fellow-men. He had been a violinist in most of the prominent orchestras of the North of England, and had attended the St. John Ambulance classes, but if he joined the R.A.M.C. he would lose his freedom of conscience.

The Chairman made the point that Maddocks had changed his attitude towards the R.A.M.C. since June. Maddocks could do much to encourage and to cheer his comrades in the army. As Maddocks is only 20 years of age, too much might not to have been made of his changed attitude towards the R.A.M.C. Older men have been known to change their attitude towards questions and institutions.

On Tuesday, December 12, the Tribunal heard the case of Ernest Allen Mann, 12 Alexandra Street, Warrington, a communicant of the Church of England, and a member of the Anglican Pacifiist Fellowship, partly in private, at his own request. He alleged victimisation and gave details in private. The Rev. John Lowe, of the Anglican Church, spoke to Mann's sincerity.

The tribunal directed that Mann should be registered as a conscientious objector, conditionally upon his undertaking civil work under civil control, provided by the Ministry of Labour. Meanwhile he must qualify for first-aid work, and then attach himself to a recognised local first-aid unit.

Gordon Russell Kirby, another member of the Church of England, 62 Margaret Road, Liverpool 4, said he did not mind going into danger, but he would not kill because he felt it would be a mortal sin. He had volunteered for service on a minesweeper.

Replying to the chairman, Kirby said he would not give orders for a minesweeper to ram a submarine, if he were in a position to do so, because that would be taking life. He would not mind losing his own life.

The Chairman—If a job is found for you on a minesweeper, are you prepared to go?—Definitely.

The Chairman said: "This is a most refreshing and inspiring case."

He declared that Kirby's powers of reasoning were somewhat primitive and his use of words was limited, but his courage was supreme.

"We believe there is something innate in this man which tells him it would be wrong to kill," added Judge Burgis.

Kirby was entered on the register of conscientious objectors, without conditions, and the chairman said steps would be taken to enable him to serve on a minesweeper.

Walter J. Jannaway, Oak Street, Southport, is a Christadelphian, an assistant air-warden at his work, and a student of first-aid. He was registered unconditionally as an objector.

Registration subject to doing civil work to be specified by the Ministry of Labour, was granted to: Bertram W. Knight, 6 Hicks Road, Seaforth; Percy Lionel Hallam, 12 Matlock Avenue, Southport; Edgar J. M'Coy, 172 Hawthorne Road, Bootle; Edward Makin, St. Polycarp's Parish Church, Everton.

The previous day John David Frimston was registered unconditionally as a conscientious objector.

Alderman C. Aveling cross-examined the Rev. Hubert Watson, of the Richmond Baptist Church, Liverpool, as to his own views on pacifism, when he appeared to testify to the genuineness of the views of an applicant who is a member of his congregation. The question occasioned a demonstration in court.

On the Thursday, Judge Burgis explained the reason for the cross-examination:—

"Mr. Watson took the point which he was perfectly entitled to take, that such cross-examination was irrelevant; but I allowed the cross-examination to proceed; I held that it was relevant in order to test the value that should be put upon Mr. Watson's evidence.

"There is a very well-known rule of law that, if a man gives evidence contrary to his own interests, or in support of a person whose views are contrary to his own, then that witness is entitled to a high degree of credibility. But it does not follow that a person who gives evidence in support of another whose views correspond with his own is not entitled to credence.

"Mr. Watson's views as a pacifist in support of a pacifist may well be entitled to great respect, but if Mr. Watson had been a militarist or an army chaplain, and had been giving evidence as to the views of a pacifist, his evidence would have been entitled to still greater credit, as he would have been giving evidence in support of a person whose views were contrary to his own."

Douglas Armand Sissons, Okehampton Road, Liverpool 16, a Methodist lay preacher, was asked a number of fool questions as to what could be done to persuade Hitler to act differently. The Tribunal never faced the fact that Hitler's power had been built up by British support and most active assistance. Rev. John T. Gray testified to Sisson's sincerity.

The Tribunal directed that Sissons should be registered as a conscientious objector, conditionally on undertaking civilian work to be provided by the Ministry of Labour. Meanwhile he must qualify for and join a recognised first-aid organisation. Sissons agreed to receive this training.

The following were registered unconditionally as conscientious objectors:—Stephen Emlyn Roberts, 152 Harrowly Street, Liverpool 6; Arthur Scott, student, Emmanuel Bible School, 1 Palm Grove, Birkenhead; Malcolm Jones Service, 43 Link Avenue, St. Helens.

The Tribunal directed that the name of John David Roberts, 26 Brazenose Road, Liverpool, should be removed from the C.O. Register without qualification. Roberts was condemned for making an honest statement:—

"I refuse to fight, not because I dislike war, but because I am not going to fight to protect a system which has never given a man a decent chance." He added that he would be willing to serve if there was a Labour Government in power.

On December 13, the Tribunal registered Eric Graham Chirgwin, 210 Claughton Road, Birkenhead, as an objector. He is an arts graduate of the Liverpool University and approved student for the Presbyterian Church of England ministry. He could have avoided military service without having his case heard by the Tribunal, but insisted on having his conscientious objection registered.

Sydney Cattrell, 19 Storeton Road, Oxton, Birkenhead, a railway clerk, now employed at Hoylake, said that if his work was connected with the movement of munitions he was, and had been, prepared to give it up. He had worked at fifteen different stations during the past two years. At each he had stated his views, and he had been derided for them.

Cattrell was granted registration conditionally upon his remaining in his present employment.

Unconditional registration as a conscientious objector was granted to:—Keith Malcolm Conway, 26 Snowdon Road, Birkenhead, a member of the Society of Friends from birth; John Gordon Davies, Newton Rise, Chester; Norman Brown, 4 Portia Avenue, Woodley, Rock Ferry.

Conditional exemption was granted to Philip Neville James Chipperfield, 7 Crawford Avenue, Wavertree, Liverpool, an Agnostic, and secretary of the University Biological Society. Chipperfield is a Liverpool University science graduate, now taking an honours course in zoology.

On December 14, the Tribunal granted conditional exemption to Ronald Eric Osborne Taylor, printer, 54 Gonville Road, Bootle. Taylor's father was a conscientious objector during the Great War. Taylor declared that a military uniform was a devil's uniform. Judge Burgis said that the Tribunal thought that Taylor's views were erroneous but deeply sincere and conscientious. He had had pacifism presented to him from his very earliest days.

Thomas Bernard Green, art student, 8 Newry Park East, Chester, was removed, without qualification from the register of objectors, *because his objections were based on reason, not conscience.*

Green said that the real result of war was waste, to victor and vanquished—waste of money, materials, time and brains—even apart from the loss of life—was enough to bring all progress to a standstill.

Green made a splendid case. His removal is a disgrace to those who reached such a decision.

George Llewellyn Snape, a bank clerk, 27 Knowsley Road, Ormskirk, a Christadelphian, was granted conditional registration. Yet he answered, in the affirmative, the following question, put to him by Alderman C. Aveling:—

"Would you sell £500 worth of War Loan for me to-morrow?"

Snape explained that it would be in the course of his duties as a bank official; but that would not affect his conscience in any way.

William Leslie Cross, 50 Moor Street, Ormskirk, a member of the Ormskirk Parish Church, said that, since he was fifteen years old, he held that his Christian beliefs were inconsistent with soldiering. Douglas Donahue, 23 Rimington Road, Liverpool 17, refused to join any fighting unit. The Chairman said that Donahue had his views but no convictions. Ronald Fowler

Chandler, 151 Orford Lane, Warrington, a member of the Latter Day Saints, said that Christianity was opposed to war.

The names of these three applicants were removed without qualification.

Non-combatant service was ordered in the following cases:—Victor Holdgate Speakman, Devondale, Hoylake Road, Moreton, a member of the Salvation Army; Leonard Gordon Tucker, 89 Parkhill Road, Liverpool 8; Colin Smith, 14 Rufford Road, Bootle.

Conditional exemption was given to Albert Mansel Harrison, 125 Broad Lane, Liverpool 11, a student of Chester Training College.

Unconditional exemption was granted to Charles Tom Griffiths, 32 Oxford Street, Liverpool 7; and Herbert Gwilym Brooks, 25 Kensington Road, Southport.

TRIBUNAL REPORTS.—Next issue: Leeds; also further London, Glasgow and Edinburgh reports: Edinburgh and London Appellate Tribunals. Comrades are invited to send details and cuttings relating to all Tribunals.

WHO ARMED HITLER?

Conscription was the subject of full-dress debate at the Scottish Trade Union Congress, at Rothesay, on April 28, 1939.

Mr. Arthur Woodburn, now M.P., but then Scottish Secretary to the Labour Party, said:

"The Labour Party is still against war and the Labour Party believes that war troubles can still be settled by other means than by war . .

"I read in the Press that this country, between September, 1938, and February, 1939, has exported 39,000 tons of pig iron to Germany, against 5 000 tons in any similar period in previous years.

"There is no question at all that profiteers are still supplying the aggressors in Europe with the means of making war."

Mr Woodburn is now a war-monger. But this point about the arming of Germany should be remembered by the Chairmen of Tribunals, when putting stupid questions to conscientious objectors.

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These books will be issued rapidly from the Press—in slightly less popular form than the works previously mentioned, because they belong to study rather than to ordinary propaganda. The interest in these writings will be special rather than general.

At Grips With War. First Edition, 1929. Second Edition, 1932. This work will be re-issued at an early date.

Other Pamphlets are being prepared and other Reprints issued. This will bring the Author's writings up to date and restore to circulation essays too long out of print.

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HANDED OVER!

What it means

I was arrested at 17 Richmond Gardens, Shepherd's Bush, on Thursday, April 13, 1916, and charged with failing to surrender myself for service under the Military Service Act. I appeared at the West London Police Court the following day, and appeared again at the same Court, on April 27 and May 4. I was never called to the Colours under that Act; and there can be no doubt, and there never was any doubt, that the first Military Service Act never applied to me. I had made myself a nuisance, by championing the case of Henry Sara and C.O.s generally, and the authorities of the time were resolved on my detention or imprisonment. The question no longer matters because sooner or later resistance to Conscription would have come.

To those who now face being handed over it is useful to know how the Conchies felt in 1916. From the columns of *The Spur* I make excerpts which takes the readers down to my first court-martial. I made notes of all that happened and wrote voluminously. This helped to preserve sanity.

1. POLICE COURT FAREWELL.

West London Police Court, May 4, 1916.

After editing a monthly journal of Socialist and rebel thought continuously since December, 1910, I must bid a graceless farewell to the editorial chair. A flag I do not respect, upheld by a militarism I detest, is being borne aloft. The enemy compels my physical presence, even though it cannot command my allegiance. I must line up with many comrades similarly placed. Our fight is against a foe which gives no quarter, and knows no honour in battle. Only humiliation awaits those who war against Conscription at home and so strive to secure real freedom in the commonwealth. I trust that, in this struggle, I may prove a humble but no mean warrior. Whether I shall survive the fight or not, only a godless providence can say. I hope I may, for in the days to come I have other, but not less important work to do than I am attempting now. Action tests the strength of one's thought: and it is good to be tested. But there are days of thought and quiet in which one accomplishes more solid work than in those moments of storm and stress. And besides, the present strife is but guerilla warfare. To the future belongs the real battle, in which passive resistance plays no part, the great campaign of social revolution.

2. IN THE HANDS OF THE MILITARY.

Davis Street Barracks, May 4, 1916.

I was taken from West London in a taxicab. Refused medical inspection there, but was treated courteously enough. Brought here. Refused to put on uniform, but was treated courteously and reasoned with. Am going to hunger strike, I think.

Fovant Camp, 5th May.

I am a good few miles from Hurdcott Camp (Sara was at this time at Hurdcott). I have little to say, beyond stating that I am standing firm by my principles. My journey down here was pleasant enough. I am in one of the finest companies of men one could be amongst. Did I believe in soldiering I could ask for no better comrades, but *I do not.* In other times, my civic virtues would be recognised as splendid qualities. But now, well good men as well as bad are opposing each other. It is a shame and a fact. My attitude, from the military viewpoint is unforgivable. There are opposite views of duty!

Fovant Camp, 6th May.

When I was taken to the Davis Street Headquarters of the 9th London Regt. I refused to sign for my kit or to don khaki. I was sent down here under escort with the kit. I refused to don khaki or to strip for examination. Was charged to-day with six charges of "refusing to obey orders." After this, I was forcibly examined and put into khaki. But my protest remains. On Monday, I shall be called upon to sign my papers and to drill. After this I shall be put into the guard room to await court-martial. I put up a hunger strike till to-day. Received a decent dinner on condition that I withdrew strike until end of week. It is possible to get two years for my refusal to drill.

Fovant Camp, 7th May.

I shall go back to the Guard Room to-day, as I intend to refuse all parade, all drill and shall finally strip off the uniform entirely. I am told that if I persist, I shall get 3 years' penal servitude. At Hurdcott, Sara lays down on parade. He is terribly treated.

Fovant Camp, 10th May.

On Monday I refused to put on my puttees and hat to go down to breakfast. Was ordered to do so by Sergeant Mortimer and replied that I would take no breakfast. Was charged before Capt. Henderson, and then got my own way. Refused to button uniform, so the Regt. Sergt.-Major did this for me. Later same morning charged before the Colonel. He remanded me till afternoon parade. Capt. Henderson came into the hut and ordered me to assume equipment and to go on parade. I refused. Was taken under armed guard again before the Colonel. He said one man like me caused more trouble than 100 good men. He asked me to accept his punishment and I demanded a court martial. He seemed surprised and said it would be secret and that I would gain no cheap notoriety from it. I retorted that I wanted no cheap notoriety, but would stand by principle. Was then taken back to detention room and marched out again under armed escort to Major Willoughby, who drew up particulars of evidence. I am still kept in close confinement, without exercise of any kind, awaiting court martial.

Fovant Camp, 12th May.

On Thursday, the Colonel visited me. He is bitter, but not bad. He complained that it was against the Army regulations *to mention liberty in my letters.* Asked me to reconsider my position since I was a man of intelligence. Complained of people writing to me as "conscientious objector." Told me I had no sense of duty. I smiled. Wanted to know what would happen if all men were like me. Admitted there were a few like me in Germany, but failed to realise there were a few here. I am awaiting my court martial—D.C.M.

I want you to know that solitary confinement finds me reflective, strong and bold. I am awaiting the day when we shall destroy this cursed system of lies and misery. Believe me, the day will come. Our tyrants have not all the power they think.

13th May.

Colonel again visited me. Said he was sorry, seeing my fine intellect that I should remain in such a position. Urged me to change. Asked what 500 or 600 men in London and such a number in Berlin could do to end war. *Agreed that war* was wrong and horrible. But admitted that England must maintain a large Army ready for more war! Finally said I was in a minority and must suffer for my principles. Confessed his regret that I could not throw in my lot with the others.

3. DETENTION ROOM MUSINGS:

[These "Musings' were published in *The Spur,* June 1916. Only part are printed. Penned while waiting my first court martial.]

I believe that the warriors of the world are the curse of the world. Do you then think that either cajolery or menace will make me ally myself to a curse? Whoever thinks so knows me not at all.

The working women of the world are doing the *Manual* work of the world. They are being told that they are equal to man because they are driving man to self-slaughter. When they proved mental equality, women were jeered at,

and brutally treated. Now they are showing slavish equality, they are applauded and told they should have the vote. But who will the vote benefit? Working women or their mistresses?

The great argument against Socialism was that it made all men equal in servility. That was said to be the vice of Socialism. Now magazine articles are being written to show how nobly militarism accomplishes this task. How funny despotism becomes when it tries to argue.

Militarism can starve, cage and chain. But it lacks prestige. It boasts the trappings of pomp, but lacks the soul of majesty. To want majesty is to be without power. Finally militarism will fail. Only revolution has majesty. That is because revolution means liberty.

Militarism is a machine. You refuse to do up a button, and the machine is out of gear. You refuse to wear a hat and half the machinery is at a standstill. You refuse to "right turn" and the machine is scrapped.

Militarism is at an extremity. Its cogs are thinking, thinking and becoming clogs. They feel themselves gripped by trickery and resent the pressure. They have discovered their own sense of worth, and hate to be classed as worthless. So the crude machine is scrapping.

Thought is active and questioning and virile. Thought will be spoken and written and read. Thought will be uttered, communicated and received. In vain are papers suppressed and thinkers jailed. No Bastille prevents a revolution.

What are we Sons of the army of the night, they ask. We are what our martyred forbears were. We are the fates. Let the timid and the powerful beware.

"Be a man,' 'said the Colonel, "and give up these ideas." This is like saying "be a soldier and desert your colours." How wise are those in authority above us.

What can 600 like you do? Asked the Colonel. "Vanquish militarism" I replied.

"You are not like others, you are an intelligent man," exclaimed the Colonel, "which accounts for my position, Sir," I answered.

'Join up with us now," said another officer, "and we'll give you a week-end at home." So much generosity appalled me. But I smiled.

The chaplain has not visited me, and I have not visited him. We are on excellent terms with each other.

"Resist to the uttermost as long as you are able," writes a Glasgow comrade, in a letter which escaped the censor. Quite so, and after that—I'll resist again.

The king of beasts is reputed by hunters to be the most cowardly of brutes. Is that why the military machine can tame it?

It was after I was getting used to being marched about the camp under armed guard. I was brought in contact with an officer, who was blazing with fury at my "tom-foolery," as he phrased it. "'The army," he exclaimed, "can cast out demons." "I am sorry, sir," I replied, "but I am only one. It will need to cast me out however."

Life here resembles somewhat civilian life. In the city, the more crimes you commit, the less offences are recorded against you. I have committed so many offences since I have been here, that many have been overlooked.

"You have refused all orders," queried a Derby recruit, in wondering amazement. "Yes, even holy ones," I replied.

The Colonel cannot understand me quoting Jesus Christ, since I am an Atheist. And I cannot understand the chaplain preaching Jesus Christ, since he is a militarist.

One of the Captains visited me. "I am not a Field Marshal," he said, "only a Captain. I travelled miles to join up. I wish you could be one of us. But I admire a man who stands by his guns. Shake!" I shook. That was a soldier's greetings—and I welcomed it.

BUILD THE N.C.L.

(By ANNESLEY G. ALDRED.)

Questions and arguments put forward by audiences at recent meetings show, only too plainly, that the "bogey-man" has been well boosted. "Because of one man" cry has been revived effectively. In 1914, the one man was the Kaiser. To-day, it is one who was then hungry and insignificant. The Allies of 1916–1918 deposed the Kaiser to elevate Hitler whose present importance is the product of that "blood-bath," and its aftermath. Now we must destroy Hitler, we are told, in order to "achieve decency in International Relationship." Once more the English and French workers are lured into the position where they must kill, and be killed by, the German workers.

This last point is one on which those of us who are conscious of the full implications of this war, and are actively opposing it, must not allow ourselves to be misled. We must realise that the apparent ease with which working-class acceptance of this war has been won is due not so much to the stupidity of the workers (which is the easy way of dismissing the fact) as to the strength of the war propaganda. Indeed, so insidious is this war propaganda that it is difficult *not* to be deluded into the feeling that "the British and French cause" has justice on its side and that, even if one is not prepared to kill, one should at least render some equivalent form of non-combatant service or work of national importance. The atmosphere makes one feel that he ought to apologise for his scruples of conscience. It is, in fact, only by realising that the fundamental issue is still the same, that the war is being fought for age-old capitalist interests, that one feels certain that the need for absolute opposition to the military machine is as great as ever, and senses that there is no justification for any relaxation of that opposition, no justification for any compromise.

The Parliamentarians have, as usual, betrayed the workers. They excelled their performance of 1914. In so doing, they have acted exactly as the Anti-Parliamentarians have always said they would. The I.L.P.M.P.s, to their credit, were alone almost on the Opposition benches in opposing conscription, apparently having retained some shred of principle.

The Labour Party, sitting on the fence, and the Communist Party, still trying to explain Russia's alliance with Fascism in the terms of Socialism, are both a menace to working-class unity. The chief danger from the latter organisation, it is true, arises from the confusion and contradictions in the efforts to save their own face and standing. Thus they praise Russia for "saving" millions of Polish workers from the clutches of the Gestapo; and at the same time hail the treaty with the rulers of Germany, who maintain that Gestapo, as a determined step towards peace. Who assert that war is serving the cause of Fascism; and who, in the same breath, accuse those who oppose war of serving that same end find difficulty in dissociating themselves from a rooted belief in parliamentary democracy. We can only say that it makes no difference to the effect of a bomb whether it is dropped with the hatred of a Fascist Dictator or the love and kisses of a Democratic Prime Minister; whether it is dropped on London or Berlin, Guernica or Helsinki, Central China or the North West Frontier. In every case it is the workers who are killed. And any form of government which condones that killing must be intolerable to the workers.

The inference from these facts is obvious. We must oppose the Conservative and various avowed capitalist factions supporting war. We must oppose the Labour Party bureaucracy, now so busy destroying democracy and civil liberties at home in ill-advised pursuits of Imperialist war.

The stand taken by the absolutists in the last war should have shown that there worse things than imprisonment or even death. It is up to those of us who have the knowledge, the understanding and the determination to rally all who are opposed to warmongering, and the system of which war is an integral part. Neither the workers of Britain, nor of any other country, want war. But the old tricks still work; and the threat, which was so illustrated so well in *The Spur* during the last war, "What would you do if you were threatened with the bayonet?" serves once more to palsy the wit of the man who would oppose the war. So few think. So many fear. So few have the courage to express conviction. So many are too cowardly to disdain the official uniform of seeming courage. The people will not understand that it is they who wield the bayonets, and it is for them to say that they will wield them no longer. Only when they do say this, will war end.

Apart from the challenge of war to the individual conscience, even the use of a bogey-man cannot obscure the social reality of the class struggle. That issue remains the same whether bombs drop on cities or only on battleships. In war-time, as in peace-time, the struggle to attain a saner system of society must go on. Objection to war, to be replaced by direct individual resistance wherever the Tribunal does not recognise the imperative dictate of conscience, is merely the first negative-positive step towards the new social order.

Because I know that this step must be taken, that paralysed and paralysing Labour careerism must give place to direct stand against militarism, I have identified myself with the No-Conscription League.

The developing of a powerful anti-war movement, the emphasis on the supremacy of individual conscience over the herd-instinct of blind obedience, are required at this crisis. Only thus can we arrest the toll the "bogey-man" propaganda is taking of humanity and end its menace to civilisation. Because of the "bogey-man," those now effected by conscription must square their action with their conscience, resist war, and build the movement of war resisters, the men of conscience—the N.C.L.

Views, Comments and Problems.

One of the great problems confronting C.O.'s when they appear before the Tribunals is how they are to deal with the "trick" questions which are put forward in order to lead them into an untenable position. Judging by the reports of the various Tribunals many of the C.O.'s are falling only too easily into the traps laid for them, and putting up a very poor case as a result. The seriousness of this lies not in the fact that the particular individual may suffer as a consequence, however regrettable that may be, but in the deliberate publicity which is given by the press to such cases.

For example at a recent Mock Tribunal held in West London one young C.O. found himself opposing the existence of Fire Brigades! In the obviously friendly surroundings we were able to laugh and pull his leg. But really it was not a laughing matter.

The fundamental error seems to be that most of those who are appearing before Tribunals are hoping to obtain exemption and are basing their answers on that hope. This must not be construed into meaning that they are not genuine, but it does mean that they are bound to be more nervous in expounding their views than one who has no hopes of exemption and is consequently indifferent to the construction which the members of the Tribunal may care to put upon his case.

The answer to the problem seems to lie in the realisation that the Tribunals are not sitting to grant exemption to as many C.O.'s as possible but to refuse exemption, to incorporate into the military machine as many as they can. Realising that one can go forward; state one's case boldly and clearly; and not afraid of admitting what seems to be a slight inconsistency. Such inconsistency proceeds only from being trapped under the system and is not fundamental or wrong in itself. Compromise—or Starve! That is, in effect, the choice which is thrust upon many of those who have shown by word and deed their opposition to militarism and the military machine. A choice that is all the more difficult to make when there are dependents to be taken into consideration; one that may well test the determina-

tion of the most ardent. Indeed, one may well wonder if this more subtle, economic weapon is not more effective in compelling support for the war than the Tribunals could ever be.

With the passing of the months and the approach of "Prison Time," this problem looms ever larger and more urgent. In many parts of the country it is being tackled by an endeavour to build up funds to assist the C.O.'s and their dependents. A great task, because our movement is essentially of the workers, and we, none of us, have overmuch to spare. However, the difficulties of collecting these funds need not be enlarged upon here.

What is important is that, having overcome those difficulties, the administration of the funds should be organised in such manner as to ensure that they are not used to defeat our own objects; not used to weaken our resistence to war or to encourage compromise.

One question which must arise is: shall the application of the funds be limited to members of certain organisations? Or shall their application to C.O.'s be non-sectarian?

As far as the N.C.L. is concerned it would seem that this question can be answered in only one way—refusal to give support to members of any organisation which is likely to support an imperialist war. This is, unfortunately, not so simple a proposition as it sounds. It may easily involve a break, at some stage, with other organisations which, whilst quite definite in their opposition to war, are prepared to co-operate with those of dubious integrity. It will, certainly, lead to the accusation of splitting the "United Front" against war. But our cause is surely too pressing, the need for an absolutist stand too necessary, for us to pursue any path which will, inevitably, lead us on to the treacherous quicksands of compromise.

We must remember that in the development of the powerful anti-war movement, which is required at this crisis, the emphasis must be placed on the supremacy of individual conscience over the herd-instinct of blind obedience. Only thus can we arrest the toll that "mass propaganda" is taking of humanity and end its menace to civilisation. Because of this those now affected by conscription must square their action with their conscience, resist war, and build the movement of war resisters, the men of conscience —the N.C.L. And also because of this it behoves those who are conducting the fight outside the prison gates to see that no action of theirs betrays the cause.

Actually the chief danger lies in accepting too easily the fact that it is almost impossible to be absolutely consistent. Having once accepted it the tendency is to smile benignly upon each small concession, and forget to review their sum. With the result that many schemes which start off with quite genuine intent to encourage and assist war resisters, finish up by defeating their own object and being unworthy of either support or attention from any C.O. worthy of the name.

In this respect many "Community" schemes are clearly suspect. One such scheme, for instance, proposes to form a farming community which is expected to be practically self-supporting and, indeed, hopes to be able to supply some produce to a town community to be run in conjunction with it. In fact it is even hoped to run a canteen for the aged and unemployed of the district. A laudable venture—no doubt. But can it be classed as furthering resistance to war. Hardly entitled to claim support from a C.O. fund. For the number of C.O.'s who are exempted conditional upon their taking up agricultural work leaves no doubt that it is work of "national importance." The fact that is undertaken voluntarily makes it no less so. Participation in such a scheme is, therefore, undoubtedly an evasion of the issue. And however unreasonable it may be to expect all conscientious objectors to take an absolutist stand, it is, surely not unreasonable to expect them to face up to the issues at stake. The fact that they may be willing to allow themselves to be drafted in, as unskilled workers, to, say, agricultural occupations does not mean that they should

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The CAREERIST DANGER

By MATT KAVANAGH.

The Southend N.C.L. is getting some good work done indoors with "Mock Tribunals," lectures, and debates. So far, we have had two of our members up at Southwark: one obtained complete exemption; the other was given work on the land. I think we can count this as two victories against the "body-snatchers." The real struggle will come when the older groups are called up, consisting of men who have a greater sense of their responsibility, and are old enough to remember the last blood-bath.

Unfortunately, in this town, the P.P.U., the F.O.R., and other like bodies have been reluctant to co-operate with the N.C.L. This lack of co-ordination is not the fault of the N.C.L. Because we advocate mass action (the general strike), as well as individual refusal to serve war, we are denounced as a *political* body. Yet those who oppose us support the actions of the politicians whom we oppose. The Southend N.C.L. has held the view, consistently, that mere opposition to *this* war is not enough. Such action is mere sentimentalism. We must teach the workers the cause of war: capitalism and government. To stop this war by negotiation, or any other means, *without coming to grips with war and its cause*, is only going to prove another armistice. This time, the armistice will be for a considerably shorter period than last time. If we do not eradicate the root cause of war, we are entering on an epoch of a series of wars.

It is because of mental myopia, that such bodies as the P.P.U. will not sell THE WORD. The paper is too sane, too realistic, for these sentimentalists. Rather than use the lancet, and cut out the evil cancer of capitalism, they prefer to apply the futile plaster of State Federalism. They cease to be the opponents of militarism and prove themselves the promoters of future wars. For Federal Unionism is only the old, useless, bankrupt League of Nations. The old long-firm swindle has opened business under a new name.

This mental perversion arises in our intellectuals and pacifists because of their goody-goodiness. They have been bitten badly by the bug of respectability. They sense, if they ally themselves with a group of militant workers, they will not be able to adorn their platform with a crowd of M.P.s, Reverend Sky Pilots, and J.P.s. Why they should stop there, and pause so modestly, I do not know. The Public Hangman would be a bigger draw than any parson or M.P. Was not the Kaiser to be handed over to this public official after the last war? I seem to remember the slogan: "Hang the Kaiser!"

Some of this criticism applies as much to sections of our own organisation, the N.C.L., as to the P.P.U., and the F.O.R. The N.C.L. seems to be becoming a happy hunting ground for would-be M.P.s, dear good comrades who are out to save the soul of the Labour Party! Men who went to prison during the last war, and who have spent a life-time in the service of the movement, who have sought neither place nor power, whose policy has been to give and not to take, are over-looked or side-stepped. They are told they are not platform attractions. Political careerists, seeking the golden letters, M.P. after their names, yearning for £600 per annum, secured income, are given the limelight. The funds of the movement are dissipated callously to make careers for these useless self-seekers. Unless the workers in the N.C.L. guard against this tendency, they will discover that their organisation has been turned into a mere political machine. This tendency is manifest already.

I write in no narrow spirit. The Southend Group of the N.C.L. does not wish to force its opinions on other groups or branches. In a spirit of tolerance, recognising the right of all C.O.s to unite for mutual aid, but denying the right of those who are not really C.O.s to exploit comrades menaced with imprisonment and suffering, we say: if your sport is parliamentary politics—and that is all this political window-dressing under N.C.L. auspices amounts to—join the I.L.P. or the Labour Party.

The N.C.L. is, or should be, above the sordid atmosphere of parliamentarism. The N.C.L. should be a body of class-conscious workers and anti-militarists, who are determined, by the method and weapon of Direct Action, to smash militarism and to root out the cause. The N.C.L. ought not to be employed creating a new set of masters, evolving more careerists, more Judas Iscariots. It should be pioneering a world and era of Freedom for All Mankind.

EDITOR'S PERSONAL APPEAL

This appeal is for a special sum of £166 13/3d, to cover losses on the paper prior to Xmas, 1939, and on the London Law proceedings in connection with the Hyde Park fight. Since then, each issue of the paper has entailed a heavy loss. We set up machinery at great cost. And we are producing pamphlets of large size. Your immediate response is requested to make this work possible.

Address donations to editor's private address: Guy Aldred, 5 Baliol Street, Glasgow, C.3.

Already Acknowledged	£12	13	0
Comrade Marshall	1	0	0
R. Majary	1	0	0
Friend of Quota	0	10	0
Wellwisher, Liverpool	0	8	0
Comrade Campbell	0	3	0
Jane Parker	0	3	0
George Street Shop (Donations)	0	3	0
Clara Cole	0	2	6
A. Kaye	0	1	6
Total Received	£16	6	6
Total to Come	£149	6	9

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throw the onus upon the Government to do so. The fact of their doing so of their own accord, and before being forced to do so, constitutes a quite definite evasion of the issue and is reasonably entitled to throw doubt upon the whole basis of their opposition to war.

The only inference is that the ultimate guide in the administration of these funds must be the same as that which directs all activities against the war—the discontinuing of compromise and the encouragement of a firm and definite stand against militarism—absolutism.

Recently, I attended the meeting of one of the branches, where discussion turned on the question of conscience in relation to the social struggle. The chief point that seemed to arise—as far as I could tell, between the I.L.P. section on the one hand, and independent and unattached comrades on the other—was on the question of "Militant Pacifism." The I.L.P. comrades maintained that they could conceive of circumstances in which they would be prepared to (a) defend a Socialist system against a counter-revolution at the barricades, and (b) would if necessary be prepared to execute such people as they considered were likely to incite or conspire towards a counter revolution. The arguments against seemed to be that essentially Socialism was based on what might be called (without any religious meaning) the "sanctity of human life," and that consequently we had no right to urge such a procedure as (b); and also that it was a dangerous proposal to advocate in so far as one was paving the way for Fascist acts of violence which they could justify on the same grounds.

The C.O. Tribunals are reported very scantily and very poorly. If those in other parts of the country are like the London one, each Tribunal has no standard in its decisions. The result is a pure gamble, which has no relation either to reason or to conscience. From the reports, some of those removed from the conchie register in London seem to have more claim to be registered as C.O.s than those left on the register. Another iniquitous expression of a rotten system.

ADAPTABLE "COMMUNISTS"

William Gallacher stood as C.P. candidate at Dundee in 1922. He issued an election address full of hot air. It opened thus :—

"Comrades and Fellow Workers—On November 15th you will be called upon to make a decision that will have far-reaching consequences for you and to the future of our class."

Had Gallacher been elected at that time, his speeches at Westminster would not have lightened the load of the jute workers in Dundee for a moment. The hooters would have blown and they would have bent their backs to the yoke as before. Gallacher's election for West Fife has not benefited the miners in his constituency one little bit.

Gallacher's election address proceeded to describe Parliament as a sham. He added hastily :—

"If it is your will that I shall carry on the struggles in Parliament, I will give my whole strength to the task."

Only James Russell Lowell's classic vernacular poem on "I'm just a candidate in short," could do justice to Gallacher as a nice adaptable man.

He made a mild reference to Russia, to prove that the revolution was not so hot after all :—

"Recognition of Soviet Russia means an opportunity for the workers there and work for the unemployed here."

He promised to support movements towards national independence in Ireland, India, and Egypt, and added :—

"In general, I will support the Labour Party."

Which makes nonsense, since the Labour Party does not stand for such national independence.

In his concluding sentences, Mr. Gallacher says he has "neither respect nor loyalty for the Monarchy and the Constitution." He fell over himself three times to demonstrate his loyalty when Edward VIII. abdicated, in his haste to prove his capacity to swear allegiance to the Monarchy.

In *The Commune* we referred to Gallacher's articles in the *Workers' Dreadnought* and the *Worker*. In February, 1920, in the former paper, he wrote scathingly of Parliamentary action and those seeking Parliamentary honours. Writing in the name of the Scottish Workers' Committee, he said :—

"This Committee is definitely anti-Parliamentarian. . . . We represent the revolutionary movement in Scotland. . . . For a considerable time we have been sparring with the official Parliamentarians. . . . But this state of affairs cannot continue long. We are winning all along the line. The rank and file of the I.L.P. in Scotland is becoming more and more disgusted with the idea of Parliament, and the Soviets or Workers' Councils are being supported by almost every branch. This is very serious, of course, for the gentlemen who look to politics for a profession, and they are using any and every means to persuade their members to come back into the Parliamentary fold. Revolutionary comrades must not give any support to this gang. Our fight here is going to be a most difficult one. One of the worst features of it will be the treachery of those whose personal ambition is a more compelling force than their regard for the revolution. . . . The official I.L.P. is bitterly hostile to the Third International, the rank and file is for it. Any support to the Parliamentary opportunists is simply playing into the hands of the former."

The *New Leader*, in its issue for September 23, 1938, published the following account of the C.P. Congress :—

"The Communist Party of Great Britain held its annual conference at Birmingham last week-end.

"I had not attended a C.P. Congress before and looked forward to it with interest. The opening by Willie Gallacher was disappointing. . . . He appealed to 'all who love peace and progress' to accept C.P. policy. He appealed 'in particular to the people of the Catholic Church who throughout history have shown such devotion to the cause of progress'."

The writer later on describes the Congress :—

"The second session was what one might call the opening of the serious 'Pollittics' of the Congress. Harry Pollitt read his printed report—it took him exactly two hours. Again one had the impression of the product of the machine.

"From this time on speakers were called to the platform according to a pre-arranged programme. With one exception they all automatically repeated the Party line.

"The one voice raised in opposition to the platform was in some ways more telling because it was pathetically confused and aggressive. It was the voice of Jock Cunningham, an early leader of the International Brigade. 'If any man wanted to come up with a point in opposition, or not quite in line with something, I am damned sure he couldn't do it!' Cunningham exclaimed.

The writer concluded his account :—

"As the Congress proceeded I found the uniformity of the speakers absolutely terrifying. Their tone, manner, phrases, even the adjective before every noun, were repeated time and time again. Nothing new was said after Pollitt's pronouncement except for the two speeches to which I have referred and a few reports from districts of actual work done.

"The C.P. is evidently as much an automaton as any Nazi party. The delegates acted as one man, sang the 'International,' clapped, shouted 'Hurrah,' stood up in respectful show of admiration, waiting for signals to cheer or sing, just as you would expect a trained corps of Nazis to do.

"There can be no hope that a party of this kind can bring human liberty."

William Gallacher is the parliamentary leader of this outfit, now defending under Moscow orders the Soviet alliance with the German Government after shouting for war with Germany, and upholding the bombing of Finnish towns : an unforgiveable outrage when committed by Fascist or ordinary capitalist armies, and an indescribable horror and blasphemy when "justified" by alleged Socialists. But has not Gallacher for hireling pay, justified the execution of his old masters—Zinoviev, Kameviev, etc., on bogus charges?

The adaptable Gallacher has been "boomed" in Scotland as the real leader of the Opposition to Chamberlain. If he leads the Opposition, it must be in answer to Chamberlain's Unitarian prayers. For no Premier was ever blessed with such an incapable and such an adaptable opponent. The only thing Chamberlain has to fear is a new change of front. Willie might decide to support the Government as servilely as he obeys Moscow.

With Gallacher has been boosted "the Youth leader," John Gollan. Here is a paragraph from the *New Leader*, issue quoted already in this essay, on Gallacher's associate :—

"John Gollan, leader of the Young Communist League, spoke at the National Congress of the C.P. on the 'attitude of the Communist Party to religion.' He did not point out how the Church backs the vested interests, how the Bishops acted as recruiting sergeants in the last war—and will do in the next; how religion is a 'dope' of the people (the original Communist view). He contented himself with 'rejecting the slander that Communists are anti-religious'!"

Which proves how adaptable and how servile the "Communists" really are. Without principle or vision, they must perish. No wonder they hate conscientious objectors!

Lest Parliamentarians Forget

Speaking at the I.L.P. Conference, on Easter Monday, 1919, Philip Snowden—who became a member of the First and Second Labour Governments, and followed Ramsay MacDonald into the National Government, said :—

"In industrial matters the Parliamentary Labour Party was doing well, but it was disappointing in regard to such fundamental questions as civil liberty and economic and international policy. It had remained silent while conscientious objectors had been tortured in prison, while the Government had used its powers unconstitutionally to subsidise private commercial enterprise by a veiled form of Protection, while the military forces had been used to suppress the just aspirations of the subject-peoples of Egypt and India, while statesmen had been conspiring in Paris to deprive the people of the promised just and lasting peace, while the infamous blockade had been starving millions to death, and while the British armies had been employed to suppress the new European republics."

We anticipated this general treachery when we left the parliamentarians and the S.D.F. in 1906. Snowden earned a title developing the treachery. We recall the passage to-day because of the Labour Party attitude towards the conscientious objectors and war. The folly of Labour parliamentarism must be apparent to all but those who, either from fear or from interest, are blind.

A SCOURGE OF SMALL CORDS

"The Scourge of Christ" was translated from the French of Paul Richard, and published in English, about seven or eight years ago. The book was recommended by Rabindranath Tagore. The Indian poet and philosopher found this book "full of suggestions and surprises." The idea of the book is taken from the passage : *"and he made a scourge of small cords."*

Paul Richard's book is actually a commentary on the life and teachings of Jesus.

Describing the 70 missionaries that are reputed to have been sent out on the first Gospel Mission, Richard says :—

"To-day should the Seventy start on their mission, they would first take out an insurance policy."

Probably, it would have been the Wesleyan and General Assurance Company!

Richard attacks hypocrisy bitterly in the following passages :—

"Twelve apostles.....and that even was too high an expectation!

"'Peter followed afar off'—and the Church follows Peter.

"When the cock crew, Peter wept; his successors choke the cock.

"For greater security, Christians have put off the second coming of Christ—until the end of the world.

"The good Christian yearns for Heaven . . . without impatience!"

Paul Richard treats us to some definitions that improve with lapse of time :—

Life—the time allotted to men for dealing death to one another.

Civilisation—the privilege of a few peoples estimated by the number of their firearms.

Barbarism—not to have your firearms up-to-date.

Moralist—one who has a high sense of other people's duties.

Dogma—the living faith of the dead become the dead faith of the living.

Christian—a person who believes that Christ was like him.

Patriot—a man who feels pride when his mother-country slaughters or steals.

Colour Prejudice—a species of skin disease especially malignant amongst white people.

With Christian nations preparing for and against bomb attacks, with the skies declaring the glory of hell, it is well to know how to handle Richard's scourge of small cords. Hypocrisy is not merely individual but national. In time of war, national established hypocrisy is privileged in every country, to the suffering of humanity and the devastation of the world.

Richard's comments prove what a living book the New Testament is.

He quotes : *"Woe unto the rich."* He adds : *"Not Lenin, but Christ said this."*

Richard quotes again :—

"Go to now, ye rich, weep and howl for your miseries that are coming upon you, for your riches are corrupted.....Ye have lived deliciously on the earth and taken your pleasure.....The hire of your labourers.....which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth out, and the cry of them that reaped hath entered into the ears of the Lord of Hosts."

He comments on this passage : *"Not Trotsky, but James the brother of Jesus, wrote this."*

In a powerful passage, replete with wisdom and understanding, Richard says :—

"When the rich assemble to concern themselves with the business of the poor it is called charity. When the poor assemble to concern themselves with the business of the rich it is called anarchy."

Richard attacks sectarianism with a cord that binds rather than lashes :—

"What matter cults or sects: the Spirit pours its wine in all the cups that men hold out."

There is hope and comfort in this thought for those who frequent doctor and saint, and hear much argument, and depart by the same door as in they went! Comfort, also, for those who see war succeeding war, clouded skies, the black-out of humanity, and no promise of dawn. Rebukes Richard :—

"Impatient man! Does the tree complain because it bears fruit only in the autumn?"

(Concluded page 67, col. 2)

OUR LETTER-BOX

Dear Comrade,—I have received the Xmas issue of THE WORD. May I, as a present-day C.O., congratulate you on your courage in standing so solidly for true democracy and Socialism against the black reaction of militarism and capitalism. Your excellent magazine is awaited by me eagerly each month.

I am a member of the I.L.P. and P.P.U., which seem to have been consistently anti-militarist. But I must confess that I am much attracted to Anarchism, as this seems to be the only consistent doctrine of real freedom.

With Best Wishes,

ALBERT McCARTHY.

Shirley, Southampton, December 22, 1939.

Dear Sir,—I would like to thank you very much for sending me THE WORD. It is inspiring, and was a fillip in a dull moment.

I have been before the Fulham Tribunal and objected on Religious Grounds, but was given R.A.M.C., against which I have appealed. I now await the summons to appear before the Appellate Tribunal.

It was a grand experience and I felt that I was walking in the footsteps of Our Leader, Jesus; and those of Paul and all the others who have stood for Truth and Freedom in the past.

Thank you for THE WORD. I would like my friends to have it, and send you the names of some who would like to hear the news as you give it.

I wish you well in your future efforts. May success come to us soon, although it is a slow and sure way we head. We must not expect too much.

Yours sincerely,

WILFRID I. DALLY.

Ilford, Essex, 30/1/40.

Dear Friend,—I have already expressed an appreciation of your paper.

Douglas Jackson, a member of this pacifist community initiated by Max Plowman, was given unconditional exemption at Cambridge on Tuesday, January 23.

The important point is that he appeared to receive exemption on purely pacifist and fully pacifist grounds. I mean not as a Christian, or a politician, or a rationalist, but because he renounced war and sought to live a pacific life and to build up a peace-making society. The tribunal was fair and courteous. Another applicant from here was granted unconditional exemption before Christmas. Incidentally the local paper reported that both were "conditionally registered as C.O.s"—a meaningless phrase.

Another interesting case was that of a man who was plainly incapable of writing out a statement of his conscientious objection. He had no verbal language or means of communication. He was advised to say so frankly, and added that he would probably be unable to answer many of the tribunal's questions; that nevertheless he could not participate in war. The tribunal granted him unconditional exemption. As the Chairmen said to Mr. Barrett, it placed them in an awkward predicament; they had in truth little or nothing to work on, to question him on. The decision seems one of exemplary fairness.

Yours sincerely,

LEONARD READ.

Colchester, January 28.

Dear Comrade Guy,—If the workers capitulated before the war machinery was started, how are they ever to control economic conditions, or stop the war now?

No: it will be left to the individual: to those individuals who have learnt that as Ibsen says: **"The strongest man in the world is the man who stands alone."** Not alone, after mass enthusiasm for wrong ideals has evaporated. The Labour Party's acceptance of the last weapon of Imperialism, will say that enthusiasm for the Labour Party, along with the Fascists, will be discredited.

I am reading the literature you sent with painful pleasure. Yes, indeed, I have been through the Pope's indecently wealthy palace: alabaster baths, original statues from Greece. It takes one hour to view it all, even in a superficial way. As one of them said: **"All this we get out of the fable of Jesus Christ."**

But for the creeds, and supernatural trimmings, with which he is dressed up, Christ would be misrepresented to-day, as Wat Tyler and other Christs have been. To our way of thinking, he is not only misrepresented but ignored.

There will be a press gang always, so long as capitalism exists.

A parliament that can have rich and poor under the same constitution in a land overflowing with milk and honey, is Parliament—the People's enemy.

Yours fraternally,

CLARA COLE.

Kirby, Essex. Feb. 4, 1940.

Dear Comrade Guy.—Many thanks for copies of THE WORD. Your essay, "Word To The World," was indeed fine: comparable to your old prison-written essay in THE COMMUNE, entitled: "Why Jesus Wept." Your essay has strengthened us here, in our determination to retain our manhood and uphold THE WORD till the last.

Fraternal greetings in the Cause,

SIDNEY KAYE.

London, N.W.10. February 6.

Dear Guy,—I note your remarks about political objections. I can confirm your conclusions after attending a comrade's hearing at the West London Tribunal. My view is that the Bench deliberately attempts to confuse, belittle and intimidate the C.O.s. Alderman Marshall, especially, makes no attempt to conceal his animosity to the applicants. Young lads—who, obviously are sincere in their conscientious objections—are made to feel like criminals. It does no credit to those "learned and able debaters" on the Tribunal. They aim to trick the lads by most irrelevant arguments.

One applicant, Mr. J. Bull, remarked that his nature was one of kindness. Alderman Marshall remarked "kindness is not a moral objection." He called the lad a humbug. **Deep-rooted kindness may define and express moral objection.**

Every attempt is made to ridicule sincere, Christian principles. Honesty of belief in moral principles is ridiculed by the learned Court as an evil infatuation to be abandoned in time of war.

The practical silence of A. B. Swales—except for constant reiteration: "Will you accept work of national importance?"—shows what careerism involves.

In the case of A. L. Cohen, who took the Socialist stand, the Tribunal was not eager to participate in discussion. Cohen is appealing. No doubt you will mention this case in THE WORD.

Cohen stated his objections in written form. He maintained that, as a Socialist, he was opposed to war. He stood for the Brotherhood of Man and would not kill his fellow-worker in the interests of capitalism.

Alderman Marshall sneered. Swales asked him to take civil work under civil authority. Cohen replied that he would not assist the war, directly or indirectly. Mr. Coker, from the Shop Assistants' Union Legal Department, spoke of Cohen's sincere work in Trade Union affairs. I spoke from long knowledge of Cohen's sincerity. Swales was impressed and said to Judge Hargreaves: "There is no doubt of the sincere conviction of Mr. Cohen." But the Bench refused exemption.

I have found your "Letters to the Editor" deeply interesting. Let me pay tribute, once again, to your untiring devotion to the class struggle and to the cause of Freedom. I only wish that your pen and voice—too long and too frequently silenced—may continue long to batter at the fortress of capitalism. You have held high the torch of Freedom—keep it burning.

Yours for Socialism,

ALEC KAYE.

Mile End, February 6, 1940.

Dear Comrade.—In response to appeal published in last month's issue, I enclose £1, being a small contribution in appreciation. May I congratulate you on such an excellent paper. It has been a pleasure to read THE WORD.

COMRADE MARSHALL.

Kirkintilloch, February 6, 1940.

Dear Guy Aldred,—I am very glad to know that you are still going strong and to have the journals you are publishing.

Yours sincerely,

A. CREECH JONES.

Transport House, London, S.W.1.
12th February, 1940.

Dear Comrade Aldred,—I went to Romford yesterday to see my old friend, G. F. Dutch. He says THE WORD is good and remembers you at Wandsworth. Dutch is making enquiry into the case of George Plume and I hope to report that something useful has been done for this comrade in the near future.

Wishing you all the best,

C. JONES.

Willesden, N.W.10.

(Another letter, page 59).

Concluded from Col. 3, page 66.)

Finally, he would have us witness against war. We must not serve Caesar or wear his honours: *"Let thy crosses make of thee—a Christ."*

Witness during the night even though the dawn reveals your corpse hanging on the gallows-tree! Witness during the night, that the morning might reveal your witnesses, and consecrate your purpose. Witness—that war and want might end and brotherhood be realised. Witness—that Freedom may come with the Sun.

The NO CONSCRIPTION LEAGUE

Glasgow and West of Scotland Council

Headquarters—

S.S.P. Rooms, 70 Robertson Street, Glasgow, C.2.

Chairman—GUY A. ALDRED.
Hon Secretary—BERT VALLANCE.
Hon. Treasurer—W. McCLURE,
1720 Great Western Rd., Glasgow, W.3

This is a League of Individual Members and Affiliated Organisations opposed to War and to Military and Industrial Conscription.

The League appeals to all conscientious objectors to join its ranks for mutual aid and support, and the furtherance of the end of violence.

Finance is urgently required. Send donations to the Treasurer.

GLASGOW AND WEST OF SCOTLAND COUNCIL C.O. FUND—Already acknowledged, £36 3s. 10d. Further contributions will be acknowledged in our next issue. Communications regarding the fund should be addressed to the Fund Secretary, **DAN McARTHUR, 8 Househillwood Crescent, Househillwood, Glasgow.**

AGGREGATE MEETING. Christian Institute, Bothwell St., Glasgow, 7 p.m., Wednesday, March and 20. This meeting is held every fortnight. All N.C.L. members should attend.

ADVISORY BUREAU: 104 George St., C.1.—Every Afternoon, 3—5 p.m.

GLASGOW N.C.L. CENTRAL GROUP—Every second Wednesday (alternate to Aggregate Members' Meeting) and every Thursday. Bakunin Hall, 29 Castle Street, C.4, 7.15 p.m. Secretary, John Fallor, Glencorse Street, Carntyne.

YOKER AND KNIGHTSWOOD N.C.L.—Every Sunday, 3 p.m. Band Hall, Knightswood Road. All comrades in this area are invited. Secretary, Thomas F. McLuckie, 38 Cowdenhill Road, Knightswood.

GOVANHILL N.C.L.—Every Monday and Friday, I.L.P. Rooms, Batson Street. Secretary, Henderson Petrie, c/o Ovens, 239 Victoria Road, Glasgow.

BRIDGETON N.C.L.—Every Friday, I.L.P. Rooms, 548 London Road. Secretary, Frank Gaffney, 333 Nuneaton Street, Glasgow, S.E.

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S.C.W.S. EMPLOYEES' BRANCH—Every Thursday, S.C.W.S. Welfare Rooms, Morrison Street, Glasgow, C.5., 7.30 p.m. Secretary, Malcolm Walter, 16 Ruel Street, Glasgow, S.4. All employees invited. Subscription, 1/- per annum.

PARTICK N.C.L.—Every Monday, 7 p.m., Young Painters' Hall, Chancellor St., Partick, Glasgow, W.1. Secretary, Campbell Wilkie, 12 Baldrick Road, W.3.

GORBALS AND HUTCHESONTOWN N.C.L.—Every Friday, I.L.P. Rooms, 207 Rutherglen Road, at 7.30 p.m. Secretary, J. Vincent, 768 Rutherglen Road, C.5.

SPRINGBURN N.C.L.—Every Friday, Reid Hall (lower), Queenshill Street, 7.30 p.m. prompt. Secretary, Wilfred Holmes, 22 Hillkirk Street, N.

MARYHILL N.C.L.—Every Thursday, Labour Hut, Kelvinside Avenue, 7.30 p.m. Secretary, Vincent Kelly, 51 Kirkland Street, N.W.

POLLOKSHAWS.—Meets alternate Thursdays, 7.30 p.m., Labour Hall Shawholm Street, Pollokshaws. Secretary, Murdo McLean, 714 Bodystone Road, Thornliebank.

SHETTLESTON.—Meets every Sunday, 3 p.m., I.L.P. Hall, Darleith Street (off Old Shettleston Road). Secretary, Miss Betty Williamson, 232 Amulree Street, E.2.

BARRHEAD.—Meets every Thursday, 7.30 p.m., I.L.P. Rooms, Coogan Street, Barrhead. Secretary, Robert McCubbin, 52 Bellfield Crescent, Barrhead.

PAISLEY.—Meets every Sunday, 7 p.m., Abstainers' Hall, 10 Forbes Place (near Square), Paisley. Secretary, Miss M. Barr, c/o (Treas.) Steen, 20 Underwood Lane, Paisley.

OUTWITH GLASGOW.

SOUTHEND W.R.L. (or N.C.L.)—Every Thursday, I.L.P. Hall, 6 Broadway Market, 7.30 p.m.

HAMMERSMITH N.C.L.—Secy: Annesley Aldred, 85 Addison Gardens, London, W.14.

Hammersmith Group meets every Monday at Secretary's address until headquarters are obtained. THE WORD can be obtained in London from this address.

A. Aldred is addressing N.C.L. meetings throughout London. Phone: Shepherd's Bush 5402.

HAMPSTEAD N.C.L.—Hon. Secretary, Mrs. M. Westrope, 3 Warwick Mansions, Pond St., Hampstead, London, N.W.3.

All other N.C.L. Groups or Branches are invited to send announcements.

SOUTHAMPTON N.C.L.—Albert McCarthy, Secy., 14 Colebrook Avenue, Shirley, Southampton.

ABERDEEN N.C.L.—Every Friday, 7.30 p.m., I.L.P. Hall, 126 George Street.

ABERDEEN I.L.P.—Branch Rooms, 126 George St. Branch meets every Monday, 8 p.m. All unattached Socialists should join. Comrades in outlying districts should contact and send subscriptions. Sunday meetings, 8 p.m., Belmont Cinema. Questions and discussion at all meetings. Anti-war films shown.

PRISON: WHAT IT MEANS AND REQUIRES

An Essay for Conscientious Objectors

II. Thomas Dowd.

In life, Dowd seemingly was a very ordinary person, a man of criminal impulse, unworthy thought. He was a thief, with no claim to goodness. He worked alone, and shrunk from the society of his fellows. He possessed no gift of speech of writing He enunciated no philosophy. His language was the argotof the underworld. Whatever wisdom inspired his struggle, it remained his secret. No public opinion upheld his attitude and he sought no admiration from any man. Not even a cause enthused him. Yet he stood alone against almost unbearable torture within the solitude of the prison and won two wonderful victories towards a very poor and very ordinary freedom. He proved one thing—that he was indomitable This courage deserves to be remembered for all time. Every conscientious objector, who, being inspired by a cause, yet faces his captor sometimes with doubt and often with fear and trembling, must learn, as must every champion of liberty, how to be indomitable. Thomas Dowd taught that lesson. He led a useless life that preached the greater a.. most useful of all sermons for all time. Through courage, his life, of shabby detail and sordid error, has been transformed into a wonderful saga of untiring patience and heroism, so unostentatious as to seem commonplace in its grandeur. In death, poor, unknown, criminal Thomas Dowd mounts the pulpit of good faith, and bids all those who have the cause of humanity at heart, to battle without fear. To declaim this message faithfully may have been his destiny.

Thomas Dowd died one dull autumn day, in 1911, in the town of Lanford, North Carolina. He was shot to death whilst resisting arrest. There is nothing glorious in such a death. Nor is there in the details that police records of the United States supply for his biography. He is described as an expert cracksman, master of trick escapes from jail. Altogether an undesirable character. It has been said that there are sermons in stones. No one has avowed that there may be inspiration unto patience, courage, and virtue in a criminal. The real story of Thomas Dowd is replete with "inspiration." The burglar and thief came from the environment and mis-education of the man. This aspect of the man was the product of the social system into which he was born. His courage and patience belonged to him as an individual: was, in fact, the man himself.

The story begins some years before August, 1911. Thomas Dowd and his brother, Vince, were engaged in a housebreaking expedition at Asa Bradley's store, in Birmingham, Alabama. The two brothers stole furtively up to the back window of the store, started to pry it open with a jemmy. They found that the window had been unlocked. They climbed in gently, discovered an old-fashioned cash drawer, emptied its contents, and found themselves the possessors of 27 dollars in bills, and $3.65 in coin. After making certain that there was neither safe nor strongbox, the brothers gathered up the implements of their craft, and turned back to the shaded rear windows by which they had entered.

Unfortunately, the brothers' movements had been noticed by Officer Joe Chapman, who turned back to Officer Smiley, on the next beat, for reinforcement. The Dowd brothers made their exit almost openly. They had secured so little that they felt that no crime had been committed. Chapman and Smiley ran to intercept them. Vince was ahead of his brother, caught the flash of the policeman's shield, ducked aside, crying out: "Look out, Tom."

Vince and Tom found shelter of a sort. Chapman and Smiley closed in with great caution. Each had drawn his revolver.

"Step out, you two," Smiley ordered, "and come out with your mitts in the air!"

Vince answered impulsively with a shot. Both policemen fired. Vince fired again. Then Tom took a hand in the fight. Vince's third shot struck Chapman full in the face and killed him instantly. The Dowds made a dash for liberty as Smiley bent over Chapman. Seeing that his comrade was dead, Smiley gave immediate chase to the pair of armed and now desperate criminals. He fired as he ran, with greater accuracy, considering the uncertain street lighting. One bullet grazed Tom Dowd's head. Another struck Vince's elbow. A third bullet struck Tom in the thigh. He staggered, pitched forward, and fell with one leg doubled beneath him. A few feet distant was an open cellar entrance. Vince turned back to help his brother. "Go on, kid—beat it," Tom ordered. With amazing quickness and fortitude, he dragged his injured leg to the cellar entrance, and literally dived down it. "Keep going, kid—you can outrun any of 'em," Tom's voice urged. "I'm set!"

So far as Vince could see, his brother had secured a miraculous hide-out. He was accustomed to his brother's fast thinking. He ran—and ran so as to draw the chase right away from Tom's impromptu cover. He leapt clear of the show, and crossed the street deliberately beneath an arc light, and so exposed himself to Smiley's accurate fire. The policeman's gun got him in the cheek. He ran on recklessly and might have escaped but for his very fleetness of foot. He ran into another blue-coat and gleaming shield. The officer fired and missed. Vince fired and missed. It was his last shot. Smiley charged round the corner and fired—and did not miss. He did not die but lingered in the hospital, recovered, was put on trial, and hanged.

Tom Dowd lost hold of his gun when he fell. But he had the jemmy and other tools in his pockets. His clothes were sticky with blood. Crouching there, unarmed and spent, he heard the relentless, pounding steps that passed by in pursuit of his brother. Shots were heard from a distance. There was much excited discussion between people who passed near his haven. Odds and ends of phrases finally pieced themselves together in his mind. If caught, he and his brother would hang for a crime that netted them only $30.65.

Hoping that his brother would escape, Tom Dowd made a heroic effort to ensure his own safety. His wounded leg was numb. His body was scratched and bruised. He had a small electric lamp. From time to time, when the footfalls sounded some distance away, he held his coat as a kind of canopy and flashed the torch to examine his wound. At last, he opened the cellar door with his jemmy, and dragged himself inside. It was mouldy-smelling but he was out of imminent danger. He shut the door, located a semi-disused water-tap, found the water undrinkable, but used it to dampen his bandages. He knotted a handkerchief to mask the lower part of his face and hugged the shadows. An old negro caretaker appeared. Dowd told him to be silent; exchanged clothes; bound the old man up gently enough; discovered a cork and burnt it, blended it with dust, and made himself appear like a negro. As the dawn broke, he made his way to the negro quarter of Birmingham, sick, feeble, yet plucky and persevering. The cellar from which he had escaped was in litigation. The caretaker he had captured was its sole resident. Tom Dowd discovered this sometime later, after he had gained a place in which to hide and nurse his wounded leg. He was sheltered and cared for tenderly and loyally by an underworld friend. Tom Dowd's thigh-wound had turned to blood-poisoning. But the attention of his undercover samaritan saved both his life and his leg. Otherwise his leg would have had to be amputated and he would have become a cripple.

He learned sadly of the fate of his younger brother, Vince, who lay, dangerously wounded in five places and closely guarded, in a prison ward. Everything was being done to nurse Vince back to health in order that the State might hang him. The authorities had traced the bullet in Chapman's skull to Vince's weapons and announced that he alone was the killer. Although weak, Tom Dowd left his hiding place, pulled off two burglaries, and gave the proceeds to the lawyer for his brother's defence. Although he never saw his brother again, he contrived to cheer him and to communicate with him, and did all he could for him, up to the very moment of execution. After his brother's death, Tom Dowd resolved, for the future, to work alone.

Tom Dowd wandered through the country, attacking safes in villages and small towns. At last, in Bloomington, Illinois, he broke into a general store, exploded the safe, but jarred the telephone wire. This acted as a burglar alarm and the store was surrounded by armed men. Vince had been dead two years and Tom was unarmed. He surrendered and was tried and sentenced to the Illinois State penitentiary at Joliet for a term of fifteen years. He settled down mildly to prison life, and although the police had declared that he was a lone and resolute marauder, no one dreamed that he would attempt an escape. Joliet was said to be impregnable. In his heart, he believed that there was no such thing as an unbreakable jail. He had heard of others who had failed, even when aided with big sums from outside. Dowd had no money and no confederate. He belonged to no organisation. He was utterly alone. And he was unconquered within. He determined to escape. To do this he had to discover the flaw, mental or physical, in the prison or its system. This job of unearthing the "soft spot" was subtle and extensive. It demanded resourcefulness and patience. After two years he discovered what he wanted. One way and another, he had inspected every inch of the prison except the hospital. Then he managed to get into the hospital, and studied it thoroughly. One department remained closed to him—the insane ward. He resolved to penetrate this chamber of horrors.

After several more weeks of waiting and trying, Dowd got himself attached to the gang that cleaned the prison. One day he strolled into the ward of those whom crime and punishment had driven insane. His work was almost complete, when the keeper or warder in charge left the ward for a few moments. Dowd dashed to the windows and found one of the gratings loose. He left his bucket behind "accidentally" and reported it: was reprimanded, and sent in the next day to recover it. He owned a file, stolen during his "visits" to the machine shop. He slipped this behind a water-pipe before he left the maniacs' ward. And now, remembering how he had played the Negro in Birmingham, he resolved to play the maniac in Joliet. His aim was to be transferred to the maniacs' ward, and then to the room, in which he had concealed his weapon of liberty! What a man!

Tom was clever. He again waited a few weeks before going crazy. It would never do to assume madness immediately. At last the time came to execute his stratagem. One morning, a keeper found Dowd lounging in his cell, flushed with fever apparently, rambling extravagantly.

"Tell the warden," he airily instructed the amazed keeper, "I'll have my breakfast served in the cell after this. Get me some good cigars. I'm going to change a lot of things around here. No work before noon, and not much then—"

(To be concluded).

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THE WORD

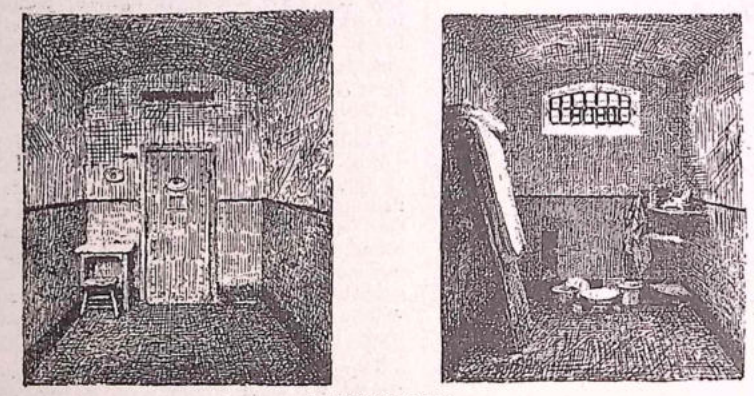
To Rouse The People, To Combat War, and To Speed Commonweal.

An Organ of the United Socialist Movement, Edited and Published by Guy A. Aldred, for the Bakunin Press and the U.S.M., at **Bakunin Hall, 29 Castle Street, Glasgow. C.4.** All unsigned matter is from the pen of the Editor. Annual Subscription, 2/6, post free.

Vol. 1. No. 9. APRIL, 1940. Price: TWOPENCE.

C.O. PRISON REVOLT

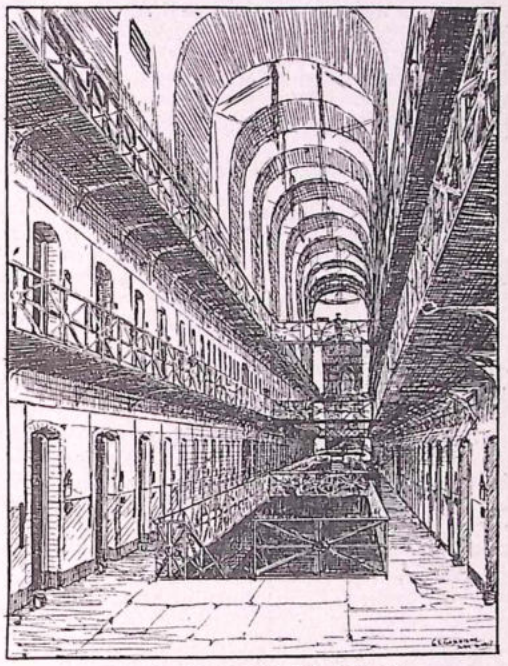
Official Wandsworth Story of when the C.O.'s went on Work, Discipline and Hunger Strike



A PRISON CELL.

Sketched by E. M. Wilson, a conscientious objector.

(1) Looking from the door, showing spy-hole in door, and gasbox above table. The glass was broken and this was used to speak through. (2) Window looking up to exercise yard in basement cells. The bed-boards were used as sounding boards. The speaker held them over him when he spoke, slanting from floor towards gasbox. Many lectures were delivered in this way.



C-HALL, WANDSWORTH PRISON.

Drawn in June, 1917, by G. E. Gaxoigne, a conscientious objector.

This was the hall in which the C.O. strike took place in 1918 and 1919. The picture shows the stairs leading to the basement in which the editor and about 30 other C.O's. suffered solitary confinement for several months.

"During my three years I was in seven prisons (if one includes the Tower of London and Chester Castle, which were places of military detention). Until I got to Liverpool I was never in a place long enough to learn the ropes sufficiently to organise a revolt; there a prisoners' committee practically ran the prison hall for ten days, though the revolt collapsed when the five ringleaders were deported and segregated in isolation in other prisons.

"At Wandsworth the revolt, led, I believe, by Guy Aldred, lasted longer. But under normal conditions such common action would be well-nigh impossible in local prisons with their changing and unrelated populations. We were organised political prisoners, and most of us were doing sentences of two years."

—Fenner Brockway in "The New Leader," September 18, 1936.

Mr. Albion Richardson, C.B.E., M.P., was appointed by the Home Secretary, on March 11th, 1919, to hold an inquiry into the allegations made against Major Blake, the Acting Governor of Wandsworth Prison.

Major Blake subsequently became Governor of Pentonville Prison. In 1926, he published a series of articles on prison life. In one of these, he described the last scenes in the Thompson-Bywaters case. As a result he was summoned, at the instance of the Director of Public Prosecutions, who alleged that his series of articles contravened the Official Secrets Act. Major Blake was committed for trial at the Old Bailey, where he was found guilty. But he escaped imprisonment. Sir Travers Humphreys, prosecuting, outlined the case in the Mansion House Police Court, on Thursday, November 15, 1926.

The case was taken at the instance of the Home Office, and with the approval of the Attorney-General. Sir Travers Humphreys prosecuted.

Prosecution was brought, Sir Travers Humphreys declared, for the purpose of establishing once and for all that persons in confidential positions under the Crown who received information in their official capacity and subsequently published it were liable to be prosecuted for criminal offence.

In the month of January, 1923, Counsel continued, Major Blake had under his charge a man named Frederick Bywaters, who had been convicted at the Central Criminal Court of murder—the murder of a man named Thompson—and who was executed in that prison. At the same time with Bywaters there was convicted a woman, Mrs. Thompson, the wife of the murdered man, and she was, of course, confined in a different prison, where she was executed.

On October 27, 1926, there appeared in the *Evening News* an article under the heading—"What Bywaters Said to Me, by Major Wallace Blake, ex-Governor of Pentonville."

Major Blake explained in the article how on the day before the execution of Bywaters he had him in his room and had a long talk with him, in the course of which Bywaters told him the story of his life. Major Blake proceeded to recapitulate this story for the benefit of the public.

Major Blake went on to say that at the end of the interview on the day before the execution, Bywaters asked him as a favour to come to him the next morning at 8.30—the execution was fixed for nine—and have a last talk with him.

Major Blake kept his promise to see Bywaters. The ex-prison Governor described the interview in these words:—

"The young man shook me warmly by the hand and said, 'It is her I want to speak to you about, sir. I will swear she was not guilty.' I said, 'My boy, that is no good now. She was tried and found guilty; she appealed and there is nothing left. In any case it would not be a very happy life for her after all that has happened.'

"He said, 'I cannot bear to think of them mauling her about.' I replied, 'They will be very gentle. Don't think of it. There is only a minute or two left. I should like to hear you say that you are sorry for what you did.'

"'I am, sir, d——d sorry,' 'said Bywaters, and then the door opened and they came in."

"They" meant the executioners, for the purpose of pinioning the young man, explained Sir Travers.

Counsel resumed the quotation:—

"We shook hands and he said, 'Yes, sir, I really am sorry. Good-bye.' And they marched him to the shed to send him on his last voyage."

Counsel explained Major Blake's offence from the Home Office angle. *Not the least, perhaps the most, undesirable part of the Major's story, was that it purposed to say that the last thing Bywaters said was, that a woman was innocent of murder, who, in fact, was executed on the same day as he was.*

Counsel added:—

"It is most undesirable to publish abroad such a statement inasmuch as there are persons who believe wrongly that what a man says just before his death must be true."

Sir Travers Humphreys described Major Blake's account as "a little doubtful" and adduced the evidence of two warders who were in charge of Bywaters, to prove what took place in the condemned cell during the last few minutes of the life of Frederick Bywaters. *He*

made a complete confession, and used the words: "I am sorry I murdered Thompson." But *he made no reference to Mrs. Thompson.*

Travers Humphreys assumed that, perhaps, at some time, Bywaters did make a statement about Mrs. Thompson to Major Blake. It was not made during the last few minutes of life.

"If he did make such a statement," Sir Travers said, "in the submission of the prosecution, Major Blake was not entitled to publish the information."

The punishment inflicted on Major Blake was nominal, although it recorded conviction against him.

We record the fact here, because, if the Home Office is entitled to accuse Major Blake of false statement in one instance, and under such circumstances, his official word is open to grave doubt under all circumstances. The Major's subsequent conduct is a substantial evidence of character.

Mr. Richardson opened the Inquiry at Wandsworth Prison on March 15th and continued it on March 19th and 22nd, when it was concluded. This report, dated April 2nd, was issued on May 7th, 1919, as a white paper at 2d. nett (Cmd. 131).

I.—THE C.O. MUTINY.

Describing the conditions prevailing in the prison prior to Major Blake's appointment as Acting Governor on February 20th last, the report says:—

"For some months previous to Major Blake's arrival at the prison it had been in a condition of progressive disorder, and by February of this year the position had become one of great gravity, and there was reason to fear that a serious mutiny in the prison was imminent.

"The prison is divided into two parts; one wing of it is used as a detention barracks which is under the control of a military Governor. In it prisoners who are under sentence of detention as distinguished from imprisonment, are confined. The rest of the prison is used as a civil prison which is in charge of a civil Governor. It is of the civil side of the prison that Major Blake was appointed Acting Governor.

"About the middle of last year a certain number of 'Conscientious Objectors' confined in the prison decided to protest against their continued imprisonment, and they proceeded to set the prison rules and the prison officials at open defiance. From this time until Major Blake arrived at the prison, these men constantly held meetings in the prison at which they addressed their fellow prisoners, and at these meetings extreme socialistic views were promulgated. 'The Red Flag' and other revolutionary songs were constantly sung by them during the day and the evening. Nearly every night they disturbed the whole prison by banging their cell doors with stools and bedboards, in such a manner as to deprive their fellow prisoners of their sleep and of the necessary quiet to enable them to read in their cells during the time reading was permitted. Many protests were made by the other prisoners against the misery and hardship which the conduct of these 'Conscientious Objectors' was causing them, and complaints were also received from local residents in the neighbourhood of the continual noise and disturbance created by them.

"The military prisoners confined in the part of the prison used as a detention barracks are drilled during the day in a square in the prison which is adjacent to the 'C' wing where the 'Conscientious Objectors' are confined. The cell windows of one side of the 'C' wing look out into this square. It was proved by the evidence of sergeants from the detention barracks that on several occasions from November of last year onwards, 'Conscientious Objectors' confined in these cells incited these military prisoners to mutiny and to attack the sergeants in charge of them. On December 23rd a mutiny of the military prisoners at the detention barracks which had been carefully planned, was narrowly averted . . .

"On the 17th February some of the military prisoners confined on the civil side of the prison mutinied and attacked their warders. There can be no doubt that the conduct of the disorderly section of the 'Conscientious Objectors' and their direct incitements to their fellow prisoners to set the prison authority at defiance, was one of the main causes of this outbreak.

"By this time all attempts to enforce discipline in the prison amongst the disorderly section of 'Conscientious Objectors' had apparently been abandoned.

"While the promoters of the disorder in the prison belonged almost exclusively to the prisoners classed as 'Conscientious Objectors,' it is right to point out here that a considerable number of 'Conscientious Objectors' from the first refused to take part in the disturbance, and have used their utmost efforts to prevent it.

"The truth is, that the prisoners in Wandsworth Prison classed as 'Conscientious Objectors' belong to schools of thought which are widely separated. They may be divided into three classes, the first consisting of those who have a sincere conscientious objection to any form of military service, the second of those who falsely pretend to hold certain religious views in order to escape from its perils, and the third composed of men who profess anarchical doctrines, who deny the validity of the law, and the right of the State to trench upon individual freedom. It was to this last class that the disorder in the prison was mainly due."

II.—MAJOR BLAKE'S CONDUCT.

After the attack on the prison warders on February 17th, the Prison Commission decided that, to restore order the Governor should be given leave of absence for one month, and Major Blake appointed as Acting Governor in his place. The report adds that Major Blake had a long experience of convict prisons, dating from the year 1902, and had successively filled the positions of Governor of Borstal, Worcester, Lewes, and Chelmsford Prisons.

This gallant gentleman arrived at Wandsworth Prison on February 20th, at about 2 o'clock. The complaints made as to his conduct on that date refer to incidents which took place within half an hour of his arrival and during the time that he was making his initial inspection of the prison in the company of Chief Warder Brown. Major Blake in his evidence gave the following version and explanation of these incidents:—

"I said to Mr. Brown (the Chief Warder) about 2 or half past 2, 'Let us go inside.' When we came inside the prison there was in that hall you have just seen, C.2 they call it, a gang of men, I did not know who they were, drawn up, and they were singing and making an awful noise absolutely unheard of in any prison I had been in. I said 'silence.' One man shouted out, 'Get your hair cut,' another made a disgusting and offensive noise with his mouth, some other men made some other remarks, and somebody shouted out from the back, 'Who is this bloody swine?' or 'Hark at the bloody swine!'"

Questioned by Mr. Richardson, Major Blake stated that the man who appeared to be the most impertinent was Ralph Frederick Harris, the author of the petition demanding that measures of restraint should be taken against the C.O.s on strike. Harris did not say anything abusive, but he was grinning and giggling.

"And I said, 'Take that man down below.' He was taken down below. These men were marched off, and I went round the yard and into that big workshop. I wanted to see the other men at work. There are 100 Conscientious Objectors and 450 other men here. I was not particularly interested in the Conscientious Objectors. In the workshop there were some decently behaved people sitting down and working quietly, and the officer in charge reported 'All correct, Sir.' Then from the other door marched in, singing 'The Red Flag,' a gang of these Conscientious Objectors. They were noisy, and I saw the other men were getting restive at once. Nearly all the prisoners are soldiers, you know. There was a restive look about them. I said, 'March these men out.' I rather think I said, 'March these noisy devils out of here. I won't have them disturbing the decently behaved or respectable prisoners.' I had a purpose in saying that. As they went out they started shouting and yelling, and so for the benefit of everyone concerned I shouted to these men, 'You damned mutinous swine, I have come down here to restore order, and if you do not behave yourselves I will give you hell.' . . . I did not know what to do with these fellows. The prison was in an appalling state; I simply cracked a whip at them; I lashed out at them with my tongue. I called them 'Damned mutinous swine,' most disgusting words to use, but I am not apologising for it. It was the only thing to do. The consequence was their tails went down at once; they have never misbehaved since."

III.—SOME PASSING COMMENT.

We will interrupt this report to point out that the pretence that Major Blake restored order to the prison by his bullying tactics or cowed the strikers is nonsense in view of the fact that the bulk of the strikers had been released at this time under the "Cat and Mouse Act." Major Blake was cowing, mostly, the men who had refused to strike and were opposed to striking. It is also false to deny, as this report does, that they had been subject to rigorous punishment for several months prior to their release. The Prison Commission discharged them first and then boasted of Major Blake's powers to cow them when they were not there. Intelligent, truthful Commissioners!

Continuing, the report states that Major Blake "denied that he called a prisoner named Fox 'a Bolshevist,' as Fox had stated, but admitted that he had applied the term to a prisoner named Guy Aldred. It is right to observe in this connection that the last named man had been previously convicted and sentenced to prison for publishing a seditious libel, and is in connection with a paper that propagates anarchical doctrines."

May we point out that this reference to Guy Aldred was quite gratuitous? Aldred was *not* a prisoner in Wandsworth at this time, and it is hardly in keeping with prison discipline for an Acting Governor to go round discussing the political opinions of an ex-prisoner with the men whom he is "disciplining."

IV.—PROVEN CHARGES.

Mr. Richardson's report finds Major Blake guilty of using "indiscreet language." The following "findings" are quoted from the report:—

(1) "As to the complaint made with reference to the treatment of Harris, the account that Harris gave was that Major Blake having said to him that 'he would not have any of his damned impertinence' (words which Major Blake admitted he might have used), he ejaculated 'By Jove!' and Major Blake then ordered that he should be taken down to the strong cells and placed on figure 8's, which I learned was the name for a form of handcuff which has not been used in any prison for many years, and of which there were none in Wandsworth Prison. It may be, however, that the expression is used colloquially amongst prison officials to describe the form of handcuff at present used. The version given by Joseph Goss, an ex-prisoner, who gave evidence in support of some of the charges against Major Blake, was that Major Blake said to Harris: 'Take that man down to the punishment cells and put him in irons, or in the 8's *if necessary*.' I think this is probably an accurate version of the words Major Blake used."

(2) "As to the allegation that on the 20th February the Governor without sufficient cause threatened all the 'Conscientious Objectors' present with bread and water, this charge was developed at the Inquiry by several witnesses, who stated that this threat was made on the way back from the association shed in the afternoon, and that it was coupled with the order to put the men in irons. I have no doubt that language of this kind was used by Major Blake on this occasion."

(3) "I think the proceedings at the hearing

of the charges made against the men on the morning of the 21st February were too hurriedly conducted, and that it would have been better if more time and care had been given to their investigation."

(4) "It is clear that in some cases in which Major Blake ordered forfeiture of privileges there is no time limit imposed. Under the Regulations the Governor has no power to order the forfeiture of privileges for more than one month, and the form in which he made the order in these cases was irregular."

(5) "The allegation with respect to the prisoner Ford that he was roughly handled by a warder named Miller refers to an incident that is alleged to have happened on the morning of the 21st February. . . . Miller admitted that Ford was screaming most of the way to his cell. Ford made a complaint next morning to Dr. James Smyth, the Visiting Surgeon of the Prison, in reply to his inquiry, whether he had any complaints. The doctor, as he admitted in his evidence, merely observed, 'you probably got what you deserved' and passed on. . . . Ford had not in fact taken part with the disorderly section of the prisoners in the disturbances. . . . The conclusion to which I have come upon the evidence is that Ford was treated with a considerable degree of unnecessary violence by Miller in removing him to his cell. I cannot accept Miller's story that any force he used was due to Ford's struggling and resisting."

(6) Major Blake admitted that he used strong and violent language on February 20th. I think he used language of the same kind to many of the men who were brought before him on February 21st, charged with disorderly conduct on the previous day."

(7) While the occasion called for stern treatment, in employing these epithets, Major Blake, in my judgment, showed a want of discretion."

V.—A COWARDLY PETITION.

The disgraceful petition of Ralph Frederick Harris is published as an appendix to this report. We cite the following passages from this petition, in order to indicate its tenor and purpose:—

(1) "Humbly sheweth causes for measures of restraint to be taken against existing disorder among prisoners known as conscientious objectors."

(2) "Chronic disgusting and outrageous noises created night after night, before and after 'lights out' by many men who are categoried as C.O. prisoners."

(3) "These pervivacious and wretched night brawlers."

(4) "When I am settled down in the natural quiet of the prison, I receive a very violent attack to my nerves from these sudden and formidable noises."

(5) ". . . it has a most violent and pernicious influence on my nerves as a helpless and unfortunate hearer."

(6) "The noises produced from the mouth [*i.e.* speaking and singing] . . . are sufficiently exasperating to make it quite impossible to study or even to read intelligently, and it makes also the task of labour increasingly difficult to perform by reason of painful headaches brought on by all the noise, and sleep is entirely out of the question for at least one or two hours after all the noise has ceased, owing to the excitable state of my nerves."

(7) ". . . this nightly performance of all the evil rows these men can create is nothing short of being tortuous, and it is against this mental torture that I implore the Home Secretary's order of protection."

(8) "On Wednesday of this week I was forced at last to make a protest to the Governor against the disgraceful behaviour and the unconscionable noise of these men, and to beg of him to take strong and immediate measures against this deplorable outbreak of hooliganism, so as either to prevent of lessen it in the future. The Governor was sympathetic and concurred with me in that it was desirable to bring this disorder to an end but deprecated his inability to do so. I now, therefore, petition the Home Secretary to urge him to consider the advisability of authorising the Wandsworth prison officials to take such steps as are useful and, I would submit, necessary to restrain these noisesome and turbulent prisoners."

(9) "I would earnestly solicit that my condition of imprisonment should not be allowed to be made intolerable by the actions of a few unreasonable men who persist in imposing their obnoxious noises on my quiet. The mental strain of prison environment and existence I find all sufficient to bear without having in addition to suffer further mental burdens, especially those resulting from the childish acts of irresponsible men."

(10) ". . . these so-called comrades have by virtue of their revolting and loathsome conduct forfeited every right to my consideration of them as comrades and fellow C.O.s."

(11) ". . . little more than obstreperous and unruly prisoners and I submit accordingly that they should be dealt with as such."

(12) "Strongly trusting that the Home Secretary will see his way to taking measures that will right this annoying state of rowdyism."

This is the man who had to complain of the Acting Governor's treatment, when that gentleman was sent to restore "order" so much desired by Harris. Did ever a man draw up a more contemptible attack on his "comrades"? But we have no doubt the movement will appreciate his conduct at its true worth.

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS.

Slaughter, Slaughter,
Scare reporter,
How does your profit grow?
With twelve-inch shells
And gas-filled hells,
And bombing planes all in a row

KILLED IN ACTION.

Early to bed,
Never to rise,
Makes other folk healthy
And wealthy and wise.

W. A. RATHKEY.

(*Concluded from 3rd column.*)

cuffs were taken off on board ship, I was locked in the cells until the ship was well out to sea, and I was also in the cells below ship across the Mediterranean. I was escorted by Sergt. Williams and Corpl. Findlay, of the 103rd Training Reserve, Portobello. I was told at Barlinnie that I was to be flattened out. I was told by a friendly N.C.O. on board to bolt as soon as I arrived at Alexandria. I was told at Gabarree that I was to be finished off. . . .

"I have been in chains and handcuffs, crucified to a tree in the broiling sun nearly every morning and evening, and for five months bread and water and solitary confinement. I refused to do any work whatever, so I leave you to guess what five months alone in a cell, doing nothing, is like. Seven times I went down with dysentery, and seven times I managed to get on my feet and face the music. I fainted, and had to be driven away in a barrow. This tropical sun and chaining up nearly drove me mad. I stuck it, and got finally bowled out, and was sent to 19th General Schools Hospital for 17 days. I was offered R.A.M.C. work. I refused it, and asked to be sent back to prison to do full six months. I left hospital next day, and was doing seven days No. 1 P.O., chained up in the sun, etc., when suddenly I had the chains taken off and I was released. They have discovered at last that they cannot break me. They failed at Barlinnie, and I intend them to fail here. I am determined to sacrifice all rather than give in. Many times I thought I should hang in the sun and die. I pleaded with the sentry to shoot me. I cannot tell you the misery of it. . . .

"I was flooded for weeks in my cell with water, two buckets of creosol were thrown in, and I was gassed. I was naked for several days and nights in chains. I had to lie on the concrete floor. However, I believe the doctor stopped these horrible proceedings."

TAMING THE C.O.

TWO STUDIES IN MILITARY TORTURE.

The following studies in the treatment of C.O.s during the Great War were published in the famous N.C.F. paper, *The Tribunal*, for September 14, 1917.

"A. P. Catherall . . . has been recently court-martialled for the fourth time at Prees Heath Camp, and from there has sent us an account of his experiences in France. It will be remembered that Catherall was injured while tree-felling in the H.O. Scheme, and was therefore returned to Dartmoor on convalescent work, when, at a minute's notice, he was arrested and returned to the Army at Bath without any charge being made against him. Here he was sentenced to 84 days' hard labour, which he served in Bristol Prison, and was then again returned to Bath. He was forced into uniform, dragged to Bath Station, and sent over with a draft to France on 6th December, 1917. On his arrival in Camp 8, Havre, he had thrust on his head an improperly-adjusted gas-mask and, with his hands behind his back, was compelled to pass through a gas chamber.

"Still he persisted in disobeying orders, and was sentenced to 84 days' Field Punishment No. 1, in No. 6 Compound. Refusing to work under military control, he was sentenced to serve 21 days in a small black painted iron-lined cell, with a concrete floor, on alternative diets of 8-ozs. and 14-ozs. of biscuits and water. He was 'leg-ironed and handcuffed night and day,' and in addition roped to posts during the two hours at night. His limbs were freed each day for only a few minutes while he washed. In reply to the customary 'any complaints?' he asked if his treatment were legal as he had not been violent. For this 'threatening conduct' his hands were handcuffed behind him for three days and nights.

"On about the twentieth day of this torment he was removed in irons to another prison, where in company with another prisoner—an ordinary soldier—he was sentenced 'to be shot at dawn.' He was told that night he could escape death even then if he would agree to obey orders. Still he refused. . . .

"He was detained in cells without further charge still handcuffed and leg-ironed, until seven weeks had elapsed when, his sentence being completed, he was escorted to Havre.

"Here he was sentenced to 112 days' hard labour, to be served in Havre Military Prison. Again under military control he refused to work or to obey orders, with the result that he found himself inside a small punishment cell similar to that of No. 6 Compound. This time he was fed with bread and water on alternate days until he was transferred to Winchester Civil Prison—about end of June, 1918."

J. B. Saunders was arrested in May, 1916. He was conveyed to Edinburgh, where he gave in, joined the R.S.F., and was promoted to Lance-Corporal. He remained convinced that war was wrong and felt that he had behaved like a coward. In October, 1916, he was sent home on furlough. He absented himself, was rearrested, taken to Portobello, and sentenced by Court Martial to one year's detention. He served three months at Barlinnie Military Detention Barracks and was returned to Portobello. He was sent to France and was court-martialled for refusing to carry equipment. He was sentenced to seven days' detention and sent to Alexandra, which he reached on April 14, 1917. He was court-martialled for his persistent refusal to render military service, sentenced to six months' hard labour, and sent to Gabarree Prison.

Saunders was released from Gabarree Prison and shipped secretly to France under a false name and regiment.

During this interlude of semi-freedom he wrote a number of letters to his wife, who lived at "Walpole," Halesworth, Suffolk, describing his treatment. His regimental number was No. 315090, 16th R. Sussex Regt., Mustapha Camp, Mesopotamia Details, Alexandria, Egypt.

The following extracts speak for themselves:

"I was kicked out of Gabarree prison on Saturday, 18th August, and since then I have been in this camp. I want you to understand once and for all that I am doing nothing. I will not submit to Conscription. Therefore, I am in the same position I was on that memorable Thursday when I left Walpole, and I am confidently awaiting for the military to reimprison me on another false charge.

"Please understand I will never give in. The authorities here now admit I am a C.O. and I am offered N.C. work. This I refuse absolutely for two reasons. I was sent out here in irons by the most despicable methods anyone can conceive. I was put into handcuffs and chained to another soldier. When the hand-

(*Concluded foot column 2.*)

PICKETING WANDSWORTH PRISON

By CLARA COLE.

[Clara Cole, who played a conspicuous part protesting against the ill-treatment in prison of the hunger-striking suffragettes, adopted a vigorous anti-militarist attitude on the outbreak of the Great War in August, 1914. When the conscientious objectors in Wandsworth Prison staged their work and discipline strike, and finally resorted to the hunger strike, she stood outside the prison with a banner, in support of their conduct, every day for fifteen weeks, beginning Monday, January 15, 1919. Her experiences were related in the columns of *The Workers' Dreadnought*.—Ed.]

Fred Sellar, Guy Aldred, and T. E. Ellison, after being in prison off and on, during and after the war for three years, finally hunger-struck.

Fred's sweetheart came to me one morning in great distress, saying they were to be forcibly fed.

This forcible feeding was to be done in order to impair their health, their spirits they could not touch.

Forcible feeding, in their debilitated state, might have meant death. I put down the broom with which I was sweeping the floor, went straight to the Governor at Wandsworth, and told him I should bring a rug and lie outside the prison until they were released.

After they were released, and hearing that many others were hunger-striking upon already empty stomachs and with debilitated frames, and fearing that if every man had to hunger-strike before being released there would not be many to come out alive, or if alive it would be with impaired constitutions, I decided to try a protest outside the prison walls, and bring home to those people who have not sufficient imagination to realise it, the meaning of conscientious objection and all it entails.

I therefore began a parade outside Wandsworth Prison on Monday, January 15, 1919, displaying a placard with the words: "We protest against the persecution and imprisonment of conscientious objectors to war," and distributing leaflets printed with the words of Lord Roberts and Captain Gwynn on the injustice of punishing conscience. This I continued each day without a break from about 11 a.m. to 4 p.m.

At first I took up my stand against the walls of the prison, but the head warder came out and courteously informed me that the courtyard in front was their especial property, and remarked that the roadway was just below.

I made a rule never to speak to anyone until they spoke to me, and though more than once I had as many as eighteen soldiers all seemingly hostile, I have never refused to answer a question or return argument for argument. On the other hand I have had the same number listen in respectful silence to my explanations of the C.O.'s position and sincerity.

This last happened early in the first week when an escort after pacing up and down from the door to the road and meeting me as I walked across the front of the prison, finally glancing questioningly at me, burst forth with: "Mother! Have you a son in there?" There was a little lump in my throat as I replied: "You are all my sons, I do it for you, too," and then for ten minutes amid absolute silence I held a peace meeting, for all the others clustered round. Feeling curious as to whether he agreed or not, I ventured to put a test question to the first speaker, a young man about 23: "Would he like to bear a baby for war?" With no hesitation, but great excitement, he exclaimed: "I'd drown it first!"

The sergeants who give "punishment drill" to the poor soldiers who have fought for their country, but who land in prison for overstaying leave or some other trifling offence, were less sympathetic than the escorts and the men who had been to the front.

I was told a hundred times that the C.O. ought to be shot. Then I remembered that if everyone were in agreement with me the C.O. would *not* be in prison and there would be no need for me to be there, so I continued my slow and limited walk.

One day the escort of Canadians sent to bring a soldier from prison included a black man. If this had happened in Germany!

A touching incident occurred on the first Friday of my picketing, when two lads of 16 or 17, who were waiting outside the prison for over an hour, continually shouted abuse and called me vile names. Four small children just out of school stood a few yards off, saying: "Don't you cheek her!" After an encounter with a hostile group, as a young Canadian airman was going away, he stretched out his hand and said: "I do admire your bravery." Having been on more than one occasion subjected to sarcastic compliments, I asked: "Do you really mean it?" The answer came quickly: "I do, indeed I do." Another Canadian, not in agreement with my anti-war views, told me a long story of a C.O. he had known in Canada whom he had "handled" in his military capacity, saying: "He was such a perfect gentleman, well educated, but nothing could make him obey orders, yet he was never disrespectful." The case had specially interested him, for he found that, though stationed miles away, the C.O. had come from his own town, and they had much in common. The influence of the C.O.'s position is found in many and unexpected places. During one of the arguments on war and atrocities, I told a group of my opponents that we were the first to throw bombs from the air. One young soldier who did not seem to possess a humanitarian side to his nature, said: "Yes, I know it and we were the last." "What an honour!" was all I could say. How effectively the capitalist press has done its evil work has been more than ever brought home to me in these late experiences. The soldiers, the men, women and even the children never express their hatred of the enemy or the C.O. except in the phrases of the newspapers. Their sneers and taunts are the headlines they cull from their only literature, if one can apply such a term to the foul stuff.

One Friday afternoon as two well-dressed men of the interesting military age of 40 to 45 were passing, a soldier called out to them: "Spit on her banner!" and one of these English gentlemen replied: "I should like to." On the other hand a man who passed in a trap each day, said: "Good morning." Once he stopped his horse to inquire: "Are you cold, Mother?"

Another time I had the pleasure of seeing H. Runham Brown, released on failing health. The fact was plain after one glance at his face. Needless to say, I did not detain him beyond a handshake. One C.O. who was entering for a repeated term raised his cap, and I shouted among plenty of khaki; "Stick it, Comrade, someone must object."

The young girls, soldiers' wives, with tiny babies, decked in the latest finery, showing the pride of motherhood, continually enter that small but strong door (it is as hard to get into a prison as to get out). They emerge shaking with sobs and stagger up the road, often saying: "Oh, it's cruel, cruel; after he's been out and done his bit, too."

A mother and daughter, apparently munition workers, carefully read my banner and told the soldier they visited about me. He sent word out by them, that he was going to be a C.O., and that they were to be sure to tell me and remember him to me. As we talked, up came two other women who began abusing me in very strong language. My new friends retaliated on my behalf, the elder woman saying she had four sons at the front, and one had the D.S.O. I had literally to make the peace.

Even the policemen were sympathetic, and each morning greeted me. They accepted my papers pleasantly. Their niceness should be noted.

One lad greeted me each day with: "She's got bats in her attic," and a young snob of 14, in cap which betokens one of the superior schools, passed me hesitatingly for four days, and then said: "I wouldn't stand there doing that for those cowards," quite unconscious of his own cowardice in taking four days to muster up his courage to insult a woman who held opinions different from his own. The principal taunt thrown at me was the question: "Where would you have been if we hadn't defended you?" My reply was: "No man fights in my name," or "That's what they say in Germany," in every country, in fact. "Don't talk of defending women and children *when there are NOW more widows and orphans in the world through war than ever there were before!*" Strange as it may sound, the soldiers do not seem to have much admiration for the women they have defended and who made no protest at the soldier being pushed in front of them.

The tastefully-attired women with well-groomed babies who turn away and sneer: "The idea!" never realise that if there are no conscientious objectors there is nothing in the future to save their babies from the horrors of war. The woman who passes daily and says: "They should have fought for us and then they wouldn't have to suffer," is oblivious of the fact that those prison doors open far oftener to receive the men who have fought, than for the men who have rebelled and protested. What our dear lads have suffered physically and mentally is the thought that constantly obsesses me.

The majority of the soldier prisoners are young, their ages ranging from 17 to 20. Some of the lads joined up when they were 15, and one soldier told me he ran away and joined up at 14. These young lads cannot stand the discipline. Most of those boys and men would never have seen the inside of a prison but for the war.

As the escort to whom one had been handcuffed rubbed his badly-marked wrists, he said the lad was dangerous—he was only 16 years old. That morning he had asked for a drink of water and, upon receiving it, threw the pail over the officer. "A high-spirited lad" would have been the verdict had he behaved thus to an alien enemy.

Two lads were brought up and, as the door shut, their escorts fumed up and down, declaring they were heroes and ought to be decorated for what they had done, not imprisoned. They had been twice over the top, taken prisoners in Germany and escaped. Then, just for overstaying their leave, they were imprisoned. As a C.O. remarked: "The principle of militarism is to make the men more afraid of their own officers than they are of the enemy."

One day about 50 soldiers went in with fixed bayonets, and from the mutterings around I gathered that ghastly things go on in the military side of a prison as well as in the trenches, but these are committed in the name of discipline, justice, and freedom.

Prisoners going out, and prisoners coming in, meet and greet with little to look forward to in either case, as I am told prisoners are released before their sentences are up, in order that they may be sent abroad and then to the front—a mean way of getting recruits.

On 25th January, a group of French Canadians asked what my banner meant, and offered me

money. I thanked them, and said I was doing it for love. They were anxious to know about it; as they knew little English, and I less French, we were getting on slowly, until a soldier stepped forward saying he understood English perfectly and would act as interpreter. After that we had a good talk on *The International*, Socialism, and the war. They were war-weary, and only anxious for home; agreed with all I said, emphasising each point by sharp nods and gestures, and again tried to press money upon me. Their trusting faces were made for better things than war, and it must be torture for such men to live in the army.

A girl-wife came out of prison and told me her husband and another C.O. who were on the military side were to be sent to France. Knowing what that meant, I understood her state of mind as she hurried off to try and set the indifferent and cumbersome machinery of the War Office in motion, and then, in case he should be sent away without warning, came back to watch the prison for hours in extreme cold, as so many poor relatives and friends of both C.O.s and soldiers do.

A Belgian officer slowly read my placard, which bore the inscription: "We protest against the persecution and imprisonment of Conscientious Objectors to war," then clapped his hands and nodded his head.

As a white-faced soldier read the banner and entered the prison he added: "And for us, too." The door clanged to before I could reply, and my heart surged with pity for him and revolt at capitalism, that has made conscripts of us all in some measure; for is not some portion of every penny we spend used to keep the war going?

One old gentleman of 85 often passed and greeted me with a sympathetic word, and at parting: "Good-bye and God bless you. I am glad to see you here again."

There came a Red-Letter day. I had more sympathisers than usual; one, an elderly working man, asked me to explain my placard. After I had done so, he said: "I should be in prison too, if I were a young man." Then I said: "I should carry the banner for you also."

A woman who said she had noticed me for many days asked me to tell her all about it, afterwards thanked me very much, and said joyfully: "I shall be able to show my friends these papers you have given me." A bluejacket and soldier approved of my banner, and gave me a fair chance to state the case. Another said: "You are a sticker," and two prisoners (soldiers) came out who had evidently changed their thinking, and said my banner was quite right. So, though the snow was falling, these and other signs that people are "coming to" after the chloroform of the Press, made the day more bearable.

An armed escort with fixed bayonets of between 40 and 50 men took in a batch of prisoners, mostly boys. What had they done?

"You are a marvel of endurance," said a warder.

A sergeant, in no way a pacifist, for he would not even discuss my views, wanted to know if I received money for this work. Although not agreeing with my views, he told me that the other sergeants had said I was well paid for the job, but he had maintained I got nothing and wanted me to corroborate it. I told him untold wealth would not buy what was my labour of love.

Saturday, 8th February, an ambulance car, No. L.U. 4470 C39, drove up; out of it hobbled with difficulty a German prisoner with one leg, accompanied by a soldier with fixed bayonet. What tragedy lay behind that and many other strange entrances and exits, I dumbly wondered.

I had a disheartening morning, for some soldiers offered personal violence for the first time during my sojourn for a month. One took me by the shoulders and pushed me along, after threatening to take my banner and trying to make me go away. A woman joined in, and threatened what she would do. I did not remove my hands from my muff, but told them I did not take orders from soldiers, that I should resist no personal violence, but if they took my banner away I should go home and get another as I had 13 more.

A bright girl with pretty hair, waited long and restlessly with a sailor friend; finally the door opened for her and out came her lover. As he stepped over the threshold she flung her arms wide, then clasped him tight, and let him go only to repeat the action. It was so passionate, so spontaneous, that everyone was touched, and as the doorkeeper good-naturedly called out: "Hold on a bit," the tension was relaxed, the sailor friend shouldered the kit, whilst the girl grasped her lover's arm tightly with both hands, as though to keep him from the escort, who smilingly and considerately walked behind.

A sergeant came up to three soldiers to whom I was speaking and told them to clear off or I should convert them to Bolshevism. After they had gone away, I remarked to the sergeant: "You are not afraid of me, are you?" In a friendly voice he replied: "It's a pity everyone else has not got your intelligence." A soldier told me that when a friend of his received his discharge papers, he tore them up, laid them on the officer's table, and said: "Now I am going to be a conscientious objector."

I saw two C.O.s going back to prison. They had been out to attend, one a mother's funeral and the other a sister's. I was looking out for a third, who had just had his 21st birthday in prison, and was out at his sweetheart's funeral.

26th February, 1919.—Three women in wretched health and much worried asked me to protest for the soldiers in prison, and told me the soldier they were visiting had been let off a three years' sentence in order that he might go to the war. He was now rearrested to serve his former conviction. They thought going to the war would exempt him from serving his previous term.

Just as I was rolling up my banner a friend (the governor's housekeeper) handed me hot tarts and a cake. A soldier came up and said: "I was a volunteer, but I am not proud of it." To-day I hear the Australians have mutinied inside the prison.

My fifteenth week; a Canadian came up and said he had seen me weeks ago and wanted to speak but didn't get the chance. He said he had never forgotten "'The Greatest Conscientious Objector' and the picture." This referred to the linen placard I carried, on which was portrayed the head of Christ, crowned with thorns. Surrounding this picture centre were the words: "*The Greatest Conscientious Objector said: 'Thou shalt not kill.'*"

The Canadian said that this picture and the words had burnt into his brain. He had gone back and told the orderly about it.

A Wandsworth drill sergeant rushed up to me as I carried this placard with renewed enthusiasm, and exclaimed: "Mrs. Cole, you are a hypocrite. You an agnostic, yet carry that." I replied: "I carry the words because they are true, whoever might have said them."

Another drill-sergeant came up to my side and whispered in my ear the very laudable sentiment that "He never went over the top but he prayed he might not kill a man."

But unless men consider *before* war is declared we shall have war; only one soldier in a thousand—if so many—rebelled after the war started.

The nation that can boast of the most C.O.s, not the most soldiers, will eventually be the greatest. Then women will bring their children into the world to live for one another, not to die in the act of *murder*, for that is what "killed in action" means.

The importance of the stand of the C.O.s is not yet realised. When War flies in at the window, Reason flies out at the door. On the day the C.O. is acknowledged, the first screw will be twisted into the coffin of General Militarism.

The Conscientious Objector had the helpful confidence of doing right in a righteous cause, the soldier had the hindering fact to combat that he was doing wrong, even if it was in a righteous cause.

Wrong is bred from wrong, and righteousness from right, and we must not do wrong that right may come. If we do, we thereby forfeit our claim to Justice. The soldier had the appreciation of the crowd, but the C.O. had the appreciation of a greater thing—his conscience.

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At Grips With War. First Edition, 1929. Second Edition, 1932. This work will be re-issued at an early date.

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THE C.O.—THE TRIBUNAL—AND AFTER

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BAKUNIN HALL

29 CASTLE STREET, GLASGOW, C.4.
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Group Meeting ..... Monday, 8 p.m.

New Members Welcomed.

For Speakers—see announcements in Hall windows and street advertisements.

Sunday Evening ..... 7 p.m.

Organisations in other cities are invited to arrange meetings. A united platform should be organised against conscription.

"WE MUST WIN THIS WAR"

Slogan of the Over-Age Conchies

One of the tests of genuineness, addressed by members of Tribunals, to the youths who apply for exemption on conscience grounds, is that the applicant shall pledge his opposition to all war, and not merely to this war. Yet, outside the Tribunal, these same officials consort openly with persons who posed as "conchies" during the last war, and support the present war. In Glasgow, Sir Archibald Campbell Black, Chairman of the Glasgow and West of Scotland conscientious Objectors Tribunal, insists that, to be genuine, a person must be opposed to *all* war. Yet he leaves the Tribunal and makes presentations, and neat speeches on patriotism, to Lord Provost Dollan, *for supporting this war*, knowing that the Lord Provost was a "conchie" during the last war. *Ought not the Glasgow Chairman to face a test for sincerity?* Ought he not to apply his own logic to the Dollan case? Does he not think that the Dollan business is a civic scandal? Dollan is over military age and so he is no longer a conscientious objector. But some of the youths resisting war to-day are genuine in their conscientious scruples against war.

The same conduct is being endorsed and applauded in other cities.

A Stockport reader sends us a cutting from a local paper reporting a meeting held at the Central Hall, Hillgate, Stockport, on Saturday, January 27, last. This meeting was addressed by the Rt. Hon. Herbert Morrison, M.P., leader of the London County Council, who was described as the "Prime Minister of London"! Poor London!

Morrison was accompanied on the platform by the two prospective Labour candidates for Stockport: William Mellor and R. D. Casasola. The Chairman was T. Baldwin. The platform party included Alderman F. Bowler, J.P., and the Labour Party secretary, W. H. Kinsley. It was a wild night of Labour Party careerist and militarist demonstration.

The Chairman said that the Labour Party was a peace party, but it was determined to stop Fascist aggression. This is the rhetorical and hypocritical way of conceding that the Labour Party is a war party. It is calculated to receive huge "Socialist" applause.

R. D. Casasola explained that the Labour Party had made its choice and hated and despised the philosophy of German Fascism. This meant that the Labour Party stood for war and British capitalism. Casasola explained that, after the war was over they had to be sure that a decent economic peace was made. The root cause of war was capitalism, and if they made peace on the same economic basis as the last peace, sons of the lads who were now called up would be fighting the next war.

There is no guarantee that anything like a Socialist peace as required by Casosola will happen when the war is over. The war is a capitalist war and will be concluded on capitalist terms, unless some unexpected social change intervenes. Casosola's remarks are words, words! When the youth is conscripted, he obeys the capitalist militarist machine. All this nonsense about speculative Socialism is not allowed for in the training camp or on the parade ground. The Labour Party know that this fancy window-dressing is undiluted false pretences.

William Mellor made the most disgraceful speech of the evening.

Mellor, described how, after much self-questioning, he decided, during the Great War, he could not support the British cause. He described his fate in consequence:—

> "Mr. Wm. Mellor said that 22 year ago he was languishing in Wormwood Scrubbs, and was later in Dartmoor, Knutsford Gaol, and in a nursery garden working along with German prisoners on work of national importance. (Laughter.)"

Why that laughter?

Mellor stated that Harry Pollitt had persuaded him to change his attitude towards the war. He knew now that he must support grey capitalism against black capitalism. Grey capitalism left the workers the right to free speech and representation; but black capitalism destroyed these rights.

The representation troubles Mellor! It means M.P. after his name; £600 per annum; and economic security for life. He thinks that grey capitalism boasts mighty good prospects!

"I have found my mind changing its viewpoint," Mellor added. "Perhaps I have been wrong."

He depicted "black capitalism" sweeping the world, and added:—

> "Mr. Chamberlain is head of the war Government to-day against his will, because if he were not he would not be in the Government at all. In the challenge now taken up I am at one with the Allies."

Is this not what the "Socialist" militarists said in 1914 when they supported the Allies? Mellor did not believe it then. He was of military age. He believes it to-day, when he is no longer of military age. But the Socialist youth of to-day think and feel as Mellor did in 1914. Perhaps some of these will be war-mongers twenty years hence, when they are over military age!

Having taken his stand for militarism and recruiting, Mellor threw the following sop to Labour feelings and traditions:—

> "This war could be made into a holy war against Fascism and Capitalism, and whether or not it was so depended on ordinary men and women. They must regard capitalism, unemployment and war as one family."

The enunciation of these platitudes led Mellor to his great and ridiculous peroration:—

> *"Were I 23 again, I would gladly be in khaki."*

Only the war must remain the war of the grey capitalism of Britain against the black capitalism of Germany.

> *"It must not be allowed to develop into a holocaust of Imperialism against the Soviet Union."*

And a Labour audience cheered this rubbish. Applauded this man, who would not fight when he was of military age, standing for youth being coerced to-day. Listened to this eloquence of futility and careerism, this masquerade of self-seeking!

Herbert Morrison made a patriotic speech, in which he discovered some strange, Socialist reasons, for upholding British Imperialism.

> "In this struggle between nations many Germans believed that they would be rich if they had some British Colonies. But in this vast Empire there were masses of destitute human beings—in the County of Durham, the West of Lancashire, and so on. The mere possession of Germany's Colonies would not make any real difference in their living. The German people had a poor standard of living and so Hitler said to Britain, "You are rich and we are poor, and it is not right." It was economic nonsense, but it was understandable that some of the German people should believe it."

What an argument for supporting Imperialism, Militarism, and Conscription!

LABOUR PEACE TERMS

Recently twenty Labour M.P.s issued a statement of Peace Terms to the press, on the ground that it was vital that no opportunity for negotiations should be lost. We believe that the working-class should cease hostilities and never mind stating peace terms. Peace would follow a determined attitude. It is our business to report all efforts to overcome war.

Summarised, the Labour M.P.s four foundations for peace are:—

(1) New European system, sacrificing national sovereignties for internationally guaranteed general security. All frontiers to be reviewed. Full national and economic freedom for every people.

(2) A standstill in armaments, preliminary to universal disarmament. Simultaneous discussion territorial, financial, and other questions that supply excuses for war.

(3) Economic internationalism; no national monopoly raw materials and food; free use of all the great waterways; removal all trade barriers; free access, all nations, to all major sea and airports.

(4) Self-government throughout the world. Where impossible, colonial areas to be internationalised. Democratic self-determination for India.

The M.P.s who have signed this statement are:—

James Barr.	George Mathers.
G. Buchanan.	H. G. McGhee.
W. G. Cove.	F. Messer.
T. E. Groves.	J. Rhys Davies.
Agnes Hardie.	Alfred Salter.
David Kirkwood.	S. Silverman.
George Lansbury.	A. Sloan.
W. Leonard.	W. R. Sorensen.
Neil Maclean.	R. R. Stokes.
M. K. Macmillan.	Cecil Wilson.

WAR REALISTS NOW

Lord Provost P. J. Dollan, of Glasgow, who used to be a pacifist, told a pleasant Sunday evening gathering at St. Andrew's Hall on February 18 last—why pleasant?—why he is now a realist instead, in the war against dictatorships.

> "People say this war is none of our business, and that we would be better to defend ourselves by strict adherence to what are called pacifist principles and by following a policy of non-resistance in the hope of bringing peace. I once believed in that doctrine, too. It is still my ideal. But I would be a fool if I did not recognise that absolute pacifism did not save Vienna, Prague, Cracow, Madrid, and Helsinki —and will not save Glasgow if the dictatorial powers are allowed a free run."

Dollan never explained how it is that he never thought this way until he became too old to fight. Nor did he explain why *all* Lord Provosts in war-time think this way!

Arthur Greenwood, writing in the *Daily Express* for March 8, defends Dollan, Morrison & Co. as follows:—

> "There are many among my colleagues who were conscientious objectors in the last war, but are making great contributions to victory in this war. Many of them are national figures. Probably the outstanding example is my colleague, Mr. Herbert Morrison, leader of the London County Council.
>
> "Are these men being inconsistent? I do not think so. There are two reasons why a man who was a conscientious objector in the last war can conscientiously be an active worker in our great struggle now.
>
> *"Twenty-five years have gone by . . ."*

There was no need for Greenwood to say more. Time explains everything.

GUY ALDRED'S

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Reproduces the author's Boy Preacher's sermons and first indictments of war. Tells the story of the Rev. Charles Voysey, B.A., and the Theistic Church. Also of the Rev. George Martin, the famous porter-parson of S.E. London.

Just off the press. 64 pages.

Post Free, 6d.

THE LANCASHIRE CONSCIENCE TRIBUNAL

We have discussed the decisions, approach, and personnel of the following Tribunals in these columns during October and Christmas, 1939, and February and March, 1940: Bristol, Birmingham, Cardiff, London, Glasgow, Aberdeen and Lancashire, sitting at Manchester and Liverpool respectively.

Until the Tribunal decisions are collected and published in book form, comrades should preserve and consult the issues mentioned. This will enable them to follow easily the more general reporting we must follow when recording decisions given by the Tribunals mentioned.

I.—MANCHESTER.

James Pelow, Lansdowne Road, West Didsbury, Manchester, appeared before the Lancashire Tribunal, sitting at Manchester on Wednesday, February 14. Pelow contended that, though he was not yet an Irish citizen he was conscientiously unable to give any allegiance to the British Crown.

Pelow's case was stated by a personal friend, Mr. J. Norbury. The latter stated that Pelow felt it would be wrong for him to recognise the Crown which he regarded as persecuting the Irish people.

Judge Burgis: He need not recognise the Crown to serve in the Army.

Norbury: I cannot conceive how anyone could serve in the Army without recognising the Crown.

Continuing, Mr. Norbury used the phrase, "members of the tribunal, in honour to their consciences." This led to a discussion between him and the chairman:—

Judge Burgis: You need not trouble about our consciences.

Norbury: I am afraid I am greatly troubled about your consciences.

Judge Burgis: That may well be. But you are not entitled to come here and express your trouble. We regard it as a piece of impertinence, and if you use your position for that purpose we shall ask you to sit down.

Norbury: From time to time, the tribunal has asked witnesses to pass comments on the consciences of applicants.

Judge Burgis: The consciences of the tribunal are not in issue to-day. It is the conscience of the applicant that is in issue. We cannot allow you to go outside that issue.

Pelow's statement said that he was born in Dublin in 1917 and he applied for particulars of registration as a citizen of Eire in September, 1938. When the particulars came to hand, the following month he could not pay the £1 necessary for registration and he had been saving up to pay it. He felt he had a moral obligation to the country which had given him hospitality for twenty years and he was prepared to serve in a civilian capacity.

Giving the tribunal's decision, Judge Burgis said:

"The applicant has said that the only reason he cannot join the military forces of this country is that he is a citizen of Ireland. It may be that if he is a citizen of Ireland he is excused, but that is not the point which we have to deal with."

Pelow was told that no conscientious objection was established. If he applied to the Ministry of Labour, he would be given all the necessary information.

William Burley Lockwood, Hulme Hall, Manchester University, lived and worked in Germany from 1939 to 1939. He was in the Netherlands when war came, and had lived in France, Belgium, and Switzerland. He spoke of the fundamental friendship among people of all nations, and said he believed in the possibility of fraternisation among British and German troops to obtain Anglo-German unity from below if it could not be obtained from above. The continuance of the war was helping to keep Hitler in power.

Lockwood was exempted without condition. Judge Burgis said he belonged to that class of man who could see good in every country but his own.

Thomas Gwilym Davies, a teacher, Jackson Street, Gorton, Manchester, was represented by the Rev. J. E. Storey, a Clitheroe Methodist Minister. Mr. Storey was questioned by Sir Miles Mitchell about Davies' attitude to the Abyssinian invasion.

Mr. Storey: I think his attitude would be my attitude.

Judge Burgis: We don't want your attitude.

Mr. Storey: I'm trying to answer the question. If you ask questions involving all kinds of qualifications you cannot have a straight yes or no.

Registering Davies unconditionally, the Chairman said they were satisfied after hearing Mr. Storey that the applicant could not conscientiously take part in the military effort and also that he was alive to his duties as a citizen.

Frank Parker, Royal Avenue, Old Trafford, Manchester, told the tribunal that he was expecting dismissal. A young man employed by the same firm appeared before the tribunal last week, he said, and was ordered to remain in his present occupation and within three days he was dismissed. The tribunal accepted Parker's statement that he had a conscientious objection to fighting, but when he said he would not bind up his mother's wounds in an air raid for fear of helping the war they felt he was speaking not from conscience but from unreasoning prejudice. He was registered as a non-combatant.

Ronald Prior, Field Road, Rochdale, put in a statement which contained an exceptional number of Biblical quotations.

Judge Burgis: Have you heard of the story of the unjust steward?—No.

Have you heard of Lazarus and the beggar?—No.

The Chairman also mentioned Peter and the cock crowing, and Pilate, and the applicant said he had not heard of them.

The Chairman ordered the removal of Prior's name from the register of conscientious objectors without qualification. He commented on Prior's statement and attitude:

"Pilate is an unknown name to him. The elements of the Christian faith are unknown to him. It looks as if he copied out a list of texts from one of the peace papers."

On February 15 the Tribunal considered 22 cases. Its decisions were:

Unconditional Exemption	2
Conditional Exemption	7
Non-Combatant Service	7
Military Register without qualification	5

Henry Percival Clarke, Worsley Road, Swinton, is hon. secretary of the Swinton Allotments Association and has cultivated two allotments since the war. He had done a good deal for refugees. He is a Quaker.

The Chairman registered him unconditionally.

Two other Quakers were registered conditionally. Vernon Lowe, Daisy Avenue, Laysight, Manchester, was ordered to remain in his present occupation as electrical research engineer, "which is one of great national importance." He had to do spare-time civil work to be decided by himself. Roland A. Ransome, Walton Hall, Manchester University, was registered as a C.O. on condition that he obtained agricultural work by July 1, 1940.

Frank Harper Lees, Mayall Street, Waterhead, said he used to be a member of the Communist party. He joined it because he believed it stood for peace. He was expelled last year because he did not agree that we should have gone to war for the Czechs.

He explained:—

"The Communists are a somersaulting party. They change and change and change. What they say to-day they may not say to-morrow. At the beginning of the war they supported it. A week later they were against it."

Judge Burgis, announcing the decision to register Lees on condition that he remains in his present occupation, which is of great national importance, said:—

"He is not lukewarm like some we have had before us. He is a firebrand for peace. We are satisfied that he has a deep conviction. It may be an unreasoning, it may be an unreasonable conviction. But we think the conviction is there."

Allan Edwin Rodway, Heswall Avenue, Withington, Manchester, told the tribunal that both his father and mother during the last war were in prison for pacifism—his father as a conscientious objector and his mother for handing out leaflets in a military camp.

Rodway said that he was willing to do forestry work because he was satisfied that the trees he would be growing could not be used in the war, or agriculture provided he was not releasing a man to go to fight.

Rodway was registered as a conscientious objector on condition of remaining in his present occupation till required to do work in forestry.

Announcing this decision, Judge Burgis said:

"The applicant had an unfortunate bringing up and has had little opportunity at home of forming an independent judgment. He is prepared to do agricultural work, but under conditions which it is almost impossible to satisfy."

John Ernest Young, Lower Broughton Road, Manchester, was removed from the C.O. register without qualification. His statement said:—

"If I were compelled to undertake military duties I should surrender at the first opportunity—whatever the consequences."

II. Liverpool.

On Friday, December 8, at Liverpool, the Tribunal considered the case of Henry Thomas Mundy, 37 Holborn Hill, Tranmere, Birkenhead.

Mundy said he did not accept the Christian faith and he belonged to no political party. The newspapers were owned by capitalists and he could not believe the news they published.

Judge Burgis: Do you value your freedom of conscience?

Mundy: I haven't any freedom of conscience, have I?

Mundy said that his country was no better than any other country and he owed no duty to it. He owed no duty to his fellow-men, and did not think his fellow-men owed any duty to him.

The Judge: If there was an air raid, they could leave you on the roadside to bleed?—Yes, they could, though I should not expect them to.

Judge Burgis said the tribunal thought it a somewhat pathetic case. They felt much sympathy towards Mundy, who was apparently disappointed in life. He wanted to set up ideals, to get rid of the capitalist Government; but he did not know what he was going to substitute. His views on war were indefinite and nothing more than views. The tribunal could not bring themselves to believe he had any deep conviction. His name, without qualification, would be removed from the register of conscientious objectors.

Neville Hiatt Newhouse, 41 Bidston Avenue, Birkenhead, a member of the Society of Friends, a Liverpool University student, refused to call any witnesses. He was registered as an objector conditionally upon undertaking civil work under civilian control, to be specified by the Ministry of Labour.

Frank David Paterson, 45 Queen's Drive, Liverpool, is a member of Hope Street Unitarian Church. His father was a conscientious objector in the last war. His family hold pacifist principles. Paterson was registered conditionally upon his performing civil work under civilian control, the tribunal recommending forestry or agriculture.

John Henry Parry, 4 Ogden Close, Liverpool, is a Roman Catholic. His father served in the last war and was gassed and had suffered terribly ever since. He received only a small pen-

sion and Parry's mother had had to go out scrubbing ever since the last war ended. His father and mother were both in the hospital now. Parry had a younger brother and sister to support. He said :—

"I should not like to think that if I joined the Army I should cause anybody the same suffering as my father has been caused through war."

Judge Burgis—Are you frightened of seeing suffering?—I have seen it all my life.

Judge Burgis said that Parry's case was one for sympathy but he had established no conscientious objection to war. His name must be removed from the C.O. Register.

The Tribunal registered the following applicants unconditionally :—

(1) Thomas J. Martin, Inglewood, 35 Orrell Lane, Liverpool. Student for the Presbyterian Ministry.

(2) Harold E. Rawlinson, 21 Harradon Road, Aintree. Candidate for the Methodist Ministry.

(3) Thomas Martlero, 52 Haydock Street, Earlestown. Student-teacher.

(4) John Mawsdley, 9 Dragon Lane, Whiston. Window-cleaner.

(5) Richard George Milne, 35 Oxton Street, Liverpool. Local preacher on trial for the Methodist Ministry.

CONCHIE COMMENT

Since conscription was introduced into Britain in 1939, 26,681 men have registered as conscientious objectors.

The following letter was published in the *Enfield Gazette Observer*, for March 1, 1940 :—

CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS.

Sir,—There is no justification for the abuse that is being levelled against pacifists by misguided people.

Can there be any reason to doubt the sincerity of those men of sterling character who suffered so much in the last war for the sake of the conviction that participation in war was an evil thing.

I suggest that the victimisation of Conscientious Objectors can serve no useful purpose in the cause of liberty which we all profess to have at heart.—Yours faithfully,

ALFRED P. TASSELL.

Orchard Way,
Enfield.

That is a brave letter and the *Enfield Gazette* is to be congratulated for publishing same.

The *West London Observer* has published several times recently the following advertisement :—

CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS
REQUIRING INFORMATION
Communicate :—
85 ADDISON GARDENS, W. 14.
SHEherds Bush 5402. NO CHARGE

We congratulate our West London contemporary upon its courage. During the last war it repeatedly drew attention to our court-martials and resistance and pressed for our release, although it did not approve of our ideas.

Utter incapacity to act as chairman of a tribunal was revealed by Judge Stewart at Leeds, on February 20, when he told Ernest Milton Myers that he had "expressed the views of a traitor to the country's interests."

Myers stated that he was associated closely with pacifist organisations.

Judge Stewart said :—

"You come here because you are an alleged objector to military service, and at the same time you are engaged in a series of activities all tending towards urging those who listen to you not to help the country. We hold you in complete contempt."

EDITOR'S PERSONAL APPEAL.—Acknowledgements held over till next month. Total required to complete this fund : £149 6s. 9d. Every comrade should respond *now*.

ABSOLUTE EXEMPTION

Although the decisions rendered by the various tribunals set up under the National Service Act for considering conscientious objectors have rendered some very unfair decisions, all of them have recognised the fact that they can grant total exemption. The behaviour of many of the chairmen and members of the tribunals has been biased. Many persons have been denied exemption who were entitled to it. It may be said that the tribunals have not deduced correct conclusions from the facts before them. At least it must be agreed that they recognised in theory that they could grant total exemption. If they have not translated the theory into practice in every instance that is most unfortunate. In this respect the tribunals of 1939-40 have differed considerably from those set up in 1916 under the Military Service Act passed during the Great War.

The governing clauses of the Military Service Act of 1916, on the subject of the conscientious objectors, read as follows :—

"Section 2, Subsection (1).—'An application may be made at any time before the appointed date to the Local Tribunal established under this Act by, or in respect of, any man for the issue to him of a certificate of exemption from the provisions of this Act :

"'(a), (b), (c) . . . . .

"'(d) on the ground of a conscientious objection to the undertaking of combatant service; and the Local Tribunal, if they consider the grounds of the application established, shall grant such a certificate.'

"Subsection (3).—'And certificate of exemption may be absolute, conditional, or temporary, as the authority by whom it was granted think best suited to the case, and also, in the case of an application on conscientious grounds, may take the form of an exemption from combatant service only, or may be conditional on the applicant being engaged in some work which in the opinion of the Tribunal dealing with the case is of national importance.'"

It is very clear from this section that the Act granted total exemption under certain circumstances. Nevertheless any number of objectors went to prison during the Great War because both Local and Appeal Tribunals decided that they had no power to grant total exemption.

Leonard Henry Caton, 45 Hadham Road, Bishop's Stortford, claimed total exemption as a conscientious objector. The local tribunal exempted him from combatant service only and the clerk to the tribunal stated that the tribunal had *no power to do more than to exempt him from combatant service*. The Appeal Tribunal upheld this decision on March 18, 1916.

The Wells City Tribunal took the same view in the case of T. C. Bowles, 94 Bove Town, Glastonbury. On March 24, 1916, the Appeal Tribunal, sitting at Bath, upheld the view that Mr. Bowles could not obtain absolute exemption. The Chairman of the Appeal Tribunal, Mr. Somerville, of Dinder House, Wells, used most legal language in returning this most illegal decision. He ruled that the tribunal was unable to grant anything but non-combatant service to a conscientious objector, and therefore the appeal "did not lie."

The West Sussex Appeal Tribunal, on March 21, 1916, adopted the same attitude. The *West Sussex Daily News*, for March 22, published the following report :—

"A Chichester furniture salesman, aged 28, appealed against the decision of the Chichester Tribunal granting him exemption from combatant service, and asked for absolute exemption on conscientious grounds. . . .

"The Chairman: . . . Have you looked at the Military Service Act, under which we all come, everybody here? . . . It empowers you to make an objection on the ground of conscience, *but the objection must be to combatant service; it allows you to object to combatant service only.* . . ."

The appeal was dismissed.

Ernest S. Sands claimed absolute exemption as a conscientious objector from the Wem Rural Tribunal, Wem, Salop. in March, 1916. He reported the result of his application in the following letter that was published at the time, dated March 30 of that year :—

"I have appealed to the local tribunal, who stated they were satisfied my case was genuine, but at the advice of the Clerk (who, by the way, is a solicitor), held that *they could not give me absolute exemption, as the Act did not provide for absolute exemption for conscientious objectors.*"

Patrick Hughes, 15 Low Waters, Hamilton, was told by the local tribunal on March 20, 1916, that he had proved his case as a conscientious objector. The tribunal granted him non-combatant service regretfully as they held they *could not grant total exemption*. The Glasgow Appeal Tribunal on May 22 dismissed his case and held that it was outside the power of the tribunal to grant total exemption. Hughes asked for the right to appeal to the Central Tribunal and was refused.

In the case of Arthur Bruce Gravely, the Wellinborough Local Tribunal on June 27, 1916, declared that his conscientious objection was genuine but insisted that he could not give him anything better than non-combatant service on conscientious grounds.

At least we have not witnessed flagrant violation of the principle of the Act by the tribunals of to-day. The gain is very small and the progress of recognition of the right of conscience very small. The difference registers some small protest.

Turned away from his home by his parents because of his attitude to military service, William Robert Garrad, aged 21, a Blackburn artist, told his story in private to the Conscientious Objectors' Tribunal, at Preston on February 20, 1940.

The hearing of his case opened in public.

Garrad said that, being almost penniless, he went to his parents' home with his wife, hoping that they could stay there. Because of his conscientious objection they were not allowed to do so.

Then he was offered a job on A.R.P. apparatus, but could not accept it.

At this stage the chairman, Judge E. C. Burgis, decided to take the remainder of the hearing in private.

Later, announcing that Garrad would be retained on the register unconditionally, he said that for the sake of his opinions the man had forfeited his parents' goodwill and the family home was no longer open to him.

WEST LONDON NOTES.

N.C.L. Comrades in West London are requested to communicate with me at 85 Addison Gardens, W.14 (Shepherds Bush 5402). The efforts which are being made to organise N.C.L. activities in West London are progressing but slowly. Comrades can help by getting in touch and reporting on activities in their own districts.

* * *

Comrades needing advice should also get in touch with me, as above. They can be put in touch with their nearest advisory bureau or, where possible, given direct information.

* * *

Recent discussions have shown that there is considerable confusion of thought on the question of the difference between the N.C.L. and pacifist organisations. Every individual member of the N.C.L. in West London have stated that they feel that there is a duplication of activity. Groups who wish to clear up their doubts in this respect should invite an N.C.L. speaker to visit them and state the position.

* * *

At a recent local debate between a representative of the Federal Union and a C.O. veteran of the last war, the former fared badly. The admission that the "Union ideas had been received well by everybody except pacifist and anti-war bodies seems to place the matter in its proper perspective. Nor did the suggestion that the Union might house both "Socialist" and Capitalist states give any more justification for pursuing the idea. A dangerous "red herring."

* * *

A member of the National Council for Civil Liberties in a recent indictment of the E.P.A. pointed out that under it the Government had almost dictatorial powers other than the power to impose industrial conscription. What he did not point out was that his case was not only an indictment of the Government but of the whole so-called "Democratic" Parliamentary machine. As for the question of industrial conscription the E.P.A. may not cover it; but if drafting workers from their own trades into others, producing war materials, is not industrial conscription, then what is it?

—ANNESLEY ALDRED.

PRISON: WHAT IT MEANS AND REQUIRES

An Essay for Conscientious Objectors

(*Concluded from page 68.*)

The keeper reported the matter to the warden. Dowd was brought to his office and accused of play-acting. Dowd gave no heed to the accusation. He replied coldly, formally: "I wish to submit a long list of complaints, with my recommendations."

The warden again accused Dowd of pulling a game on him. Dowd ignored his comments and stared vacantly out of the window for a while. He turned round and swept into a tirade of nonsense. The warden hesitated. "Take him back to his cell," he ordered. "I'll have the doctor look him over—and God help him if he's faking this."

Next morning Dowd was examined by the prison physician, who applied the ordinary simple tests. The doctor grinned, told him he was faking, and suggested that, for his own safety, he should quit pretending. Dowd stuck to his gabble and vacant stare and was slammed back into his cell. He knew that severity unto torture was the only method prison employed to determine whether a convict was sick or acting. In the past, pretenders actually had gone mad in attempting to withstand the tortures denied by prison disiplinarians. Dowd resolved to endure what all others had found unendurable. He entered upon a terrible contest with the authorities of Joliet.

The first punishment ordered by the warden was to have the prisoner's wrists clamped into the "bull-rings"—manacles with teeth on the inside to tear the flesh—and so suspend him from the cell-door, until consciousness left him. Under this punishment, Tom Dowd never winced nor gave way. When he regained his senses, he babbled more mad and impossible instructions and demands.

The warden was amazed, worried, and ashamed. He ordered a further medical examination. The doctor examined carefully and reported that Dowd was sane. The warden recovered from his shame and turned brute again—authority challenged and outraged by defeat. Poor Tom Dowd was strung up to his cell-door once more. The heavy lash was laid on his bare back till the blood ran, and his mind was darkened. He never whimpered nor begged for mercy. Outside, on the streets of Christian and democratic America, they were selling newspapers, advertising the Churches, and parading religious notices.

Dowd's fortitude infuriated the warden and his gang of prison officials. Guards took Dowd down from the cell door and cast his poor, bleeding, unconscious body into a dungeon, where he remained, until the black fog cleared from his tortured brain. At once, he played the lunatic again. The warden summoned him to cease his pretending, confess, and go back to routine work. His reply is to be found in the prison reports on his case. Crippled with pain and physical exhaustion, Dowd instantly answered, with a florid gesture: "Get busy, yourself, warden—you're a lazy dog, you are. My shoes need shining. Shine them, since you've nothing else to do around here."

The warden spluttered with wrath. Dowd straightaway had to suffer an application of the paddle. This cruel instrument of late nineteenth-early-century democratic torture of the English-speaking races, was a flat piece of thin wood, soaked in boiling water to make it flexible. The Joliet paddle contained auger holes and raised blisters at every blow. While being smacked upon the quivering flesh of the prisoner, it was dipped repeatedly in a boiling fluid or hot sand, to add to its punishing power. Dowd bore this terrible infliction without a murmur. The doctor, standing by, felt the victim's pulse, and announced that another blow would be fatal.

Dowd was removed to the prison hospital to recover. He continued his ravings. He was re-examined and declared sane once more. He was ordered to resume work and told the warden to do some work himself. He was punished with more cell-hangings and dungeons. He refused to work and used vile insults to the warden and prison officers, and babbled ridiculous orders, considering his circumstances. Finally, he was strapped into a tub and given the water-cure.

In medieval days, the water-cure was known as "the question." The victim almost suffocates in the torrent poured upon him. It had been used repeatedly in Joliet before Dowd became an inmate. In every instance, the convict had quailed and confessed. Dowd stood it till he passed out. The prison doctor could not hide his anxiety. He intervened to stop the punishment—and doubted his own conclusions. He became sceptically nervous of his own qualifications. The warden also doubted. He asked the doctor for a consultation. Dowd's endurance had virtually convinced him of Dowd's madness. He recoiled from further disiplinary tests. The man within was at war with warden assumed by appointment from without. It was his duty to be severe to make sure that fellows were not faking. If the administrative powers were weak in punishing, half the condemned men would turn the prison into a sanitorium.

The doctor told the warden that Dowd was sane, unless he was suffering from some new dementia as then unknown to science. But he could not understand Dowd standing up to such punishment. He half thought he must be suffering from a new kind of mental breakdown. But he could not certify him insane.

The warden protested that the doctor's report meant that he must keep on hammering at Dowd. The doctor replied that it was impossible for Dowd to stand further hammering. The conversation was noted officially and the warden decided to settle the matter finally.

A few days after Dowd had withstood so bravely the water-cure, the warden appeared before Dowd's celi with a red-hot poker in his hand. Dowd raved at him in his now masterly demented style.

"Still lugs, Tommy!" replied the warden. "Then say, here's a fine sword for you."

He poked the fiery iron between the bars. Dowd saw the trap instantly, and never flinched. He was to be put now to the ordeal by fire.

"What a fool you are, warden, to give away things," he answered. He leapt forward, and seized the searing iron firmly in both hands. He yelled with pain, but made it appear like fury. He clung to the poker and jerked at it with all his might, as the foul incense of scorching human flesh rose in the cell and drifted through the corridors of Jolet. The warden was sick. He dropped the poker and lurched back in horror. Dowd the indomitable had won again.

As the warden dropped the poker, Dowd collapsed, flung the hot iron from him, and tumbled into an unconscious heap on the floor of his narrow pen. He was carried to the hospital, his poor burned hands wraped in soppings of oil and lime-water, his mutterings stilled with an opiate. Here he remained for weeks, nursed and fed, because he could not lift a spoon to his lips.

The warden had made his supreme test and was moved at last by pity and remorse. The doctor urged gentler methods but declared that he could not truthfully declare that Dowd was insane. He remained convinced of Dowd's complete sanity.

At last Dowd's hands healed and he was sent back to his old cell. There he lay while the baffled warden pondered their unequal duel. Dowd determined on the warden's capitulation. He scraped together a mass of filth and sat in his cell, eating it. The warden went to see for himself and spied quietly from a point where Dowd could not see him. He waited for no doctor's report but ordered Dowd to the lunatics' ward. The official report stated: "*Dowd laughed all night.*" He celebrated, with an assumption of quaint, demented, mannerisms, victory.

On the second night, Dowd did not laugh. He stirred as soon as he could, recovered his file, pried open the loose-grating, and let himself down to the top of a shed, using a rope he had made of his sheets. Despite his crippled hands, he gained the wall, dropped lightly to the ground, and escaped from Joliet and the State of Illinois. He was pursued the next day in vain. The warden said to the press: "Well, Dowd's gone! By jove, he earned it."

Dowd remained at liberty for three years. He lived by crime, because he had no other way of living. The United States of America, the capitalist system of society, did not know how to turn to usefulness and honesty Dowd's splendid qualities of courage, patience, and loyalty. At last a "fence," "tipped off" the authorities. Detectives arrested him at Farnington, Virginia. He was senatenced to serve twelve years' imprisonment at Richmond, Virginia. The authorities received a report from Joliet of his mad-stratagem, and the warden warned him not to repeat the trick. Dowd raised his two hands, palms out, and revealed their permanent condition. The warden flinched and noted the conversation:

"Never again, eh, Dowd, he said.

"Not a chance, warden I've put it over once. That tore up my ticket!"

Thirty days later, Dowd was free once more. He made his second great break for liberty, remarkable for smoothness, applied intelligence, and celerity.

After he had been in the Virginia prison a few days, Dowd discovered that it lacked a "recheck" or counting system. The men were marched in from the workshops at dusk, and counted as they left the dining-room. If there were no absentees, the "all-right bell" was sounded, the pickets came down from the walls, lowered their ladders, and went home. The prison was left in charge of the night watch. The inmates were locked-up for the night without anyone taking the trouble to count them again. Dowd realised that this was his opportunity to escape.

For a fortnight he studied carefully the method of conducting the count-up. There were 904 men in the dining-room, 12 in the hospital, 3 in dungeons. The deputy-warden made his calculations in the hall in the dining-room. He totalled it to 919 and found that this agreed with the official roster. Then he gave his signal to sound the bell. Dowd knew that he dared not attempt an escape from the hospital. His Joliet reputation made this impossible. And the hospital was guarded closely. The dungeons were not. He decided that through the dungeons was the road to liberty.

Somehow Dowd contrived to learn all about the dungeons and ot inspect them, under guise of cleaning work. He found that they were dark, damp cubby-holes, situate in the oldest part of the prison. Convicts committed to them for breaking prison regulations were shut up in the dungeons at night and lashed the next morning, when the other prisoners went about their usual work. Dowd examined the cells. He mastered their padlocks and entire structure. He also discovered that the dungeon-prisoners were never checked at night. If a prisoner was consigned to a punishment cell, and then

managed to escape from the cell just after feeding-time, he would not be missed till the following day. So reasoned Dowd. It was necessary for him to model a key for the padlock. He was allowed some chewing gum one day by a friendly warder. With this he made an impression of the keyhole whilst working, and furtively modelled a key from the handle of an aluminium pot. He "borrowed" his tools from the machine shop. Finally, Dowd faced the problem of how to get through the solid oak planking inside the punishment cells that had been erected to prevent the prisoner from getting at the lock. He stole and secreted in a punishment cell a hammer, chisel, and a pair of claw pincers—the one punishment cell unoccupied that morning. At the meal hour he broke a rule, abused the deputy-warden, and was consigned to the punishment cell. Late at night, in the detached part of the prison, he worked without attracting attention. He loosened the nails, and had the plank ready for removal. He hid the evidences of his work and took, without flinching, the corporal punishment next morning. He was released from the punishment cells and had to wait for a day when there was no one in the dungeon cells to betray him.

A certain Monday came and nobody was suffering in solitary Dowd waited till late in the day, and then abused a keeper. Dowd seemed to be in a rage and jostled the keeper. He was marched away to solitary and stepped naturally into his well-prepared cell. The door was slammed upon him. No time was wasted in examining the cell. The guards were too indignant at the man who had jostled a keeper. Dowd ignored their taunts as they left him and waited.

At 5 p.m., a keeper brought him a cup of water and two slices of bread. He waited a few minutes; made sure the dungeons were deserted; then set to work. He removed the prepared planks and opened the padlock with his hidden, improvised key. He put the board back in its place, drove in the nails to hold it, and locked the dungeon door as he passed out on his way to freedom. The guards were congregated in the dining-hall and the deputy-warden was ready to take down the count on his blackboard. Dowd darted into the corridor and moved noiselessly towards the door that led into the prison yard. He skulked in the shadows of the kitchens, heard the good-night bell sound loudly, saw the sentries come down from the prison walls, and terminate their duties. Night descended and at last Dowd cut across the prison yard, gropingly found one of the ladders, raised it, reached the top of wall, lay flat, and let go, dropping silently to freedom! For a second time he escaped from prison without aid or influence.

Dowd remained free several years. Then came the day in 1911 when he was recognised in Sanford by a peputy-sheriff, who had been a keeper at Richmond. The deputy reached for his gun. So did Thomas Dowd. Dowd aimed low, not to kill. The sheriff aimed high and hit Dowd in the shoulder. Dowd ran. The sheriff shouted for help and a local policeman confronted Dowd. Both fired, Dowd still aiming not to kill. The officer's third shot struck Dowd in the head and killed him instantly. So ended this strange career of lone adventuring, a wasted lifetime of obvious courage, loyalty, and talent.

As we have said, we tell this story to conscientious objectors, not to commend burglary or robbery, but to commend courage and fearlessness: to bid them stand up to jail and suffering bravely and not to weaken unduly at the thought of prison persecution. Dowd had no ideals that sustain men and none recognised him as having ideals. He was a social outcast. He was honoured by none. Yet he was, in himself, a man: a brave and worthy man. His courage in life, and under persecution, now that he is dead, should inspire those who claim to be moved by ideals, to live bravely and endure well for the triumph of those ideals. Their conscience should give them a backing poor, brave, outcast, lawless, useless Dowd never had. And they have friends also, where he was nigh friendless.

[This essay commenced in February issue. Part I dealt with genius in prison. Part II (now concluded) tells the story of an American rotter, Thomas Dowd.]

"ESSAYS IN REVOLT"

Under this caption, the Glasgow *Evening Times*, in its "City and Clyde" column, for Tuesday, January 23, last, noticed "Letters to Editor." The critic said:—

> "According to Mr. Guy Aldred's thoughts on the subject, the title 'Letters to the Editor' should be 'Essays in Revolt.' Mr. Aldred is certainly well acquaint with this outlet for opinion, having written numerous letters to various editors in the course of his very active career. He has kept most of his 'essays in revolt' and is now issuing a representative collection, written during the past 35 years, in pamphlet form. . . These letters on subjects of varying interest, many of which appeared in 'The Evening Times,' are outstanding for their frankness, and at the same time give a picture of the author's stormy life."

The reviewer cites the passage from the foreword, in which the respected value of the "letter to the editor" and the pamphlet are discussed, and considers this description interesting. He makes the following extract from my covering letter, when sending the pamphlet out for review:—

> "For many years I have championed Glasgow as a centre of thought as opposed to London. I have made Glasgow my pulpit and from it I have addressed the world and am still doing so."

The same journal, in its issue for Monday, February 19, noticed the pamphlet on John MacLean, as follows:—

> "I wish no harm to any human being, but I, as one man, am going to exercise my freedom of speech. That remark was made by John Maclean, famous West of Scotland revolutionary Socialist, in his speech from the dock in 1918 before he was found guilty of sedition. The historic speech lasted 75 minutes, and it is reprinted at the conclusion of a record of the agitator's life which Guy A. Aldred has republished.
>
> "The stormy career of the former Glasgow teacher, who was 'Daddy Maclean' to the children of Kinning Park School, is told in forceful language in the pamphlet, which has as its introduction the previous review and tribute paid by Mr. James Maxton, M.P. Mr. Aldred describes Maclean as 'a brave and tireless fighter, uncorrupted by hopes of reward, loved, and hated too, because he served the outraged and the oppressed.'"

Labour's Northern Voice, the Manchester organ of the Independent Socialist Party, in its issue for March, 1940, reviews *Letters to the Editor* and *Socialism and The Pope*. Our Socialist contemporary says:—

> "Guy Aldred edits and owns a monthly journal, 'The Word,' devoted to anti-militarism and the cause of the conscientious objector. He is reprinting his essays as 'The Word' Library, and the two under review are Nos. 1 and 4 of the series. The first consists of 30 years' correspondence on many subjects, free speech, secularism, anti-militarism. Aldred is a vigorous and lucid controversialist, who has always spoken his mind and often paid the penalty for so doing. 'Letters to the Editor' get right at the point. Whether you agree with the writer or not, you will admire his keen defence of freedom and democracy. No. 4 is a dissection of and reply to the Encylical 'Quadragemiso Anno' of Pope Pius XI. Aldred claims: 'It is a definite challenge to Socialism in every shape and form. . . .' 'The Pope has made the acceptance of wage-slavery a question of faith and morals.'"

The most strange notice of all appeared in *The Vanguard*, Glasgow, for March 2. This journal is the organ of the Scottish Protestant League, and is edited by Alexander Ratcliffe. The review describes *Socialism and The Pope* in the following terms:—

> "An interesting brochure of some 70 pp. dealing with the Papal Encyclical 'Rerum Novarum' (The Workers' Charter) and generally reviewing the Papal attitude towards Socialism. Much of what is mentioned in that regard already has appeared in the columns of this journal, but the brochure contains much other helpful and interesting information. Of course, we do not agree with all the sentiments expressed in *Socialism and The Pope*. We entirely disagree with the manner in which the author seeks to confuse Religion with True Christianity and spurious Protestantism with genuine Protestantism. Mr. Aldred is generous in his attack on Protestants, as such, but he makes no attack on Roman Catholics. This is significant. On page 12 Protestants are accused that they 'pose, doze and pray on Sunday,' whilst they 'pose, prose and *prey* (italics his) from Monday till the following Sunday.' We are not denying the allegation, for with many Protestants Mr. Aldred's charge is very true. But why pick out the Protestants? Do not Rome's priests *prey* upon Roman Catholics from Sunday to Saturday inclusive, every day and every week? The striking feature of

(*Continued at foot of third column*)

THE ALIEN TRIBUNALS

By LEONARD READ.

The tribunals for aliens have been sitting for several months, patiently investigating the sympathies and records of "enemy aliens." This is a painful word to many of them—the first- and hardest-hit victims of the "enemy's" repression; moreover, they feel a kinship, albeit the negative kinship of a common hostility, with this country. Most of them have been granted either complete or partial liberty of movement, some it has been considered wiser to intern. One may commend generally the care and impartiality that has been shown. Nevertheless some hasty and unwise decisions have been give, resulting in undeserved molestation and stigmatisation.

The primary purpose of the investigations being to winnow into a safe place the traitorous alien masquerading as a refugee; *only* such evidence as proves their malicious intent should condemn them; and conversely *all* evidence of a detestation of Nazi-ism, or even a passive neutrality, should count favourably for the genuine refugee. This is not always so.

A German whom I have known for two years has been interned. For over six years he had been at liberty in England, quietly working at his trade and by study increasing his knowledge of politics and Hitlerism. He had had to leave Germany hurriedly by a subterfuge a few months after Hitler arrived, and since has never written to his family nor made his presence known to the German Government, for fear of reprisals. From his record it is clear that he has no shred of reason to favour Nazi-ism; to which his Social-Democratic views are and always have been so diametrically opposed that one is at a sad loss to guess why he was imprisoned and set among Nazis captured and guarded by the War Office. This was in the teeth of a bunch of impressive testimonials from a wide variety of acquaintances.

An Austrian nurse employed in this (Colchester) district, who had fled because of her Christian Pacifist principles (poison to Hitler) was ordered to be interned by the same tribunal. Again one could not discover any sign of hypocrisy in her antipathy to Nazi-ism; all the evidence pointed to an absolute incompatibility between her faith and that of Greater Germany. Why was she not allowed to continue her work? Reports have been published of an eminent German lyrist, a fugitive from Berlin via Vienna and Czechoslovakia since 1933, and an exemplary guest in England, who has been interned. The language difficulty further hampered his examination.

It is true that none of these three was a Jew, but the fury of Nazi repression does not strike the Jews alone. Hence it should not be suspicious that Gentiles seek asylum among us. All were poor persons of humble origin, but since when has poverty become a stigma or suspicion? How does the claim of our "not being at war with the German people" square with these and similar happenings?

The tribunals are conducted *in camera* and without a jury. These circumstances must be called in question, *when* such mishappenings occur. Because they are infrequent, protest must be lodged against such aberrations, with the intent to rectify them.

(*Continued from second column*)

> our modern social reformers is that, whilst they use their pen much in the joy of attacking Protestantism and Protestants, they are mostly very careful not to say too much to disturb the priests and people of the Church of Rome."

We confess that we are unable to follow this notice. From the very title of the pamphlet it must be obvious that we have no intention of compromising with Rome. We will uphold equal secular and social rights for Catholics, with Protestants and Atheists. Just that. No more. No less. But we have no intention, personally, of compromising with priestcraft in any shape or form.

Mr. Ratcliffe is to be congratulated on the anti-militarist tone of his journal. But he should approach criticism with less sectarian bias. Sectarianism is *not* good Protestantism.

OUR LETTER-BOX

My Dear Aldred,—It gave me great joy to receive THE WORD, and the two pamphlets. I am glad to learn that you are on the side of the angels against this devilish, senseless war. You and I, in our debates, were at cross purposes about words, but fundamentally we are Rationalists and Humanists, except that I believe in some ethical purpose behind the Universe, which is God. You do likewise.

I am Chairman of Coventry Education Committee, which means a good deal of work.

Yours fraternally,
RICHARD LEE.

Coventry, 23.2.40.

Dear Comrade Aldred,—"John MacLean" is magnificent. Also "Socialism and The Pope." With best wishes.

Yours fraternally,
H. W. HENDERSON.

Glasgow, S.1., 24.2.40.

Dear Guy,—It is with pleasure that I write to express my admiration for the February issue of THE WORD. The title of the paper defines the challenge to capitalism, war and the pretence of religion. In the midst of war propaganda, it brings to all who wish to read, the message of Socialism and human dignity.

The short essay on Walter Strickland will give to many the understanding of his broad humanity and passion for freedom. One can only note his last message, wherein he warns the world that the lights of liberty are being extinguished slowly. His last message, at the age of 86, was one that we must heed. It should inspire us to fight for a world that will end forever the sermons of war, poverty, and social conflict.

It was interesting to see a reprint of the anti-war meetings of 1916, on Glasgow Green; and to observe how history is repeating itself.

I must pay tribute to your essay on "Prison—What It Means." It shows that prison does not spell the end of thought. When our conscience is challenged, and prison is our lot, encouraged by your study, we can make it the citadel of our mind and beginning of our future greater struggle. As Thoreau once averred, in a slave state, a man can abide with honour only in a prison.

I hope Glasgow comrades of the N.C.L. and the U.S.M. are struggling ahead in Glasgow. Wishing every success to THE WORD and all comrades in our great and growing movement. Yours for Socialism Against War and Conscription.

ALEC KAYE.

Mile End, London, E.1., 21.2.40.

Dear Sir,—May I thank you for the issue of THE WORD, in which you mentioned my case? I have visited the Appellate Tribunal and can look again at the last sentence you wrote in commenting on my case. I think your remark was a little hasty, for I believe in faith. I told the Glasgow Tribunal that the State thought me too young to think and to vote—I am 20—but not too young to kill or to be killed. My sympathy is with the Socialist movement. After this war, the people might believe what you say and turn to Socialism.

All good wishes,
JAMES McLAREN.

Glasgow, S.W.1., 24.1.40.

Dear Guy Aldred,—Your WORD—for which many thanks—seems to me to be the best guide for C.O.s I wish this awful business would stop. Yet I feel that only intensive education from six upwards will ever make the workers of the world fool-proof. They fall headlong into every bloody trap.

Look at them now! droves and droves of sheep—German, French, Russian and British sheep—all going to the slaughter, and scarcely a bleat! They'll bleat, poor devils, after a few Passendales and Verduns. One simply must stand outside the whole thing. I hope I have the courage of my bitter convictions. Thank you again.

Yours ever,
W. A. RATHKEY.

London, N.W.6., 19.2.40.

Dear Friend Aldred,—Thank you for THE WORD and "Letters to the Editor." I was specially interested in the "Letters." Also, I am drawing people's attention to THE WORD. I sent the February issue to the P.P.U. and asked the Secretary to enquire into the conduct of Bailie Jones, Aberdeen Unitarian Minister, member of the Labour Party and P.P.U., who uses the Bench for war recruiting. I have asked for your facts to be admitted or denied. All the best.

Yours sincerely,
J. W. POYNTER.

London, N.5., 24.2.40.

Dear Comrade Aldred,—It was kind of you to send me the pamphlet on John MacLean. I am glad you are keeping the memory green of the men who have helped to build up our movement. It often seems to me to be one of the tragedies of Labour: we forget so soon and the younger generation never hear of the sacrifice and devotion that makes more tolerable the common life to-day. Your contribution in spreading knowledge about our pioneers is a service of importance. With good wishes.

Yours fraternally,
A. CREECH JONES.

House of Commons, S.W.1., 21.2.40.

Dear Sir,—I wish to thank you for sending THE WORD. I have appreciated it greatly. I will pass it on to friends with hope at least. In any case, I wish more power to your elbow.

Seeing you are applying for funds to clear your indebtedness, I take this opportunity of sending 10/- towards it. I sincerely wish it were more, for your straightforwardness stands out to-day to those that have eyes to see. As you know probably only too well "the People," of whom I am a unit, are either too poor, or too apathetic to their own interests and causes, to help much.

Since I am liable to arrest and what follows for disobeying medical call-up, the likelihood of my being able to read as I choose in the near future diminishes day by day. I rather suspect, therefore, that for you to send the paper to this address (lodging; having to leave my parents for my opinions) for the following twelve months would be a bad investment for spreading the truth in the world.

If not materially or monetarily, at least mentally, I am with you in your efforts "To Rouse the People, To Combat War, and To Speed Commonweal."

Yours sincerely,
ERNEST LANCASTER.

London, E.2., 5.3.40.

Dear Friend,—Reading in a letter: "I am much attracted to Anarchism as this seems to be the only consistent doctrine of real freedom," I am puzzled. How could things be carried on either nationally or internationally without a Government? It almost seems impossible.

I notice reports of the conduct of various Tribunals and I should just like to pay a tribute to the conscientious, fair, and sympathetic manner in which, in my opinion, Judge Longson conducted the cases at the Nottingham Tribunal last Wednesday. Also, genuine international Socialist convictions (Brotherhood of Man) are accepted as conscientious objections.

I was very impressed with your essay "The Word to the World"—splendid.

Best wishes, Yours sincerely,

Boston, Lincs., March 14. FLORA COLLAR.

(Continued from 3rd column.)

as I will, particularly as the State has had no part in my introduction to this portion of the earth, nor has it assumed any responsibility for my life in the past.

"So strongly do I hold to my conscientious belief against partaking in the war, that though I might have appealed on other grounds I have abstained from doing so.

"I have held my conscientious objections to war over 14 years, and if you so desire I am prepared to have this corroborated to-night by a witness.

"I submit to you that it is the leprosy of militarism that is to-day rapidly turning Europe into one vast graveyard of the peoples.

"I have enjoyed for many years liberty of conscience, won by the sacrifice of those who in the past have given all for conscience sake.

"I should be one of the most despicable of men if I were not prepared to suffer in defence of those liberties of conscience of which the people in the past have been so justly proud.

"I am prepared to follow in the footsteps of those early Christians who appeared before the Pagan Tribunals of Rome in a similar cause."

In due course, Turner's appeal was rejected by the Tribunals and he was arrested as an absentee under the Military Service Act. He was brought before Mr. Hay Halkett, the famous Metropolitan Police Magistrate, who sat at the Greenwich Police Court. Halkett objected to the Act and to his task and said so definitely from the bench. His remarks are reported in the *Kentish Mercury*, for July 21, 1916, and go to the root of the matter. Giving his decision, the only one he could give under the Act, Halkett said:—

"It has been held—it is an extraordinary travesty of the English language—that a man who has received notice to do what he has not chosen to do is supposed to have done it: that a man who has not joined the colours is deemed to have done so.'

Turning to the prisoner, Halkett explained:—

"It seems to me that you are as much the victim of the mistakes of the Appeals Tribunal with regard to procedure as you would have been if they had made mistakes on the facts."

"CONSCIENCE & LAW"

FAMOUS MAGISTRATE'S VIEW.

Hay Halkett, the Metropolitan Police Magistrate, who sat at the Greenwich Police Court for many years, was one of the most famous of London magistrates. He never had the courage to act boldly on his view but he protested vigorously every time a C.O. was brought before him for the purpose of being handed over.

Early in May, 1916, K. C. Otley was handed over to the Army by Hay Halkett. In making the necessary order, Halkett protested against the Military Service Act, and stated that he had no doubt that Otley was moved by a genuine conscientious objection to war. This admission was so much but it did not save Otley from subsequent persecution. The consequences of the Tribunal refusing to carry out the Act, and to grant Otley exemption, and of Hay Halkett refusing to take the stand in the matter his clear intelligence directed, are seen in the subsequent treatment of Otley.

On May 2, 1916, Otley was brought before the District Court-Martial sitting in the Institute of the 10th Royal Sussex Regiment, to which Otley was attached. The charge was that Otley "was ordered to join a squad on parade ground on 14th April, 1916. He refused, stating he could not obey any order of the military as it was against his principles."

President: Did he say military or army order?

Capt. Nugent: I could not say.

Otley: Did my answer come as a surprise?

Capt. Nugent: No.

Otley: Did I not refuse because it was against my principles to obey army orders? You know I did not disobey just because I wished to disobey. Did I not disobey because my conscience was involved?

Capt. Nugent: *Yes, of course, I knew it was against his principles. You did not disobey out of disrespect to me, but on account of those principles you hold.*

Prosecutor: Accused has made much of the point of principle but the Army Act states that religious scruples were no excuse for disobeying orders.

President: Your point is that if religious scruples are not recognised, then there are no higher scruples that can be?

Otley: Of course, I know that religious scruples are not recognised in the army; that is one of the reasons why I refuse to join the army. I have been forced into it against my will.

Otley then spoke at some length and concluded:—

"In my view, if I am sentenced to punishment by this Court, it will not be because I have disobeyed a command, as stated on the charge-sheet, but simply because I am carrying out my intention of remaining true to my honest and sincere convictions."

On May 4, 1916, Otley was sentenced to two years' military detention. The Commanding officer made a most improper speech in which he stated that they "*might have to shoot people in England if many more took up that position.*" In a letter, however, he stated: "*Otley's motives are genuine.*"

Hay Halkett spoke more definitely even in the case of Sydney R. Turner, formerly a member of the Deptford Liberal Association and Strand Liberal Club.

Turner, a member of the No-Conscription Fellowship, appeared before the Deptford Tribunal on May, 25, 1916. He read a statement of his case:—

"I am appearing before you this evening for absolute exemption from the Military Service Act No. 2.

"I believe all men are brothers, and I refuse absolutely to take part in the murder of my fellowmen.

"I deny the right of the State to compel me to undertake any service to which I have a conscientious objection.

"My life is my own and I claim to dispose of it

(Continued foot of 2nd column.)

WHEN THE C.O. REACHES WORMWOOD SCRUBBS

Hints for Prospective Guests

By Lord Provost P. J. DOLLAN

[*In recent issues we have described P. J. Dollan's appearance in the Central Police Court, Glasgow, under the Military Service Act, 1916, and his appeal to the High Court of Justiciary, Edinburgh. In addition to these full reports, we reproduced the questions and answers recorded in Hansard concerning his 1917 status as a C.O. Now we reproduce his account of the C.O.'s lot in prison. This article by Dollan was published above his initials, P.J.D., in the *Forward*, for Saturday, November 3, 1917. It is dull and unoriginal and worthy of a man who could not stay the distance.—*Ed.*]

On arrival at Wormwood Scrubbs prison, which, for Scotsmen, is usually about the breakfast hour, the prisoner is "handed over" to the care of the prison authorities, who give the military escort a receipt for the safe custody of the Objector's body. The interned man is then hurried to the reception room, where he is searched, stripped, bathed, and attired in prison garb. All his personal goods and money are taken from him and parcelled against the day of his liberation, and he signs for them before they are packed away. Afterwards the details of his family life and personal beliefs are entered in the prison register, while the librarian presents him, even though he be Atheist or Agnostic, with a Bible and a Church of England prayer book! Then there is the ordeal of medical examination to be gone through, and the "reception" is over.

The reception hospitalities are generally concluded towards evening, at which time all the latest arrivals are marched off to one or other of the four prison halls—each accommodating about 320 prisoners—and then lodged in cells which have been allocated for their convenience. During the first night in a cell you sleep on hard boards. A mattress is only allowed on the fifteenth day. Next morning all the newcomers are taken before the Deputy-Governor, who reads out their names, the totals of their moneys, the religious sect to which they belong, and asks him to confirm his statements. On receiving confirmation, he informs them they can have toothbrushes on demand, and the interview is over.

. . . . . .

The first 28 days following the date of court-martial—all military sentences start from the day of court-martial—are spent in solitary confinement, the only exercise allowed during that time being an hour's walk "in the ring" with other prisoners each morning. The period of solitary confinement may be lengthened beyond 28 days for misconduct, which may consist of untidiness, idleness, talking, or other offence against the numerous regulations. During this period the work usually consists of sewing mail-bags for ten hours a day, and the only literature supplied, apart from the Bible and prayer book, is an elementary book on arithmetic or language.

At the end of 28 days, and provided the prisoner has earned all his good conduct marks—224 (56 for each week)—he is allowed to go on "associated labour." This means that he may work along with other prisoners in "the shed," making mail-bags or ships' fenders, or he may be occupied as a gardener, a labourer, a carpenter, a laundryman, or anything else to which he is appointed. "Associated labour" is much more enjoyable than "solitary confinement," but is always performed under strict supervision, and may be forfeited for "misconduct," which latter, when proved, means at least a return to solitary confinement for three days, with bread and water for diet.

"Associated labour" continues to the end of the prisoner's sentence, unless he breaks the rules, when he loses the privilege for the period of his punishment. The work is not laborious, as it is uneconomical, and there are no set tasks. Each prisoner does what he can as efficiently as possible, and does more than he gets paid for. Sunday is observed as a day of rest, and only duties in connection with the preparation of meals are officially performed on that day. The working day begins at 5.30 a.m.; bedtime is at 8 p.m.; and after that hour lights are put out until next morning. Prisoners do nearly all the work in connection with the prison.

. . . . . .

Prisoners may at any time receive and answer business letters at the discretion of the Governor. The latter can be seen daily on request by those who desire privileges, or who have complaints to make. Those who have religious beliefs are allowed to attend Church of England services twice on Sundays, and once on Wednesdays and Saturdays. In addition, they attend the special service of their own sect once a fortnight. During these services the "no chapel" men are shut up in their cells, so that chapel-going, which is optional, has its advantages. Those who want to go to chapel must make this clear when they are questioned in the reception room.

After the first month, each good-conduct prisoner is given a book per week; after two months, two books per week. Also an educational book is allowed every two weeks; and religious literature and a sixpenny dictionary may be had in addition, if the chaplain approves. The library is comprehensive, and there is a catalogue from which prisoners may make a choice of six books, and use the librarian to procure them as they are available, at the rate of one weekly. Each prisoner is allowed a slate and pencil for writing. After two months a prisoner may write and receive a letter, which privilege may be repeated every subsequent month during sentence; also he may receive a visitor each month, and failing a visitor may have instead the privilege of writing and receiving a letter.

In the seventh or eighth week each prisoner gets an opportunity of appearing before the Central Tribunal, which visits the prison periodically, to have his conscience tested. If found genuine, he will be offered the Home Office Scheme in a few days, and, if he accepts the offer, he will be released shortly afterwards, and sent to a work centre to toil as a labour conscript for 8d. a day plus food and lodging. If he refuses the scheme, or is classed as "ungenuine," he will complete his sentence, minus a remission of one-sixth for good conduct, and will be "released" to begin his dolorous journey anew. Scottish prisoners generally serve their second and subsequent sentences in the prison nearest the military depot of the regiment to which they are attached.

LABOUR, TITLES, AND THE LORD PROVOSTSHIP

The following is culled from *Forward*, Saturday, November 24, 1917:—

"Councillor P. J. Dollan writes criticising the Glasgow Town Council Labour Party for not nominating one of their own members for the Provostship, as they did three years ago, when they nominated P. G. Stewart. He is strongly opposed to the policy of voting for Capitalist nominees to whom the post is but a stepping-stone to a title, and the canvassing, intrigue, and chicanery that goes on to secure votes is disgusting. The election should not be by secret ballot, but should be by open roll-call vote in the Council or more preferably by direct vote of the people."

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The NO CONSCRIPTION LEAGUE

Glasgow and West of Scotland Council

Headquarters—

S.S.P. Rooms, 70 Robertson Street, Glasgow, C.2.

Chairman—GUY A. ALDRED.
Hon Secretary—BERT VALLANCE.
Hon. Treasurer—W. McCLURE.
1720 Great Western Rd., Glasgow, W.3

This is a League of Individual Members and Affiliated Organisations opposed to War and to Military and Industrial Conscription.

The League appeals to all conscientious objectors to join its ranks for mutual aid and support, and the furtherance of the end of violence.

Finance is urgently required. Send donations to the Treasurer.

GLASGOW AND WEST OF SCOTLAND COUNCIL C.O. FUND—See special announcement next issue.

AGGREGATE MEETING. Announcement next month.

ADVISORY BUREAU: 104 George St., C.1.—Every Afternoon, 3—5 p.m.

GROUPS ADVISORY BUREAU, 70 Robertson St.—Saturdays, 3 p.m.

GLASGOW N.C.L. CENTRAL GROUP—Every Wednesday and Thursday. Bakunin Hall, 29 Castle Street, C.4, 7.15 p.m. Secretary, John Fallon, Glencorse Street, Carntyne.

YOKER AND KNIGHTSWOOD N.C.L.—Every Friday, 7.30 p.m. Co-op. Hall, Linden Street. All comrades in this area are invited. Secretary, Thomas F. McLuckie, 38 Cowdenhill Road, Knightswood.

GOVANHILL N.C.L.—Every Monday and Friday, I.L.P. Rooms, Batson Street. Secretary, Henderson Petrie, c/o Ovens, 239 Victoria Road, Glasgow.

BRIDGETON N.C.L.—Every Friday, I.L.P. Rooms, 548 London Road. Secretary, Frank Gaffney, 333 Nuneaton Street, Glasgow, S.E.

GOVAN N.C.L.—Every Thursday, I.L.P. Rooms, 634 Govan Road. All comrades in the South West Area invited. Secretary: A. Porter, 164 Carsaig Drive, Craigton, Glasgow, S.W.2.

S.C.W.S. EMPLOYEES' BRANCH—Every Thursday, S.C.W.S. Welfare Rooms, Morrison Street, Glasgow, C.5., 7.30 p.m. Secretary, Malcolm Walter, 16 Ruel Street, Glasgow, S.4. All employees invited. Subscription, 1/- per annum.

PARTICK N.C.L.—Every Monday, 7 p.m., Young Painters' Hall, Chancellor St., Partick, Glasgow, W.1. Secretary, Campbell Wilkie, 12 Baldrick Road, W.3.

GORBALS AND HUTCHESONTOWN N.C.L.—Every Friday, I.L.P. Rooms, 207 Rutherglen Road, at 7.30 p.m. Secretary, J. Vincent, 768 Rutherglen Road, C.5.

SPRINGBURN N.C.L.—Every Friday, Reid Hall (lower), Queenshill Street, 7.30 p.m. prompt. Secretary, Wilfred Holmes, 22 Hillkirk Street, N.

MARYHILL N.C.L.—Every Thursday, Labour Hut, Kelvinside Avenue, 7.30 p.m. Secretary, Vincent Kelly, 51 Kirkland Street, N.W.

POLLOKSHAWS.—Meets alternate Thursdays, 7.30 p.m., Labour Hall Shawholm Street, Pollokshaws. Secretary, Murdo McLean, 714 Bodystone Road, Thornliebank.

SHETTLESTON.—Meets every Sunday, 3 p.m., I.L.P. Hall, Darleith Street (off Old Shettleston Road). Secretary, Miss Betty Williamson, 232 Amulree Street, E.2.

BARRHEAD.—Meets every Thursday, 7.30 p.m., I.L.P. Rooms, Coogan Street, Barrhead. Secretary, Robert McCubbin, 52 Bellfield Crescent, Barrhead.

PAISLEY.—Meets every Sunday, 7 p.m., Abstainers' Hall, 10 Forbes Place (near Square), Paisley. Secretary, Miss M. Barr, c/o (Treas.) Steen, 30 Underwood Lane, Paisley.

OUTWITH GLASGOW.

SOUTHEND W.R.L. (or N.C.L.)—Every Thursday, I.L.P. Hall, 6 Broadway Market, 7.30 p.m.

HAMMERSMITH N.C.L.—Secy: Annesley Aldred, 85 Addison Gardens, London, W.14.

Hammersmith Group meets every Monday at Secretary's address until headquarters are obtained. THE WORD can be obtained in London from this address.

A. Aldred is addressing N.C.L. meetings throughout London. Phone: Shepherd's Bush 5402.

HAMPSTEAD N.C.L.—Hon. Secretary, L. Prescott, 40 King Henry's Road, Hampstead, London, N.W.3.

SOUTHAMPTON N.C.L.—Albert McCarthy, Secy., 14 Colebrook Avenue, Shirley, Southampton.

ABERDEEN N.C.L.—Every Friday, 7.30 p.m., I.L.P. Hall, 126 George Street.

All other N.C.L. Groups or Branches are invited to send announcements.

ABERDEEN I.L.P.—Branch Rooms, 126 George St. Branch meets every Monday, 8 p.m. All unattached Socialists should join. Comrades in outlying districts should contact and send subscriptions. Sunday meetings, 8 p.m., Belmont Cinema. Questions and discussion at all meetings. Anti-war films shown.

THE WORD

To Rouse The People, To Combat War, and To Speed Commonweal.

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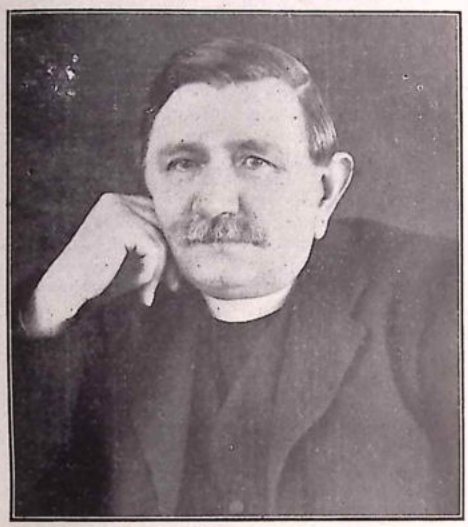
The POLITICAL OBJECTOR

A Statement of His Case

By The Rev. RICHARD LEE, M.A.



(Formerly Minister, Ross St. Unitarian Church, Glasgow: now Minister New Great Meeting House, Coventry.)

[Outline: Distinction between religious and political conscience—(1) Distinction false and illiterate; Historical Position: *e.g.*, the Hebrew Prophets, Greek Philosophers, and Puritan Politicians. (2) Distinction Dishonest; Imperialist Politics are conscientious; The Tribunal in Evidence. Political objections are most cogent of all. The record of British politics proves they helped to bring on this war. The present policy is prolonging this war by ineptitudes and worse. The future of war. No possible peace out of a military victory. H. A. L. Fisher proves the futility of past wars. Why fight for more futility?]

THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN A RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL CONSCIENCE.

In the last war I remember writing to *The Nation* pleading the case of the political objector. He was treated with scant courtesy by the Tribunals of those days.. A man whose conscience allowed him to shirk the responsibilities of citizenship and whose knowledge of international affairs was as slender as Mr. Churchill's practice of principle was recognised as having a conscience.

A political objector, whose objection to war was based on criticism of the policies which made war inevitable, was sniffed at by supercilious Tribunals as a rapscallion with no conscience. In spite of the improvements in the attitude and procedure of some Tribunals to-day towards conscientious objectors, this distinction between religious and political objectors is the ruling decision.

It is the decision of local Tribunals and it has been upheld by the Appeal Tribunal presided over by the Right Honourable H. A. L. Fisher, the eminent historian and the former Minister of Education.

CONSCIENCE: MAY 1916—MAY 1940

When certain C.O.s were maltreated during 1916-1918, Government spokesmen denied the facts. When Conscription was introduced in 1939, the Premier and other Ministers stated that the 1916 persecutions must not be repeated. The case of Kenneth Makin shows that May 1940 repeats May 1916. The excuse that Military Detention is not imprisonment will be answered by the editor next month.

THE DISTINCTION IS FALSE AND ILLITERATE.

It is amazing that men with some pretensions to scholarship and intelligence should uphold this distinction and condemn political objectors as mountebanks while they admit the conscience of a Plymouth Brother or a Christadelphian.

In a narrow sense, it may be that Mr. Fisher could justify the distinction between religion and politics just as he could justify the distinction between religion and morality. If we took Sir James Frazer's definition of religion as communion with some higher supernatural power, that might rule out both politics and morality.

It may be that this primitive distinction is far too characteristic of modern religion of all schools, christian and pagan.

But a man's conscience is usually regarded as having some relation to an ethical religion. It is an expression conscious or unconscious of a certain view of man's place in the universe. With such a meaning, the separation of religion and politics is sheer nonsense. One cannot be religious and ignore one's duty to one's fellow-man and society. And to recognise one's duty to one's fellow-man is, at any rate, some part of religion.

I wonder whether these members of Tribunals who pour scorn on the humanitarian conscience or the political conscience ever learnt at school Leigh Hunt's "Abou ben Adhem"?

It might enlighten their minds to read it again.

When an objector to this war attempts to argue that it has arisen through political foolishness or bad economics, or when he states that he objects to kill his fellow-man because of humane reasons, some learned man on the Tribunal benches usually turns upon him with some such question as:—

Have you no farther reason?
What is your authority?
Have you read your Bible?
When did you read it last?

If he can trot out some appropriate text he is treated with deference and remains on the list as a valid conscientious objector. If he upholds

his own judgment by political or human arguments, he will most likely be crossed off the list.

This is due to a false, mischievous and illiterate distinction between religion and politics.

THE HISTORICAL POSITION.

The attitude too common in all kinds of Christian churches that the churches should taboo politics is mainly responsible for the growth of Hitlerism in Germany in Britain and in many other parts of the world.

It is one of the main causes of the present war.

I once heard one of the most cultured Unitarian laymen argue that it was a mistake for a Unitarian minister to deal with social and political problems. The church was a place of refuge for the weary, a home of quiet devotion and of refreshment for the soul and nothing more.

It is a position which is inconsistent with the highest conceptions of religion and politics.

Let me name a few examples..

THE HEBREW PROPHETS.

The Hebrew prophets were intensely religious men. Their declarations were made as the servants of the Highest. "Thus saith the Lord" was their formula. But they were intimately associated with politics and economics. They laid down concrete policies both on home and foreign affairs.

Amos was a politician and social agitator. Isaiah was a statesman of insight and with close knowledge of affairs. Jeremiah took sides very emphatically on vital political issues. He did that as a prophet of God and for his political faith was called a pro-Babylonian and put down into a noisome well to perish. The politics of the prophets were matters of religion.

THE GREEK PHILOSOPHERS.

The Greek philosophers, Socrates, Plato and Aristotle had I suppose some pretensions to religion, or at any rate to morality. But with them this taboo of politics as something outside the sphere of the soul would have been only worthy of barbarians.

To Plato the soul of man and the state were bound together in indissoluble unity. Aristotle's ethics and politics really belong to the same volume. The good man with both Plato and Aristotle is the good citizen. If a man can justify himself politically, it is tantamount to a moral justification.

Mr. H. A L Fisher's ruling that a politician has no conscience may be true of his former associates, some of whom have helped to bring on the present war.

But it is a ruling entirely opposed to any worthy and intelligent conception of human life such as was put forward in Plato's Republic or Aristotle's Ethics.

THE PURITAN POLITICS.

The Puritans and for that matter their antagonists the Cavaliers were politicians. They preached political sermons and very long ones.

I do not agree with their politics but at any rate they did not divorce religion from political affairs. John Milton was, I presume, a religious man and wrote religious poems. Even in "Paradise Lost" and "Paradise Regained" there is a political motive as well as in Samson Agonistes or Comus or "Aeropagitica."

To the greatest of the Puritans this divorce of religion and human affairs would have been as repugnant as it is to Plato and the Greek moralists.

THE DISTINCTION IS DISHONEST.

To rule out pacifist politics as non-religious is dishonest as well as false.

Those who denounce most vehemently "politics in the pulpit" almost invariably mean anything opposed to their prejudice.

The Anglican, Congregational or Unitarian who gets apopleptic at peace sermons does not resent a good rousing patriotic sermon on Churchillian lines.

So long as you support the Government and the Constitution and the Empire and sing

"Confound their politics
Frustrate their knavish tricks,"

it is good religion. Only when you go back to the ethics of Jesus or Mencicus or Sakya Muni do you become a rabid politician.

It is curious that those members of the Tribunals who do not like the political arguments of objectors very often use political arguments themselves. It is a political argument, for example, to assert

"Our war is a war to defend neutrals."

"Our war was caused by Hitler's attack on small states."

"There is no other way to destroy aggression save to wage ruthless war."

Such statements as these are being made continually in the little moral lectures of the members of Tribunals.

They are political arguments, which are entirely irrevelant, if a political conscience is no conscience at all. Yet the latter is the final decision given by Mr. H. A. L. Fisher and his colleagues of the National Tribunal.

It is one of the many instances how the violent struggle against Hitlerism by methods immoral and irrational leads inevitably to the wholesale imitation of Hitlerism in its worst phases.

The mining of Norwegian waters is another instance reported over the wireless as I write.

Thus devil casts out devil and seven devils and seven devils more come back to have their fling.

The only politics the Tribunals recognise is the politics of the Class-State which they represent.

THE POLITICAL OBJECTIONS ARE THE MOST COGENT OF ALL.

The purely abstract objections to killing in warfare, however much supported by the dicta of moralists and philosophers, always seem to me difficult to uphold when we come to the concrete affairs of the present world. I hold those objections, but without the additional backing of the political considerations they would be somewhat weakened and unconvincing to the average man. When we face the facts, the political and economic facts, there is no case for the present war. It is utterly senseless and wicked.

On purely emotional grounds, to fight Hitlerism by his own methods makes a popular appeal just as resisting a big bully wins the applause of the crowd (though it is a wretched and foolish analogy). But when we ask "What are the political and economic causes of Hitlerism," the emotional passion is cooled and we strive to get down to basic realities. *The Past proves the war is ours as well as Hitler's.* There is not a shadow of doubt to any impartial mind that Hitlerism is partly the effect of the unjust and foolish policy of Britain and France at the Versailles Conference and also in making the League of Nations an instrument for achieving the aims of the Allies rather than establishing peace on a basis of justice.

If that is one of the main causes of the rise of Hitlerism a change in Allied policy might have prevented its growth. And the only way the Allies can help to put down Hitlerism is to amend their own ways and express willingness for a revolution in their own political and economic policies. The political judgment in regard to the past has a vital bearing on one's judgment of the war and how to bring it to an end.

Lord Davies in to-day's *Manchester Guardian* gives his view of the Premier's policy leading to the present situation.

"Mr. Chamberlain's strivings for peace ended in failure because he adopted methods and pursued a policy which were bound sooner or later to land us in war. What grounds are there to suppose that a Prime Minister who has so signally failed to deliver the goods in peace time will be more successful in the conduct of war?"

Lord Davies says in effect, Mr. Chamberlain's foolish policy led us into war. In supporting the war one is backing up the same Mr. Chamberlain, unless he has been radically changed.

"Can the Ethiopian change his skin?"

Take the politics of the next most important member of the British Cabinet. I know intimately Mr. Churchill's political career. He used to be my member of Parliament. I would just as soon trust Adolph Hitler as trust Mr. Churchill's policies as principles. Yet the conduct of the war will be determined as much by him as by any other man in the Cabinet. This is a political objection, yet it carries more appeal to my conscience than all the pacifist sermons I have read or the texts quoted against the theory and practice of war. Yet if I were to urge this, to me, overwhelmingly cogent reason why I should keep out of this war, I should be treated with utter contempt by any Tribunal in Britain.

THE PRESENT IS INEPT GOVERNMENT POLICY.

The same kind of objection could be urged because of present happenings and the policies pursued by the Government.

I could well imagine someone under military age last September hearing Mr. Chamberlain's impressive words :—

"It will be evil things that we are fighting." Saying, "Yes, when my time comes, I shall be in the fight:"

To-day, April 1940, it is a different story.

These months have passed by. We see more clearly what the war is and what has caused it. Russia has been driven into the arms of Hitler. The pathetic request of the neutrals that we should consider ways of reaching peace has been turned down with contempt. Britain and France, in spite of repeated affirmations about unity, give conflicting statements about peace aims. The prevailing French view is the utter destruction of Germany, a view Mr. Chamberlain has denied emphatically on more than one occasion.

Why should any man fight for he knows not what?

International Law has been flouted shamelessly by both belligerents. Germany breaks it first. Then the Allies are justified by way of reprisal in breaking some other law. We shall go on to fulfil Mr. Churchill's prophecy and be ready to break every law human and divine in our lust for victory. Yet Lord Cecil preaches his pious sermon about the War for the Sanctity of the Law of Nations.

I can well imagine the eager patriot of last September saying, "If this cowardly confusion, this multiplication of callousness and cruelty, this refusal to consider anything but the mad mass-murder of innocents, if this is war I will leave the ghastly mess alone." In fact, this is what millions are thinking. The present imbecilities of the politicians make even those who have a fighting impulse revolt against war.

It is a political objection but it goes home to the intelligent soul of decent men.

THE FUTURE OF THE WAR: A COMMUNIST GERMANY OR A NATIONALIST GERMANY?

A thoughtful objector will exercise some thought as to the political future of the war. He will ask what good is likely to come from its continuance. I am sure in my own mind it is generally true, "The longer war the worse the peace." But one should always distrust generalisations. I usually ask war-supporters: "Your war aim is to destroy Hitlerism. What kind of Government do you suppose will take its place?"

It is difficult to get an answer. But my answer is fairly definite. You will have a revolution to the right or to the left. If Communism wins in Germany, Hitler will fade; Stalin will rule the major part of Europe.

Is that your peace aim? Do you think you will get your Europe a Paradise Regained, the dream of Halifax, Attlee, Gilbert Murray and the other moon-struck idealists whose pious faith in another war to end war has not been shattered? If Germany goes right, as I think is more likely, Rudolf Olden, a competent German authority, thinks there will be a sure revival of German militarism.. Hitler will live in a new form. It is extremely unlikely that a Brüning Government of tame Liberals will ever get a chance again in Germany.

We are fighting to put a Hohenzollern prince on the throne. That is Duff Cooper's prophecy. It is either that or Communism. To fight for either consummation is not the lot most British workers would choose.

If they face realities they will say why should I fight in this tortuous, doubtful battle?

The objection is political but again it appeals to the reasonable soul of a decent human being. Why should it be ruled out?

MR. FISHER'S POLITICAL REASONS.

I was reading the other day Mr. H. A. L. Fisher's *History of Europe*. It is a finely written treatise on non-Marxian lines. But I could find inside its pages as good political arguments against war as in the New Testament.

The three great wars of the past 120 years are the Napoleonic War, the Crimea War, and the Great War. In regard to all three, Mr. Fisher shows their futility. He claims indeed that the defeat of Napoleon gave us forty years of peace. Nevertheless, Mr. Fisher shows that Napoleonism had a long life in Europe. You destroyed Napoleon but gave a new lease of life to Napoleonism and I can see many traces of Napoleonism in the present temper of France.

In regard to the Crimea War, the late Lord Salisbury said we put our money on the wrong horse. Fisher, on page 946, admits that this is fundamentally correct. His judgment on the results of the late Great War are more relevant to our present theme. He affirms definitely the utter failure of that war to achieve its aims.

Let me quote his words (page 1169) :—

"When the Treaty of Versailles was finally signed in the Galerie des Glaces, where half a century earlier the Hohenzollern Empire had been proclaimed, everybody felt that a great opportunity had been missed. The statesmen had not been equal to the grandeur of events. They had made a peace which was no peace. American idealists, who were well content that the doctrine of self-determination should be vindicated in respect of their Red Indians and Africans, joined with English idealists, who were not proposing to march out of India or Egypt, in denouncing the lapses from the high doctrine of self-determination which were noted in the treaties.

"Human nature, it was felt, had failed. Europe had not been made safe for democracy. The bright exhilaration of victory was soon blotted out by the fog of disillusion, resentment and despair."

These words of the President of the London Appeal Tribunal should be shown in large letters on the walls of all the rooms where Conscientious objectors are being examined by elderly men, most of whom believe pathetically that you should have another attempt to cast out the devils of war by means of Beelzebub, the Prince of Devils.

Nearly every speech from Labour, Conservative, or Liberal is dazzled by what Mr. Fisher calls "the bright exhilaration of victory."

Any commonsense political objector who, in a cool hour, looks at the history of the Allied leaders, especially British politicians who shout for victory now, will see already the fog of disillusion. Resentment also will fill his mind that he should be dragged into another vain struggle by sordid methods of cowardice and cruelty to reach peace, security and happiness for the peoples of Europe.

THE WORD for August, 1939, reprinted William Gallacher's attack on P. J. Dollan from *The Worker*, for August 26, 1922. Gallacher never repented that attitude. In the *Daily Worker* for Monday, January 9, 1932—that is nearly 10 years later—he wrote :—

"Dollan was a patriot in the early stages of the war, engaged in writing rotten slush for the *Daily Citizen*. His conscience developed when conscripting was introduced. This 'courageous fight' consisted in accepting the Home Office scheme.

"But he didn't have to complete his time. Does Sylvia Pankhurst know that while genuine C.O.s were undergoing the harshest possible treatment, the authorities allowed Dollan to return to his home in Glasgow? What a creature to be presented as a 'courageous fighter.'"

Some folk have to choose still between Willie Gallacher, M.P., and Lord Provost Dollan.

THE SENTRY

By George E. Whitman.

The morning's rain had filled the streets with mud which, in the mildness of the afternoon, exhaled a thin mist. The veiled autumnal sun hung in the south-west, a lifeless dull-red disc, as though arrested there in its daily course. It was that hour of Sunday afternoon when the life of the London suburbs seems to have reached the lowest ebb of the whole week. The few walked without energy and their faces looked blank and lifeless. They felt oppressed, in their overcoats, by the damp and unseasonable warmth. The occasional cars which passed sounded a little muted in the mist and seemed in no hurry to reach their destinations. So much of life might be observed and the feeble pulse of it seemed to be measured by the doleful monotone of a chapel bell which could be felt, rather than heard, as it came slowly over the housetops from a few streets away. The hour of evensong was earlier now for Britain was at war, and they who wished to meet and worship the Prince of Peace must do so before darkness fell.

The trees which overhung the roadway at the foot of the common dripped upon a shabbily-dressed man who limped along beneath them. He was carrying a tray which held a few boxes of matches, and propped up on the tray was a piece of cardboard bearing the words: "Ex-service man—my only means of support." A policeman strolled past him glancing at him with that look of suspicion which the guardians of our society inevitably bestow upon those who threaten it by being threadbare and miserable. When he had passed, the match-seller turned and looked at his broad back and the red band of beef-and-beer-nourished flesh which could be seen between helmet and collar. But the match-seller's unshaven face was expressionless; it was the face of one beyond resenting, beyond hoping, beyond even despairing. On the breast of his worn coat were two medals. The colours of their ribbons were faded to a uniform dull grey by long exposure to the weather.

More people appeared. The chapel bell and other bells were summoning them. Some were going to the services from the sheer inertia of custom; some from a vague feeling that religion, like the strolling policeman, was a guardian of property and society as at present constituted; a few were going in order to pray. Hymns were being sung and sermons preached exhorting to goodwill, peace, charity and the forgiveness of enemies. Yet the world outside was as pitiless as ever, and at vantage-points all about the metropolis anti-aircraft guns pointed skywards to show how sincerely we hold this our faith of twenty centuries.

Some of the churchgoers were passing an advertisement hoarding. "Freedom is in Danger," proclaimed the posters, "Your Courage, Your Cheerfulness, Your Resolution will bring Us Victory"; "Beer is Best, Stick to Beer." But the passers-by were apathetic. The posters had but little effect on their slogan-dulled minds. Perhaps, here and there, one whose critical faculty was not quite deadened wondered a little at the distinction between first and second persons in the "Victory" poster.

Through the mist the faint, ever-present roar of the great city rose, though dulled, yet even on a Sunday afternoon with a hint of something menacing and terrible in it. Many shops had shutters of unpainted wood over their windows; many were sandbagged. At a street corner was a fortified police post. Two special constables wearing shrapnel helmets walked slowly by with a look of extreme boredom on their faces. A taxicab with ladders mounted on its roof, drawing a fire-pump on a trailer and manned by auxiliary firemen drove past. Quite half the human beings in sight were wearing unforms. It was as though they tried, by surrendering their independence of judgment and action, to avoid their share of the responsibility for the catastrophic situation which was the consequence of the sin of their unawareness.

Still, it was the Sabbath day, and the precept made so long ago at the foot of Mount Sinai incongruously and indifferently observed by us of modern times. As the afternoon wore on many a respectable citizen stirred on the sofa where he had been sleepily digesting the ritual Sunday joint, and stooped stertorously to pick up from the floor the crumpled sheets of his favourite Sunday newspaper. This had been of unusual interest to-day. For the first time for months a topic, in fact two topics, had arisen of sufficient national importance to take precedence over war news: the resumption of horse racing and of football pools.

On the other side of the main road, opposite the common, stood a large church, built of red brick in late Victorian times. Some people, mostly old ladies carrying bibles and prayer books, were entering its door. On a board in front was a poster of the "wayside pulpit" variety. "A Thought for the Week," it said, "Never let a quarrel be your master." At one side of the church was the church-hall, a smaller building also of red brick. The patriotic vicar had placed this at the disposal of the war office and it was occupied by some sort of military detachment.

A little crowd had gathered here to watch a sentry who was on duty at the entrance.

He was a lad of twenty, tall, erect and fresh-complexioned. His body was well-knit and well-proportioned. But his head had been cropped close and encased in a metal helmet; his fine calves were constricted and tied up by puttees; over his left shoulder he bore a weapon which the devoted skill of scientists and artisans had fashioned so that it could be used lethally at a distance of a mile from its victims; from his belt hung a blade of finely-tempered steel cunningly designed for piercing the kidneys of other lads exactly like himself except that they spoke another variant of the Saxon tongue; on his back were a variety of weighty accoutrements for such purposes as scratching holes in the ground, enabling him to breathe in the midst of asphyxiating gases, polishing brass buttons and all the numberless other accomplishments of the "good soldier." He marched stiffly twelve paces in one direction, turned solemnly in three jerks lifting his feet high off the ground, and marched twelve paces the other way, and so on. And even as his body was cased and constricted by uncouth clothes and gear so was his mind hypnotised and strait-jacketed by the drill sergeant. His eyes were fixed and staring; his facial expression, which once had been pleasant and mobile, was stiff and constrained. He looked right through the little crowd of people and the "wayside pulpit." He seemed the very type of those millions of young men in Britain, in Europe, in the world beyond, who have allowed a quarrel to become their master indeed—who have allowed their souls to be bartered to the brute-master of militarism and war.

The sun had sunk below the roof-tops. On the common the wind amongst the trees murmured a threnody. Dusk, the unrelieved, unlighted dusk of war-time London, descended. The mist swirled and thickened. The little crowd that had been gazing at the lad, dully with almost impersonal curiosity, had melted away. But the sentry kept on marching up and down, up and down, twelve paces each way, in the gathering gloom.

A MONUMENT PROPOSED.

Dear Sir,—Isn't your exposure of the "over age conshies" turned labour imperialists in rather bad taste? Would it not be more fitting if you advocated a monument raised by public subscription in recognition of their valuable services given in two great wars?

Yours sincerely,

V. WILSON.

Headle Green, Cheshire, 17/4/40.

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LONDON CASES

On Wednesday, January 24, Frederick South, Hassard Street, Hackney, E., was registered for non-combatant duties only.

His father had served for 17 years in the Army and had fought in the Boer War and the Great War. The father told the Tribunal :—

"I have told my son that if he takes up arms, I will disown him."

On Monday, February 19, Frank Millbank, Grove Place, Ealing, told the Tribunal that he had been brought up by his widowed mother to think that the taking of life was an evil thing. Even if sanctioned by the Government, there would be no justification for the murder of war. He considered war was wrong, even if fought for a good purpose.

As regards non-combatant work, he could not take part in it as it helped the military machine. He would be willing to do work under civil control.

The decision of the Tribunal was that they thought there was a genuine conscientious objection to both fighting and non-combatant services. Millbank would have to find work of an agricultural or forestry nature.

A similar decision was given next day in the case of John Raymond Shinn, St. Dunstan's Avenue, Acton. Since his schooldays, he had thought that all wars were futile and murder. The British Government's attitude after the last war was partially the cause of this war. Not being able to vote, he was unable to vote against this Government. It was barbaric to take any part in warfare. It was contrary to the teachings of Christ, and he would not take any part in it.

The condition in the case of Cecil Kenworthy, a civil servant, employed at the Probate Register, and living at Gunterstone Road, West Kensington, W.14, was that he remain in his present employment. The Tribunal considered this to be useful work.

Kenworthy said that war was a barbarous evil. It made a feeling of hatred, which destroyed any hopes of a lasting peace.

Questioned by Sir Edmund Phipps, Kenworthy said that he could not take part in noncombatant duties as that would be assisting the war.

In answer to another question, applicant said his work was important, but did not help in the war.

A. F. Roberts, Norwood, was granted non-combatant duties. He pleaded on religious grounds and quoted the text : "Thou shalt not kill." He considered that there was not much difference between a soldier and a murderer.

Judge Hargreaves asked Roberts if he thought they should alter the hymn to : "Onward, Christian Murderers."

Roberts assented.

One of the most interesting cases considered by the London Tribunal during its sittings was that of Philip John Kemp, 55 Hazeldean Road, Harlesden, a roundsman employed by the London Co-operative Society.

In his written application he said he had been taught to avoid violence and he did not regard war as a solution to international disputes. "All the world is my country and all mankind my brethren," he wrote.

Later Kemp said he was not at all sure that the object of the present war was what it purported to be.

Sir Edmund Phipps : "You say there was some secret object under the benches when the House of Commons went to war?"

Kemp : "Possibly."

Mr. Rodney Haines, an organiser in the London Co-operative Branch of the National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers, said he had known Kemp for five years. Haines added :—

"Since the present war commenced the London Co-op. Society, through their employees, have set up a 2d. per week Soldiers' Comforts Fund for employees in the Forces, the money being deducted each week from the wages. Kemp has religiously refused to subscribe. At the last branch meeting of the Union there was a very violent discussion. Such insults were hurled at members like Kemp that they were mean about 2d., but Kemp stuck to his guns that even by the 2d. per week he was helping forward the military machine.

"The possibility has arisen of the L.C.S. supplying bread to the troops. Kemp has taken it upon himself to see that he is not mixed up in that."

Referring to the Socialist Sunday School, Mr. A. B. Swales said he knew its principles and they were equal to any Christian teaching in his view.

The Tribunal directed that Kemp be exempted from military service on condition he got agricultural or forestry work.

Kemp : I object to that position. I am going to appeal

At the Conscientious Objectors' Tribunal, held on Tuesday, February 13, 1940, at the Fulham Town Hall, Judge Hargreaves, the President, had to complain of interruptions from the gallery. When the "tittering" did not cease, he requested two men to leave. One of the men was in the uniform of a member of the R.A.F., and he shouted out "If you want my name, you can get it from my Commanding Officer, King George VI."

Henry Ralph Bauckham, a wallpaper designer, living at Hitherbroom Road, Hayes, told the Tribunal that Christ came to save life and not to destroy. Helping the wounded was assisting the war, and he had conscientious objections of so doing.

The Rev. Harold R. Gordon, Minister of Hayes Baptist Church, spoke of Bauckham's sincerity.

The Tribunal decided that applicant should be put on non-combatant duties only.

Arthur Frederick Boccuis, employed as a clothing manufacturer's assistant, and living at Harrow Road, W., said he considered there was nothing more unsatisfactory than war. His objection against war was on Christian ethical grounds. War was wrong, and such a wicked thing that he must separate himself from taking any part in it.

Mr. Charles A. Boccuis said his son was sincere in his views.

The Tribunal came to the conclusion that there was a strong objection to war and non-combatant duties, and he would be conditionally registered provided he remained at his present occupation.

On Wednesday, February 14, Joseph William Curtis, a motor driver, of Windsor Buildings, Cato Street, W.1, said, as a member of the slave class, his objection to war was that it gained nothing for his class but medals and artificial limbs.

The tribunal said there was no matter of conscience concerned, and applicant's name would be removed from the register.

Frederick Harold Dowse, a general labourer, of Poplar Place, Central Avenue, Hayes, said he objected to military service as he had been taught it was wrong to kill. His father had served in the last war to improve conditions, but had found out his mistake.

The tribunal said Dowse would be employed on non-combatant service.

On Wednesday, Kenneth Ivor Foot, an estate clerk, living at Stonor Road, West Kensington, W.14, said that as a Christian Pacifist he renounced war, claiming that no man has any moral right to kill or take any part in war.

Foot stated that he was a vegetarian, as he disbelieved in killing animals. He had a duty to his fellow-men rather than to the State. He would organise resistance, and when everybody believed in passive resistance there could be no war. If they at first sacrificed their own lives, it would eventually stop an intended invasion.

As regards doing civil work under civil control, it would still be helping the war.

Foot was put on non-combatant duties.

Stephen Hathaway Fothergill, of Gunterstone Road, West Kensington, W.14, formerly a clerk but now working on a pig farm, said he was unable to take any part in war, as it was wrong and fundamentally un-Christian.

Fothergill said that if the Germans invaded London he would give them cups of tea and not resist them, and they would be demoralised. Though he had not been there, he believed the average Nazi to be a decent man.

The tribunal said they were satisfied there was a conscientious objection to war and also to non-combatant duties. Fothergill would be kept on the register, providing he continued in his present employment.

EDINBURGH CASES

On Wednesday, January 24, the Tribunal for Conscientious Objectors for Edinburgh and South-East Scotland, held in Edinburgh, granted conditional exemption to three members of the Community of the Son of God.

R. Taylor, 92 Cardross Crescent, Broxburn, was registered as a conscientious objector, on condition that he undertook employment in the oil industry; C. Fisher, 17 West Main Street, Whitburn, on condition that he undertook market gardening; and W. Paterson, 6 Second Avenue, Newcraighall, Musselburgh, on condition that he undertook employment in the coal-mining industry.

Taylor said that he could not serve in the R.A.M.C., because he could not be a bond servant of two kings. He was a bond servant of the Lord Jesus Christ. If he were to drive a lorry wearing the King's uniform he would be breaking the law of the Lord Jesus Christ.

Asked if a postman could not be a Christian, Taylor replied he could not be a true Christian.

A representative of the community of the Son of God said the community did not object to putting on a uniform, but they did not believe in putting on the King's uniform.

Replying to Professor Galbraith, Fisher said he had strong feelings on uniform.

All kinds of uniform?—Yes, the military uniform.

You would not object to be a postman, but you would object to be in the military?—Yes.

Asked by Dr. E. M. Wedderburn if he would rather live in this country or Germany, Fisher replied in this country.

Asked to give his reason, he said—"Because the Government allows us to preach God's Word."

THE GLASGOW N.C.L.

I address these lines to all comrades belonging to the Glasgow N.C.L.

I have resigned from the Chairmanship and Council of the West of Scotland N.C.L., on a matter of principle and policy. Since I became Chairman of the organisation, my idea has been to build a powerful association for assisting, in every way possible, the war resister, irrespective of his grounds for such resistance. I wished to see the Glasgow N.C.L. establish headquarters and build up a C.O. Fund. I know that this could have been done. The end of this month would have witnessed complete success in both directions.

The proper organisation of the N.C.L. is a matter of urgency. During the past year, the Glasgow organisation has had to overcome considerable sabotage, dictated by carcerism and incompetence on the part of the carcerists. The N.C.L. has survived these attempts to destroy it but has fallen into hopeless confusion from want of faith in itself.

I trust that the N.C.L. will recover from this error. I hope that all young comrades, and older ones also, will work for the successful organisation of our movement. For the N.C.L. is **our** movement. The Glasgow N.C.L., properly organised, is **the movement** of the conscientious objector, the anti-militarist, and working-class of Scotland during this period of crisis. Sooner or later, **and it must be sooner,** the N.C.L. must be established on a proper basis in Scotland.

I would have liked to have continued the work to which, during the past year, I have addressed my energies. I am not prepared to compromise my allegiance to the N.C.L., as the actual organisation of the C.O., in order to advance the status and interests of political carcerists. I believe in an absolutely C.O. organisation—in a word, the N.C.L.

I have cancelled all N.C.L. meetings. The service I might have rendered as Chairman of the organisation I cannot render as an outsider.

CONCHIE COMMENT

Norman Case was granted total exemption by the Bristol Tribunal. He returned to his work at the Arnold Glove Co. on Wednesday, February 28. As he entered the workroom, all the men downed tools. *The firm was compelled to sack him.* All the persons who struck are members of the Glovers' Union, but their strike was unofficial. One of them explained this stupid attitude of reactionary trades unionism to the *Daily Herald* reporter :—

"We fought in the last war, and some of us have sons now serving with the Forces.

"Why should they fight for their country for 14s. a week when another man can stay at home as a conscientious objector and earn big money?"

A principal of the firm explained : "*I had no option in the matter.*" The attitude of the trade unionist glovers of Yeovil has forced other gloving firms to state that they cannot employ conscientious objectors.

An interesting statement was made at the Conscientious Objectors' Appeal Tribunal for England and Wales in London on December 18. R. S. Hildersey, of New Southgate, was registered for non-combatant duties. His father, Walter Hildersley, gave evidence.

Mr. Hildersley stated that his son would not join the Boy Scouts because of his dread of soldiers. He would not take part in such sports as fishing and shooting because of his dread of causing any pain.

The father admitted that his son had been persecuted at home because of his views. He said frankly :—

"When we knew of his registration as a conscientious objector things became very bad at home."

When the local tribunal decided against the son, and he lodged his appeal, disputes in the house became severe, and the son left home. The father realised that his attitude towards his son was wrong :—

"It was then that I discovered I had a conscience too. I decided it was unfair for me to judge him when he should be governed by the decisions of this court."

Not only was this case interesting because of the father's frank statement. The representative of the Ministry of Labour made an intriguing declaration also. He directed attention to a phrase in the local tribunal's decision that Hildersley's objections "were purely of a political character." The Minister wished to emphasise that it was perfectly possible for an applicant to have definite political objections to the present Government and the present war and yet to have an absolute objection to all war.

It is a pity that the Appeal Tribunal did not grant exemption.

Last July, Dr. A. W. F. Blunt, the Bishop of Bradford, in his *Messenger*, advised his clergy to help C.O.s to be represented at the tribunal, and to support them if they were victimised. He wrote :—

"No decent persons want a repetition of the persecution to which conscientious objectors to military service were often subjected in 1914-18."

When the National Service Act was passed, Dr. Guy Warman, in the *Manchester Diocesan Leaflet*, demanded respect for "*the real conscientious objector*" and asked that the conscience clauses should be administered sympathetically.

The *Manchester Guardian* for March 11 drew attention to sentences of four years and two years respectively passed the previous day by the Marseilles Military Court on the French conscientious objector brothers, Philippe and Pierre Vernier. Philippe Vernier spoke in Manchester during a visit to England in 1937. He had then already undergone a year's solitary confinement at Lille in 1933 followed by two years' imprisonment, being allowed, after release, to go as an assistant minister to North Africa. In 1936 he returned to France, and on the outbreak of war he came back from Belgium, where he was in charge of a church, but again refused, as a Christian Pacifist, to serve in the French Army.

Now charged with insubordination and disobedience, Philippe Vernier told the Military Court that what was needed was not defence but a Christian offensive against war comparable to that which had been waged against slavery.

His brother, who was charged with disobedience, said he could only fight with the weapons of the spirit.

FREETHOUGHT MEMORIES

The following letter from our comrade Matt Kavanagh is too long to be published in the "Letter Box" :—

"Southend-on-Sea,
"April 2nd, 1940.

"Dear Guy,—The WORD improves with every copy. I hope, sincerely, that it is spreading in other places.

"Thanks for pamphlets, *Historical and Traditional Christianity*, and *Dogmas Dicarded*. To me, the latter was the more interesting, for it unfolds and proves a fact of which not many are conscious. This is mainly due to their inability to express themselves. Ideas that come to us, out of our mental volition, in early life, are the main-springs that influence all our thoughts, with modifications, throughout life; or, as in your case, with confirmation.

"You were fortunate in your experience with the clergy. You were much more fortunate than I was. My early associations were such that I became a bitter hater of them; and now, at 64, I look upon them still as the 'Black Gendarmie.' My contact was with the R.C. variety of the pest, as John Most called them; your contact was with the more dangerous kind, the alleged liberal-minded. The liberal clergy, like the good capitalists, excuse the existence of the system in the minds of those who are moved by slogans and not by thought. Unfortunately, this is the majority.

"You have discharged a useful piece of work, in issuing *Dogmas*. Now, more than ever, should real Freethought be brought into the light. In spite of all the current cant and jargon of progress, there is less heresy to-day than there was 40 years ago. There is more mysticism and obscurantism amongst the would-be intellectuals. Robust heresy is counted bad form, vulgar. If no other reason, I shall be glad when you are able to bring out Bakunin's works. They are needed, badly, to bring a healthy breeze into our social thought, to blow away the cobwebs from out of the brains of the 'Emergent Evolutions' and 'Marxian Scientists.'

"When reading *Dogmas*, I anticipated references to 'Saladin' (W. Stewart Ross), and the old *Agnostic Journal*. That, I suppose, will come in the second part. I remember how I used to read the articles of 'G.A.A.', and imagined him some mature scholar of middle-age. How surprised when we met in Liverpool, to find a boy in his early twenties! I hope you will deal with that period of your life, for it will preserve a piece of history which is of importance to all students of Freethought. There is a conspiracy of silence against 'Saladin.' You and I know that there were few who wielded a more brilliant pen against superstition than he. It was, oft-time, a bitter one. Bodies, such as the R.P.A., and the N.S.S., will not do anything towards saving his name from dropping into obscurity, because of ancient feuds. His great crime was, that he was a rebel against hero-worship, of men who were not heroes.

"Looking back, it is interesting to recall the part that Clerkenwell has played in the Freethought, Socialist, and Radical movements. Saladin's shop and office was in Farringdon St. The *Freethinkers* office is in Farringdon St. to-day. It was off Farringdon St. where Bradlaugh sold the *Fruits of Philosophy*. The Hall of Science was in Old St. The office of *Justice* was on Clerkenwell Green. The Green, itself, was the background of the rebels of many causes, all tending towards freedom. As times changed, it replaced Bunhill Fields.

"When reading *Dogmas*, I remember, as distinctly as if it were to-day, an article of yours, published in the *A.J.*, on Theodore Parker. This is another rebel who is scarcely remembered now.

"All readers of THE WORD should read *Dogmas Discarded*, because it gives more than a glimpse into history which they are not likely to get anywhere else. This applies, specially to Christian readers. Unless they can see the growth of free ideas, and realise the full implications of that growth, their struggles will lead only to disillusionment and futility. The knowledge of what freedom means and involves, is the only bulwark there can be against reaction, which is found to come either from Right or Left.

"Freethought, prostituted to Commercialism, and Socialism, defining the survival of the slave state, are rank under-growths of the social struggle, that must be destroyed before any real fight can be put up for freedom.

"I will write a review, later, of *Historical and Traditional Christianity*. I will show, wherein, I do not agree with your conclusions. At present, all I want to say is, that I think the chapter, 'Historic Setting,' the most valuable, if not the deepest. It is, to open-air speakers like myself, an extremely useful collection of facts and figures, not easily procurable. Every speaker and writer should keep this chapter handy for reference.

Fraternal Greetings,
Yours ever,
MATT KAVANAGH."

AUXILIARY FIRE BRIGADE. Is It War Service?

On February 18, the Lancashire Tribunal for Conscientious Objectors, sitting at Manchester, closed its series of sittings with a discussion on the status of the Auxiliary Fire Brigade in relation to war.

The question arose in two cases : Hilton Trippier, Burnley Road, Loveclough, Rossendale, and Cyril Oliver Whyte, Cottam Street, Bury.

In the case of Trippier Sir Miles Mitchell questioned Trippier's minister, the Rev. Emrys Evans, about the relative organisation of the A.F.S. and the St. John Ambulance Association. Mr. Evans replied that the St. John Ambulance Association was in existence in peace-time and wishes to be known as separate from the war machine. The A.F.S. was set up to deal with a war situation.

Sir Miles pointed out that the plans for the A.F.S. were being made by local authorities in 1935.

Mr. Evans agreed, but insisted that it was set up for war purposes.

Alderman Aveling pointed out that the St. John Ambulance had many extra members because of the war.

Trippier was exempted on condition that "if he finds his conscience will not allow him to remain at his present work because it is being used for military purposes he should undertake work on the land."

Trippier's occupation is that of a cotton-spinner. A discussion rose on this point :—

JUDGE BURGIS : If you find out to-night that your output is going to make tents or clothes for soldiers you will give in your notice?

TRIPPIER : Yes.

JUDGE BURGIS : Very well. We shall rely on that.

Giving the decision in the case of Whyte, the Chairman said : "It may be, and I think in this case is, that conscience is not working perfectly, but we are satisfied that he has examined it and to that extent we admire his approach. When it tells him that he cannot take part in the Auxiliary Fire Service we think it is defective. But we think it is working efficiently in another respect. It does tell him he ought to engage in agriculture."

He was registered on condition of doing work in agriculture, and Judge Burgis said to him, "The Ministry will collaborate with you to enable you to find suitable work in agriculture."

"THIS MARCH OF HOMICIDE"

The Late Sir Walter Strickland's Last Letter—on Peace and War, and The International Problem.

SIR WALTER STRICKLAND JUST AFTER HE LEFT CAMBRIDGE.

The *Malton Messenger*, in its issue for May 6, 1939, published the late Sir Walter Strickland's last letter to us, dated Buitenzorg, Java, Asia, December 14, 1937. The *Messenger* placed this long and interesting letter beneath headings, which it spread right across its page. These headings, and the editorial introduction, and a further editorial comment, were reproduced in THE WORD for June 1939.

Varsity, the Cambridge University newspaper, reproduced the letter in its columns for May 13, 1939, omitting only the passage beginning "*I have received all your letters*" to "*incapable of dividing up.*" *Varsity* employed different textual sub-headings from *The Messenger*. We were tempted to employ the *Varsity's* captions but decided to retain those used by the *Messenger*. The *Varsity's* sub-titles were most expressive, as witness:—

"A DISEASED WORLD"

"SOMETHING MORE THAN ECONOMICS"

"IT GOES BACK TO 1918"

"SOLUTION IS ONE OF SCIENCE"

"WAR IS NOT INEVITABLE."

These slogans summarise Strickland's letter very well.

Explaining the message, *Varsity* said:—

"Sir Walter Strickland's last message was a letter to Guy Aldred—and it is in that form that we are privileged to publish it."

Extracting from the letter as the title for the message the phrase now used in this paper, *Varsity* published the following introductory words above the heading:—

"Sir Walter Strickland, famous traveller and writer, died in Java last year. Before his death he wrote this, his last message, appealing to scientists and scholars all over the world and especially in Cambridge to stop—"

There followed the heading in bold type, "*This March of Homicide.*"

It must be remembered that the people who support war to-day were not openly thinking in war-terms when Strickland wrote, nor yet even when the *Malton Messenger* and the *Varsity* published his appeal. The force of his plea remains, and is more powerful to-day than when he wrote.

Walter Strickland was born on May 24, 1851. The publication of his last letter at such a time of world turmoil may be considered a tribute to his memory and an attempt to link his name with that most useful of causes, the struggle against war and disaster in war-time.

Buitenzorg, Java, Asia.
14-12-1937.

Dear Aldred,—It is now two years or more since I have held any serious communication with the outside world. Last August I had to write my English lawyers, but that was merely a matter of routine. Life here is healthy but deadly dull and thoroughly respectable. The dullness offers a great opportunity for thinking and, at my age, thinking is a most satisfying occupation. I have indulged my opportunity for reflection fully and deliberately, because I wanted a pause in which to consider what I could do, what one person could do, to avert the disaster to which the world, in its madness, is rushing headlong. Over twenty-five years ago I asked, "Is man the last, is he not too base?" and I opined "the extinction of mankind." To-day it would seem that my slogan and forecast were correct, and that to me belongs the satisfaction of being able to say: "I told you so." But I want to use all my remaining powers, and faculties to make my slogan untrue, to stop man's folly for his own extinction, and to rouse man"s protective sense, his love of life and happiness. I know that other men have attempted this task before and all in vain. Some day some men, some generation will attempt and achieve. War will be outlawed and the crime and folly of glory will cease. The question I am putting to my conscience, to my reasoning faculties, as an observer of the pageantry of the great nations rushing to disaster, is: What can be done to save the youth of the world. War calls the youth glorious. Is not the youth too glorious to be maimed and murdered—if only that youth would think, would appreciate the great sport of thinking.

"ITS OFFICIAL SHAMBLES."

I have received all your leading letters during the past two years and also those from Messrs. Westerman, from New York, and hundreds of others, responding to my suggestion to spend my wealth in some scheme to avert war. But I can see no plan, and I have not wanted to reply to anyone, for I had no heart to write when the pig fight was preparing for its official shambles work by conducting so much unofficial slaughter. With the English-speaking world half bankrupt financially, and the entire world bankrupt morally, I could not believe that there existed culture, real serious culture, in Glasgow or Edinburgh, London or New York. I found refuge in dullness. Here one is sheltered for the moment, from the world's madness. Part of the year it is so warm one does nothing naturally. Later, it is so damp that I am obliged to write in pencil to avoid blotting my writing into illiteracy. Anyway, there was the excuse for not writing. Now I feel I must write. The question arises: Will I be heard? I want you to help me here. I pray I may be heard and that I will be heard usefully.

I am a very old man, although I expect to live several more years. Science has increased man's productive powers and lengthened his life-span. Even in unscientific days my family was a long-lived and also a hard-living one. I am the first of my family to live frugally, to be a vegetarian, non-smoker, and to be a drinker only of light wines, unknown in Britain. The late Baronet would scoff at the life I lead.

WORLD HASTENING TO MADNESS.

My life has been spent out of England in warm countries and I have had the advantage of wealth. I should make some return to humanity for this advantage denied to so many millions, but which I was yet incapable of dividing up. I am now 87 years of age and I hope to live to be over one hundred years old. I believe I have another twelve years to live, and I could enjoy those years if I could see life meaning peace and fullness and security to the generations that are growing up. All I can vision is a promise of bombed cities, wars commenced without even the formality of declaration, a world hastening to arms and madness and hysteria, mechanised perfection of horror, and no means of stopping the monstrous error of it all. We five in a world diseased because, in every country, the world's thinkers will not avert the disease. Thought is paralysed by brute force. The mind, which should control brawn, is enslaved to muscle. The doctors stand by the side of the suffering patient and permit death to creep into the room, whereas health could be restored, and the pain and agony and strain destroyed. It is madness, not the madness of action, but of inaction. War is not something positive, but something negative. War is the diseased expression of the paralysed mind of man. That paralysis must be stopped, not by words, but by scientific approach.

This is not a time for good taste or politeness. This is a time for rudeness. I am an old man, and this may be the last serious letter I shall write. I want to write with all the power I have and to conjure up every reason why the world should hear me. I am in earnest, but that is not reason enough. It must be known, if I am to be heard, that I write safely. I am a member of the ruling class. I do not wish to destroy property. I am a Cambridge don. I make this statement, which ought not to be made, because I want the professional, the intellectual class, to listen. Even snobbery and aristocracy must be used if horror is to be averted. I cannot any longer stand aside, stupidly say nothing, urge nothing, suggest nothing to end

this hysteria of homicide. My voice is nothing, but if it should be heard other voices may swell the chorus. If only the horror menacing the world can be averted I would surrender, here and now, gladly the hope I have of a few more years of vain living.

"THIS MARCH OF HOMICIDE."

The question of war is not entirely a matter of socialism or class-struggle. The workers make armaments and will not cease such work. If they did war would end. Soviet Russia has intensified her Imperialism and played at secret diplomacy. The poverty problem must be solved, but this war-horror is something more than economics, and must be faced now, apart from questions of reform and revolution. In Russia revolution has not ended murder. More Socialists seem to have been murdered since the Czar's death than during the century preceding his abdication and execution. We must think, and we must find a way to end this march of homicide.

How you can get my message published, Aldred, the message of an old man, appalled at what is happening in the world, I leave to you. Owing to the distance between Glasgow and Java, I leave everything to your judgment, as transactions must take months, if every small detail has to be sanctioned by a letter from me here. What I want done is this: My word, as an old man, a student, a member of the ruling class, a world traveller who has lived in every portion of the British Empire, in America, and in Asia, to be listened to as a call to thought, and then action against war. In my travel letters, which date back to the time I left the University, I made it a rule, as far as possible, only to set down what I saw, felt, or could verify. In this spirit of scientific detachment, personally, I request a hearing not for myself, but for the world's youth—for the world's interest, and for the world's achievement. What money I have, and it is considerable, I intend to give to two causes, which I count as one: the cause of world-peace and the cause of science. I explained this two years ago, but I have heard of no real plan, no real movement.

I did not wish, at my age, to visit Britain, but I think I might do so in May, and see if I can use my money to initiate a world discussion of men of peace and science, to cry a halt to war. I will fly to Britain and come straight to Glasgow, since you are there and can act as my secretary, if you will. Anyway, Glasgow and Edinburgh are famed as intellectual centres, and there I can make contact with men of goodwill, thought and action. The question is so urgent, and I think the key moves must be made by the English-speaking nations, that I must take steps to resume my English nationality, or else assume American citizenship. I do not know what to do in this matter, but the English-speaking world could conquer the war problem.

PROBLEMS GOING BACK TO VERSAILLES.

Here is my view of what is wrong and what must be done. It all goes back to 1918, the conclusion of the war, the tricking of Woodrow Wilson, the hailing of Clemenceau as the "Father of Victory" and the restablishment of secret diplomacy and its development by Socialists and Radicals, as well as by Tories and Reactionaries. The Totalitarian state, the Japanese adventure in China, the execution of my old friend Rakovsky, and the emerging of Hitler and Mussolini would have been impossible but for the grand tragedies of Woodrow Wilson and Ramsay MacDonald. The statesmen, the political leaders, the great orators and diplomats of Armistice Day prepared a grand meal for the world—a meal like the savage chief prepared for the visiting missionary, who had come for the good of the savages, but did not intend to be accepted with such physical literacy and enthusiasm. If the world is to be saved from slaughter, that period must be reviewed. It must be reviewed and discussed solemnly, because the errors can be repeated, and will be repeated.

The world must place its faith in youth; not in the strength of youth, because that may mean youth guided by age. History tells us that youthful strength and the wisdom of age means massacre. But the shining hope and goodwill of youth, the grand irresponsible, generosity of life and joy, of speech and expression. The Armistice went wrong, and everything has gone wrong since, because the world was old, the men were old, and their age broke the world's heart. Clemenceau, the hero of the Versailles peace, destroyed Wilson's fourteen points and damned the world to secret sessions and the old balance of power atrocity, with the cynicism "The good God had only ten." But Clemenceau did not believe in God, and his words were a crushing irony. Once upon a time Clemenceau had been young, had believed in justice, had fought for Dreyfus, had suffered ostracism and loss of public life for his ideals. But he turned realist, cynic, patriot; forgot humanity for nationalism, and imposed a treaty that has shattered civilisation. When he learned that Paderewski, the great pianist, had become Polish Premier, Clemenceau exclaimed "What a fall!" And so it was. Clemenceau's own rise to stupid statesmanship was also his own fall, and likewise the fall of man.

TRAGEDY OF WOODROW WILSON.

I cannot go into all the story of the successful struggle of Clemenceau against Wilson, ending in Wilson's tired surrender to the old world order. The tragedy of Woodrow Wilson was much greater even than that of Ramsay MacDonald, for it was unwitting and unwilling, and was of more consequence to the world. Wilson's failure ended the promise of a new moral world order. When Wilson visited Milan, Mussolini, then but a journalist, issued a sheet which carried a misprint, and welcomed him "in the name of the traditional *lies* of democracy." If democracy did not revel in "traditional lies" as much as the older diplomacy, war would be impossible.

I do not believe in political assassination any more than I believe in war, but I cannot subscribe to discrimination. The wholesale murder of man is, to my mind, more, and not less horrible than retail destruction. Nor yet can I subscribe to the state of mind that viewed the assassination of Kurt Eisner, the Red Premier of Bavaria, by Count Arco-Valley, with equanimity, because of the status of the assassin, whilst it was shocked by the anarchist who fired seven times at Clemenceau, wounding him slightly.

"Why did I do it?" he said to the Police. "Because Clemenceau is the greatest enemy of humanity. I wished the man who is preparing for another war to disappear. I am a friend of man, not excepting the Germans, a friend of humanity, of fraternity. This is my red-letter day."

NATIONS ARE NOT RESPONSIBLE.

The action may have been unwise and regrettable, but there was much wisdom in the apology. To-day the wisdom is being driven home to us by the force of world events. The partition of Europe, the right of Japan in China, sops tending to new conflagrations in the East and the West, were thrown out that Clemenceau might have one glorious hour of victory over fallen Germany; all that he might dictate to the defeated but protesting Count Brockdorff-Rantzau, and fume at the latter's dignified protest that not Germany alone was responsible for the war. The truth is: nations, as nations, are not responsible for war.

I wish that we could force mankind to view the crudity and barbarity of war, its hopeless, impossible loathsomeness, as the Army of Occupation viewed its work in Germany. General Plumer: "The British soldier would revolt rather than continue to be compelled to see starving children and women on the streets of German towns." It is not the soldiers I fear, but the forces of politics and diplomacy.

This brings me to my conclusion and to my appeal. The solution of war, like the solution of unemployment, which is essentially a question of the distribution of energy and comfort and wealth, is one of science and of thought. Science has solved problems in every field except that of politics and economics. Science has lost its sense of dignity and become the prey of capitalists, demagogues and dictators. Scientists must dare to deal with the basic problem of the world, and so be the savants and not the hired servants. It is a fearful thought that men of science should bow before the world's Hitlers, Stalins and Mussolinis.

SUPERIORITY OF WHITE RACES ENDING

The aftermath of the shambles of 1914-1918 is reducing the supposed superiority of the Anglo-Saxon and white races to a house of cards. Matters could be mended and the Anglo-Saxon race can mend and end. In Canada and in America East meets West, and there is question of Japanese citizenship. In both cases the Japanese should be received into full and complete citizenship and not treated as outlanders. They should be absorbed. Secret diplomacy should be abolished. The question of colonial development is a question of administration and round-table discussion, always having regard to actual facts of development. There is absolutely no need for further war, and if definite address was made to the question, war, at last, could end.

War is not necessary to-day. It is as ridiculous as cannibalism but no one feels that this is so. Still less is anyone willing to end it or to see the end of it. Although there may be no purpose and no delight in war, there is something in intrigue and in all those moves that threaten war, and lead on to its disaster.

I do not underestimate the power of finance or force of economy. War is still unnecessary and not inevitable. But its destruction must be planned scientifically, and I have faith in the intellectually inclined accomplishing the end of war, if only they will develop robustness.

The end of war depends upon the robustness of the men of science and of thought in every country. The universities of the world could end war if the students and professors wished.

I have left this desultory letter too long unfinished and will forward it in its unfinished state, with a view to continuing it at some further time. I will conclude for the present requesting a reply, though much that I intended to have said has, for the present, been omitted.

Yours ever,

(Signed) W. W. STRICKLAND.

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At Grips With War. First Edition, 1929. Second Edition, 1932. This work will be re-issued at an early date.

ROMAN CATHOLIC WAR RESISTERS

A number of comrades in the N.C.L. are members of the Catholic Church. They intend to make a firm stand as radical war resisters precisely because they are Roman Catholics. To the best of their ability, they applied the ordinary moral principles of their religion to war as we know it—and have rejected war as impossible. They anticipate the time when Pope will outlaw war officially and make conscientious objection to war an item of faith and morals.

These Catholic comrades direct the fellow-members of their Church to consider and to discuss in what circumstances is the evil of war not a sin, but a just (i.e., justifiable) war, as it is called. They recall the conditions that must be fulfilled as stated emphatically by Roman Catholic theologians.

War is justifiable, and may be supported by Catholics, if the following conditions exist :—

It must be a strict right that has been infringed undoubtedly and of proportionate importance to the means invoked (war) to vindicate it.

There must be reasonable hope that the injured nation will be successful in enforcing its right.

The war must be entered into simply with the intention of righting the wrong suffered.

War must not be resorted to unless all other means of settlement have been tried and have failed.

The war must be waged by legitimate methods, that is, those in consonance with our nature as rational beings and (for the Catholic believer) children of God.

All these conditions must be fulfilled—*a just cause alone is not sufficient.* If only one is certainly lacking, then the war is unjustifiable, and in that case Catholics are *obliged by the Church* to refuse to take any direct part in or to support it.

To a small but increasing number of Roman Catholics it appears inconceivable that any war can occur in the world to-day in which either side would fulfil all the conditions required for justifiableness.

In particular, there is the question of *means.* Modern war cannot be carried on for a week without an intensive campaign of hate and blood-lust against the enemy. Moreover, both sides would *deliberately* direct attacks against the lives and property of innocent non-combatants among their opponents. The deterioration of the tone of Neville Chamberlain's speeches as Prime Minister, in his references to Hitler, and the elevation to War Lord supremacy of Winston Churchill, are evidences of this truth. Obviously, Christians may not co-operate in such sinful proceedings: Moreover, there is general agreement, even among the militants and war-directors, that the evils of all kinds—moral, spiritual, physical—resulting from large-scale war in present conditions must enormously exceed any possible legitimate gains by either side. As the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Cincinnati put it, in calling for an organisation of conscientious non-combatants in his diocese, "War to-day never attains its ends." On this account also, war is unjustifiable and, in the circumstances, monstrously vulgar, anti-spiritual, and wicked. It is opposed to all faith and to belief in God. War denies the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man.

For these reasons, some Catholics declare boldly :—"We will not fight—not because we are frightened or because war is wrong or horrible, but because the good which mankind needs and which we desire is not obtainable by that means."

These Catholics feel that the human race was redeemed by One Man who refused to use force to resist an aggression. This faith inspires the radical war resistance of such Roman Catholics and they refuse to bear less witness to such faith than is expected from all kind of Protestant war resisters, Unitarians, Atheists, nd Socialists. They confess they have as little, nd maybe even less, success in commending eir convictions to their fellows as have Anglicans, and Socialists with like convictions, and—on the whole—for much the same reasons

Eric Gill, as chairman of Pax, has stated the position of the Catholic C.O. in *Peace News,* when he declares "THE FIRST STEP TO PEACE : STOP FALSE THINKING."

It is impossible to summarise this excellent statement of the causes of war, of the duty of anti-militarists to direct their energy to the removal of the causes of war. He summarises the need to struggle towards a new social order in a neat reference to Christian tradition :—

"Were the first Christians thrown out of work because Palm Sunday was followed by Good Friday? On the contrary, their work may be said only to have begun after Easter."

We are not entering into all the conclusions drawn by Eric Gill because we believe that, although the cure for war is the abolition of capitalist or exploitative society, the immediate question upon which we have to unite is opposition to the present bloodshed. This is not the time to stress our opposition to the theological concept of the Catholic resister to war, but to insist upon our common cause. The Catholic who refuses to support war has more in common with us than the Unitarian, the Atheist, or the Socialist who does not repudiate militarism and participation in the killing of his fellow-men. Our allegiance to humanity unites us in comradeship and brotherhood with the Catholic war resister.

LABOUR PARLIAMENTARIANS AND MONARCHY

The following extract from "Labour Notes," in the *Daily Record,* Glasgow, for January 31, 1936, makes good reading and should be kept by Socialists for future reference :—

"Everything tends to show that the I.L.P. is becoming an East End of Glasgow Party, with most of its activities centring round the four M.P.'s and the small I.L.P. Groups in Glasgow Town Council.

"The I.L.P. Group in Glasgow Town Council did not make much impression by voting against the resolution of condolence with the Royal Family. If it was meant to be a protest against Royalty, it was badly timed, and certainly gave Treasurer Dollan an opportunity to make an effective reply against the charges of hypocrisy.

"Treasurer Dollan naturally asked what the I.L.P. M.P.'s in Parliament were doing to carry on Republican propaganda.

"On the same day that the I.L.P. Group in the Corporation were protesting against the resolution of sympathy, the I.L.P. Group in Parliament made no protest against the resolution moved by Mr. Baldwin and seconded by Mr. Attlee.

"Mr. Maxton is an astute Parliamentarian, and realised that a speech of the kind made in Glasgow Town Council would have been merely a jarring note in the House of Commons.

"UNANSWERABLE.

"Mr. Dollan's point that the I.L.P. could not have one policy in the Town Council and another in Parliament could not be answered, and his defence of the Labour Party attitude was all the stronger because it was a reasoned argument in favour of democratic institutions, and not couched in any terms of obsequious flattery of the Royal Family.

"His speech was an expression of what the majority of Socialists think should be the Labour Party's attitude towards the Monarchy.

"Mr. Gallacher, the Communist M.P., did not evidently think it worth while to oppose the vote of condolence, and, if he had, he would have been embarrassed by the fact that messages of sympathy had been sent by M. Kalinin, the President of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and by M. Molotov, its Premier.

"It seems as if the Glasgow I.L.P. Group was the only body in the country that thought it appropriate to protest."

Four years before, the Labour Correspondent of the *Daily Record,* reminded Campbell Stephen "*that only last autumn the working-class of Camlachie were not revolutionary enough to go and vote for him.*" This reference is culled from the *Daily Record* for August 12, 1932. The writer discusses the question of Labour Party candidature against John McGovern, and adds :

"John McGovern has long been known as a fighter with little mercy for those with whom he disagrees. At the moment the vials of his wrath are being poured upon the Labour Party, but the attack loses some of its effect for those who remember that not so long ago, when a lieutenant to Guy Aldred, the anti-Parliamentary Communist, and Rationalist, he lashed and lampooned the I.L.P. with the same whole-hearted thoroughness. Shettleston will be a storm-centre."

"PAX" An Association for the Promotion of Peace

"In this age of mechanisation the human person becomes merely a more perfect tool in industrial production, and . . . a perfected tool for mechanised warfare . . ." Pope Pius XII., 1939.

HEADQUARTERS : 17 RED LION PASSAGE, LONDON, W.C.1.

Chairman : Eric Gill.

Hon. Secretary : STORMONT MURRAY, 276 Hughenden Rd., High Wycombe, Bucks.

HISTORY.

"Pax" was formed in the autumn of 1936. The association maintains that spiritual activity and personal integrity are the first means towards the removal of the causes of war. It insists that all men and women of goodwill have the duty to work actively for peace and justice; and that, meanwhile, individuals have the right to abstain, on the ground of conscience, from any sort of warlike activity.

In the spring of 1936, the *Catholic Herald* suggested that parents should interest their sons in the army as a career. The result was a huge correspondence, in which it was pointed out that modern warfare had become such that a Christian *could* be justified in refusing to take part in it. Finally, in September, 1936, Pax was organised. On Armistice day of that year, Eric Gill, as Chairman, participated in a joint pacifist demonstration with other groups in the Kingsway Hall. In 1937, the *Catholic Worker* helped to inaugurate Pax in New York and helped to spread the organisation throughout America.

Pax maintains the right of objection to war and conscription on moral as well as on religious grounds, and works that the time may come when the realisation of the utter unjustifiability of modern war may be so general among Christians, that war will be impossible of declaration or conduct.

BASIC PRINCIPLES.

1. The use of force for the vindication of an undoubted right is in some cases and under certain conditions allowable to men both individually and collectively.
2. But under present conditions warfare involves moral and physical evils so great as to exceed any possible legitimate gain to either side; therefore such warfare is morally unjustifiable.
3. Those who are convinced of the truth of this have the right and duty to abstain from participation in any warlike activity.

OBJECT.

To unite those who accept these principles, whether on grounds of Catholic morality, or simply of natural reason; to give support to those whose fidelity involves them in conflict with authority; to spread the traditional Catholic teaching on the nature and limits of patriotism and the just use of force; and to promote understanding and friendship between peoples and seek to remove the causes of war.

All Catholics who accept the principles of peace and anti-militarism should join Pax. Membership is not limited to Catholics. Any person over 18 years of age, of any nationality or religion, who accepts the principles and objects of the Association is eligible for membership. The minimum annual subscription is 1/- per year, payable on joining, and every January 1 thereafter. There is also a collection for working expenses taken at every meeting and local meeting. All Catholic C.O.s should join Pax and build a group in their area.

CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS
REQUIRING INFORMATION
Communicate :—
Mr ANNESLEY ALDRED
85 ADDISON GARDENS, W. 14
SHEherds Bush 5402. NO CHARGE

A WAR WAS FORETOLD!

Only the Camps were Different

Whenever we read denunciations of German militarism—and eulogies of French militarism—in the Northcliffe press, our interest in war literature revives for purposes of comparison. For example, there was published in 1894, in London, an interesting work for patriotic study, from the pen of William Le Queux. This work was entitled, *The Great War in England in* 1897. It was dedicated as follows :—

"To my friend, Alfred Charles Harmsworth, A Generous Editor and Patriotic Englishman, I inscribe this Forecast of the Coming War."

At the time of this dedication, Alfred Harmsworth was 29 years of age and Harold Harmsworth was 26. This book was intended to develop the idea of the French menace. Five years after its publication, the *Daily Mail* threatened to roll France in blood and mud. Anyone who doubts my word can look up the newspaper files specially stored by the British Museum at Hendon.

The preface was a very solemn affair and the story had the approval of Lord Roberts. His autograph letter was published.

The preface carried this grave warning against Britain's Ally in the Great War and ally in the present war (page 6) :—

"The extraordinary preparations now going forward in France and Russia are being made in view of an attack upon England, and it is ominous that the downfall of our Empire is a perpetual subject of discussion in the Paris Press. . . . Russia and France, both barely able to sustain their gigantic armies, are to-day straining every nerve to enlarge their naval forces, preparatory to a swift descent upon our shores."

Contrast this passage against the attacks in 1914 and to-day on Germany. We are told that militarism is peculiar to Germany and was quite foreign to France!

The story begins with a surprise declaration of war by Russia and France upon Britain, the pretext being "the durable pacification of Bosnia." There is the usual William Le Queux spy. In this case he is a wicked Russian posing as an innocent German, and living "the almost idyllic life of a careless bachelor in the Albany." This spy manages to start up the war by discovering a Secret Treaty of Alliance between England and Germany, which is nearly signed but not quite. After the bombardment of Newhaven and Brighton by the French, the invasion of Sussex by the French and Russians, and Anarchist and Socialist outbreaks all over Great Britain—for the wicked Anarchists and Socialists are pro-French in this story—there is (page 54) :

"the greatest rejoicing everywhere. . . . Germany had combined with England. . . Already the brave, well-drilled legions of Emperor William had crossed the Vosges, and passed the frontier into France. . . . How different were German methods to those of the British! With a perfect scheme of attack," etc.

To make the story good, and to curdle the readers' blood, Le Queux makes things go badly in England (Chapter xi.) :—

"Babies were murdered before the eyes of their parents, many being impaled by gleaming Russian bayonets; fathers were shot down in the presence of their wives and children, *and sons were treated in a similar manner*. . . . [Our italics] . . . The soldiers of the Tsar . . . jeered and laughed at piteous appeal, and with fiendish brutality enjoyed the destruction."

The wicked Russians, with whom Premier Neville Chamberlain just missed forming a war-alliance, did all these bad things in the story.

Eastbourne and Hull were savagely bombarded, but we got our own back on Marseilles and Algiers. Meantime, the great heart of America was profoundly moved (page 130) just as it is to-day, only against the Germans, whereas, in the story and in 1894, it was intended to be moved against the wicked French!

"In Wall Street . . . the struggle to invest was desperate . . . Financiers were determined to assist the greatest Power on earth; indeed, apart from the sound security offered, they felt it their duty to do so."

Imagine Wall St. with a heart! And note the shrewd touch—*sound security offered!* Almost 1914 and 1940! Only no security seems very sound in 1940!

But the great heart of Wall St. hesitated. The gold rush was not as great as it should be. Wall St. did not invest in time to save Birmingham, Edinburgh and London, and fighting raged in every place on the map of Britain from Land's End to John o' Groat's. The books list corps of Volunteers, and mentions hundreds of commanders by name. Ultimately the tide turned. All the invaders were killed or captured (Chapter xi.) and :—

"Paris capitulated . . . the legions of the Kaiser marched up the Boulevards with their brilliant cavalry uniforms flashing in the sun."

Here is a British journalist's picture of patriotic rejoicing at a visioned German invasion of Paris. The minds that inspired this picture are directing, to-day, war on the German legions.

We have quoted from the preface. The following further pragraph from the preface (page 8) makes most interesting reading :—

". . . To Mr. Alfred C. Harmsworth, F.R.G.S., *whose suggestion prompted me to write this narrative;* and to Mr. Harold Harmsworth, *who on several occasions assisted me,* I hereby acknowledge my thanks. While many readers will no doubt regard this book chiefly as an exciting piece of fiction, I trust that no small proportion will perceive the important lesson underlying it, for the French are laughing at us, the Russians presume to imitate us, and the Day of Reckoning is hourly advancing."

The part played by Lord Northcliffe in the last war, and the later activity of Lord Rothermere, their vigorous development of a German hate campaign, lends great interest to their share in this Anti-French narrative, and also to terms of peace with which the story concludes (pp. 326-7 ; 333) :—

"From both France and Russia, Germany demanded huge indemnities, as well as a large tract of territory in Poland, and the whole of the vast Champagne country from Givet, on the Belgian frontier to the Saone."

The British demands included, from France :—

"The cession to us of Algiers with its docks and harbours, so that we might establish another naval station in the Mediterranean, and the payment of an indemnity of £250,000,000."

From Russia was demanded :—

"The whole of that portion of the Trans-Caspian territory lying between the mouths of the Oxus and Kizil Arvat, thence along the Persian frontier to Zalifikai, along the Afghan frontier to Karki, and from there up the bank of the Oxus to the Aral Sea. . . .

"Upon these huge demands, in addition to the smaller ones by Italy and Austria, a Peace Conference was opened . . . France and her Muscovite ally, both vanquished and ruined, were compelled to accept the proposals of Britain and Germany . . . Britannia, grasping her trident again, *seated herself on her shield beside the sea,* Ruler of the Waves, Queen of Nations, and Empress of the World."

So if the 1897 war had come off, German invasion of France and indemnities would have been right. Also, the seizure of Poland, without any regard to Polish nationality, would have been correct in the eyes of British Imperialists! And they say that behind war is love of democracy and not Imperialist aims and ambitions.

GUY ALDRED'S

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Reproduces the author's Boy Preacher's sermons and first indictments of war. Tells the story of the Rev. Charles Voysey, B.A., and the Theistic Church. Also of the Rev. George Martin, the famous porter-parson of S.E. London.

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OUR LETTER-BOX

OUR LETTER-BOX.

Dear Comrade,—The sale of the March issue of THE WORD went extremely well. It was certainly particularly interesting and informative to those who thought C.O.s were cowards and had an easy time. Furthermore, I find the library publications are exceedingly good.

With best wishes, I remain, with you in the struggle.

L. PRESCOTT.

Hampstead, N.W.3.

[*Comrade Prescott is Secretary of the Hampstead N.C.L. All North London comrades should make contact with him and help to build the movement in the North of London.—Ed.]

Dear Aldred,—My warmest good wishes are with you in your campaign against the continuance of this wretched war. There are inert forces everywhere which need rallying for an immediate constructive peace. Coventry Labour Party passed a resolution the other day urging that the continuance of the war was not in any interest of Socialism. Yet, two-thirds of Coventry industry is to keep the war going. With warmest gretings.

Yours fraternally,

RICHARD LEE.

Coventry, March 23.

[*All Glasgow comrades will remember the Rev. Richard Lee, of Ross St. Unitarian Church. He spoke at John MacLean's funeral and was a rigorous defender of public liberties and the worker's struggle. Richard Lee twice defended the God-idea in debates with the editor at Ross St. Church. He is now minister (Unitarian) of the Great Meeting House, Coventry.—Ed.]

Dear Mr. Aldred,—Thank you for sending me a copy of THE WORD, containing Bishop Barnes' statement. I was very glad to have that; the Daily Press miss things of that nature. The front page of this particular issue of THE WORD is interesting also. Alfred Taylor (whose portrait you publish) I know quite well. I have heard something of the story you relate from him. Two of my present deacons were in Dartmoor during the last war.

Officially, the churches stand where they stood then; but within them, as without, the pacifist movement has grown considerably, and will grow. The full meaning of pacifism and all it involves will grow too.

With my good-wish,

E. J. KELLY WRIGHT.

[*The Rev. E. J. Kelly Wright is minister of the Lower Edmonton Independent (Congregational) Church. He has been doing splendid work for pacifism and anti-militarism.—Ed.]

Dear Guy Aldred,—You will not remember me—but as a C.O. in the last war, I knew of your stand and greatly admired your courage—without, of course, subscribing to your ideas in full.

I am delighted to see that you are "still going strong" and congratulate you for your admirable work for the C.O.s of to-day. My friend, Joseph McGlinchey, spoke of you a few years back (he was I believe associated with you in some fight for free speech in Glasgow)—otherwise it takes a major war to bring your work to my notice it would seem!

All the best to you.

Yours sincerely,

STORMONT MURRAY

(Hon. Sec. Pax.).

High Wycombe, Bucks., April 4.

Dear Comrade,—Thanks for THE WORD. Please send 18 copies and excuse such dribblet orders. I believe you **came out 21** years ago to-day, same as myself. Many happy anniversaries and all good wishes.

Yours sincerely,

ERNEST H. FLETCHER.

Birmingham, 28, 8/4/40.

Dear Sirs,—From time to time in PEACE NEWS, I see advertisements of Guy Aldred's writings. I think I used to hear G.A. breaking the peace of C. 3 Wandsworth during the period of 20 months that I occupied C. 3, 13.

Yours faithfully,

STEPHEN WARD.

Bude, April 4, 1940.

Dear Comrade,—I attended Mr. Aldred's lectures at Friar's Hall (Blackfriar's Road, London, S.E.) and had the pleasure of a chat re. Bakunin's **Communism and The State,** which I suspect has not been published yet. I still have a copy of Guy Aldred's **Socialism and War** (1915), which I bought with several other booklets from the old SPUR office, Shepherd's Bush. Since 1914, I have never deviated from an anti-Militarist and Socialist ideology, etc., which I owe more to THE SPUR than to any other paper.

Best wishes to all comrades.

Yours fraternally,

ROBERT CHAPMAN.

London, S.E. 17, 8/4/40.

EXEMPTING CONSCIENCE, 1916!

(Reprinted from "The Spur," April, 1916)

Chairman C. E. Bovill, of the Chiswick Tribunal, is a well-known local Tory politician. He believes that, whether an exemption is granted or refused, the applicant's name should be published in the press. Which is reasonable and just. But he does not believe that the public should be permitted to see him at a disadvantage in any battle of wits. Which is bourgeois morality, worthy of a civic hero of Chiswick and chairman of its military service tribunal.

On Thursday, March 2nd, 1916, we conducted an application for total exemption on conscientious grounds before this body. When the case was called, the chairman objected to the applicant being represented and ordered us to the back of the Court. We cited the regulations and maintained our ground to the discomfiture of Bovill, who had to retreat ungracefully. He then menaced the applicant with the statement: "Of course, you place your case entirely in *this individual's* hands." The applicant's assent again defeated him. So, with a last valorous effort, Bovill turned to us, challenging our credentials, and remarking: "You were imprisoned for Indian disturbances some years ago." We mildly suggested that he was wrong. Whereupon an apology almost escaped him, and he modified his bluster to say: "So you are not that person." He checked himself, as though all the future was uncertain in his sight, and the ground was slipping from beneath his feet. We came to his rescue with the quiet insinuation: "But if you mean, did I champion the Indian free press in this country in 1909, and receive imprisonment for the political offence of sedition—yes! That is quite different from Indian disturbances." Bovill brightened. He was reassured of his ground. A hurried, "Ah yes, you suffered the penalty," was his ejaculation of his delight. Then he looked at his dumbfounded colleagues who had said nothing. He gazed at the silent military representative. He withered the speechless and unoffending public. He scorned applicant and representative, who were waiting with patience his pleasure. And he turned to the soldier-guard and in his best martial law manner, ordered the Court to be cleared. We wonder why? And we wonder whether the regulations were designed to condone such autocratic insolence?

The Court was cleared but the press did not retire. At least, the *Chiswick Times* was able to report with fair accuracy, the "private proceedings" which followed. It said not a word about the chairman's preliminary misconduct. But then Bovill is its pride and glory, and it does not wish to record too faithfully all his weaknesses, even though he exhibit them in public. Similarly, it did not record the absurd decision he uttered on behalf of the tribunal: "*The application is refused because we cannot decide what constitutes a conscientious objection.*" Nevertheless, the report that it did publish is evidence that the exemption should have been granted.

This account was published in the *Chiswick Times* for Friday, March 3rd, under the caption "Opposed to War":—

> "A manager of a picture theatre, aged 25, appealed on the ground that he was 'opposed to assisting warfare in any way whatever,' and that he was the only support of his widowed mother.
>
> "He was accompanied by a friend, Mr. Guy Aldred, editor of the *Spur*.
>
> "Applicant, in answer to the chairman, said if it was shown his mother would, with a lodger, get 41/- a week and would suffer a pecuniary loss of only 5/- a week, he would be still unwilling to go.
>
> "Dealing with his conscientious objection, applicant held that warfare was inconsistent with civilisation. He began to hold those views about five or six years ago.
>
> "Applicant desired that Mr. Aldred be allowed to answer the question as to why he thought war was wrong, but the Chairman said they must have applicant's personal views.
>
> "Aplicant said warfare did not benefit mankind, and had never accomplished what it set out to do—the ending of all wars.
>
> "By Mr. Ward: He obtained his views by reading of the Boer war.
>
> "By Mr. Mason: He was an agnostic, and did not know whether there was a God or not.
>
> "Speaking for the applicant, Mr. Aldred said he had not merely a moral conviction that killing was wrong, but also the militarism which caused it. That was a deep feeling and inspired his whole life. He objected to 'feeding' the war as a non-combatant.
>
> "The tribunal rejected the appeal."

Our Comrade, John Stubbings, made a fine show at the Southall tribunal on Wednesday, March 1st, 1916. The tribunal sat in the Council Chamber, of the local Town Hall, and Stubbings was kept waiting two hours outside in the cold before his case was called. He was told then to remember the time, to which he tartly replied that he had been remembering the time for the last two hours. After he had explained that he declined to take the military oath, one of the members of the tribunal asked if he had been attested!! Another member enquired if Stubbings was not the sole support of his widowed mother. To this he assented, but stated that he had no intention of urging that excuse, as he claimed total exemption on the ground of his moral convictions, and had no intention of aiding the war under any circumstances.

Councillor J. Culley, J.P., presided over the hearing, which was reported in the *Southall—Norwood Gazette* for March 3rd, 1916. Stubbings is a striker, but our contemporary calls him a blacksmith, and reports his case as follows, under the heading "Claimed the right to decide for himself":—

> "Appearing before the Tribunal, he said that during a sojourn in America, in a different environment, he had developed ideas that were possibly extreme or advanced. What he was going to say might surpise, in fact, it might shock them. As an individual he claimed the right to decide for himself whether he should be a soldier or not; and denied the right of any Tribunal or any State to decide what he should do. Therefore the decision, so far as he was concerned as an individual, as to whether he should be a soldier or not, had already been decided by him. He had been a law abiding citizen all his life, but when the law of any country said that he must be a soldier, then he had to go against the law. To come to the point of conscientious objection, he was absolutely against militarism, and his conscience would not allow him to take the military oath. 'It amounts to this,' concluded applicant dramatically, 'I absolutely refuse to thrust a bayonet into the breast of your sister's brother, and refuse to butcher your little boy's father. That is my position.'
>
> "The Chairman: What would happen if the German reached these shores—which they would have had it not been for the men 'out there' and the Navy—and did the same to your mother and sister, that they have done to the women of Belguim? Would you take up arms?
>
> "Applicant: That all depends on the circumstances. If I saw a man, whether German or of any other nationality, doing as you suggest, or doing violence in any shape or form, I should certainly protect them, and if it came to that point when there was no other alternative, then I should kill him. But it would not be premeditated killing on my part.
>
> "The Chairman: Have you any objection to non-combatant service?
>
> "Applicant: I have no objection to doing anything for the community; I don't care what it is. But the moment I take that military oath the military authorities have the right, because of that, to do what they like with me. You may say what about the R.A.M.C. Well, I am willing to go and face bullets with any other man, but not under the military oath. I don't take that military oath!
>
> "Recommended for non-combatant service."

Several claims for total exemption on conscientious grounds were rejected by the Hammersmith Tribunal on Tuesday, March 7th, 1916. John Adam Bispham made a strong stand and was refused because he offended his judges by his straight answers. Alfred Stanley Hughes was denied all opportunity of stating a case. When he retired the following conversation took place:

TRIBUNE PASCAL: Disreputable-looking fellow!

THE MAYOR: Oh! the Army will soon improve him. Claim disallowed!

Thus he was judged not by his claim, but by his looks.

Sidney Levet Reed claimed absolute exemption and declined to consider non-combatant service. He holds the Royal Humane Society's certificate for life-saving, but was told by Colonel Davies that he was trying to save his skin!

William George Dean reminded one of the recruiting posters, when he objected on conscientious grounds. He said that the country did not want him when he was out of work before the war started; and his conscience was such that he refused to help the Government which had failed to help him. This challenge to its class conscience greatly offended Hammersmith's proud body of patriots. None of these gentlemen knows the meaning of class or even self-interest! Oh dear no!

The most interesting case of all was that of William **Richard Neil**, music editor and publisher, of 46 Wormholt Road, Shepherd's Bush. His case came on at 9.5 p.m.

Neil claimed total exemption from the undertaking of military, auxiliary, or other service to the nation, beyond that of loyally obeying ordinary social duty—which did not interfere with the free exercise of concsience—and fulfilling his present appointed task, useful only from a commercial or economic point-of-view.

As reasons in support of his claim, he urged sincere moral convictions, definable only by actions, as to the wrongness of the intentional infliction of pain, distress, or death, on our fellow-beings, and, consequently, of all war.

In support of this claim, the applicant trespassed on the committee's time with a short statement of his fundamental objections to war, no matter for what purpose it was waged. He wished to help the country in every possible way, but those ways had to be in complete harmony with his moral view of life and its duties. He recognised that the State had a claim upon the individual, but that claim was not absolute. With every thinking man, there was a sense of right and wrong, which he had to follow, no matter what the consequences. He proved his loyalty to conscience and country by pursuing his normal occupation. He advanced his claim, not to avoid danger, but simply to testify to his beliefs. He was not such a hypocrite as to accept non-combatant service.

Questioned by the tribunal, our Comrade stated that these views first occurred to him from the study of history at school. He could not understand how, at one time, the French were our enemies, then our Allies; the Russians our enemies, then our Allies; and later, even the Irish! Since his school days, the study of humanist ethics and comparative religion—that was, accepting the good and rejecting the bad in all—convinced him that, if war was wrong from a political point-of-view, it was a thousand times more so from a moral point-of-view. He belonged to no religious society and his beliefs were quite individual. He believed in saving life, but was unwilling to join the R.A.M.C. That body was part of the military machine and its fundamental purpose was to keep the firing line in as fit a condition as possible. In the exercise of pity for suffering, he could not discriminate between civilian and soldier. The R.A.M.C. existed solely for the soldier. He was too young to have much power, but he followed his principles in business as far as he was able.

Although both Colonel Davies and the Chairman admitted that Neil stated his position very well, this did not prevent members of the tribunal attempting insult and bullying. Referring to the applicant's case for his normal occupation, one member exclaimed: "A nice soft job!" The Mayor said: "I suppose you prefer to stay at home and to give advice!" And the military representative attempted the feeble witticism: "Wouldn't you like to go to the trenches and play tunes?"

When the applicant had retired for the tribunal to consider its verdict, the following discussion and scene occurred :—

CHAIRMAN : Any proposition, gentlemen?

MEMBER : I think this man has made a clear case for exemption.

2nd MEMBER : I second that.

3rd MEMBER : I say the usual—non-combatant.

Disagreement and discussion ensued, ending with a member saying : "I think this man has made his case out for exemption very well indeed." To which the chairman said : "We are not able to give exemptions."

VOICE FROM GALLERY : Why not, Mr. Chairman? Why don't you administer the Act properly? Just as in the case of that chemist! His business is of more importance than your pub! The Government have recognised conscience, but you do not.

Other voices joined in the protest, and a member of the tribunal said : "I propose that we clear the Court, Mr. Chairman." Another member of the tribunal dissented.

VOICE : I think, Mr. Chairman, that the onus of clearing the Court rests with the applicant. You have no power to do so.

Uproar, above which Chairman exclaimed : "Clear the Court!"

The applicant was summoned to enter. Five members of the tribunal were leaving.

CHAIRMAN : Please stop to finish the cases.

MEMBERS LEAVING : Non-combatant.

Applicant was asked to retire again. He was summoned again.

CHAIRMAN : What case is this?

The clerk explained.

CHAIRMAN : Oh! yes. Mr. Neil, the Committee has given careful consideration to your application, and recommend you for non-combatant service.

APPLICANT : I am sorry I cannot accept your decision. May I ask on what grounds my claim for absolute exemption is refused, or whether it is necessary to state this on the Appeal form?

CHAIRMAN : "I have given you the grounds. There is no need to mention it on the Appeal form, which you will get as you go out.

The NO CONSCRIPTION LEAGUE

Glasgow and West of Scotland Council

OUTWITH GLASGOW.

SOUTHEND W.R.L. (or N.C.L.)—Every Thursday, I.L.P. Hall, 6 Broadway Market, 7.30 p.m.

HAMMERSMITH N.C.L.—Secy : Annesley Aldred, 85 Addison Gardens, London, W.14.

Hammersmith Group meets every Monday at Secretary's address until headquarters are obtained. THE WORD can be obtained in London from this address.

A. Aldred is addressing N.C.L. meetings throughout London. Phone : Shepherd's Bush 5402.

HAMPSTEAD N.C.L.—Hon. Secretary, L. Prescott, 40 King Henry's Road, Hampstead, London, N.W.3.

SOUTHAMPTON N.C.L.—Albert McCarthy, Secy., 14 Colebrook Avenue, Shirley, Southampton.

ABERDEEN N.C.L.—Every Friday, 7.30 p.m., I.L.P. Hall, 126 George Street.

All other N.C.L. Groups or Branches are invited to send announcements.

Guy Aldred has resigned from the Chairmanship and membership of the N.C.L. (Glasgow and West of Scotland Council) on a matter of principle and policy. As the organisation is electing new officers, etc., all announcements are postponed until next issue.

CLIFFORD ALLEN AND CONSCRIPTION

Clifford Allen was Chairman of the No-Conscription Fellowship from 1915 to 1919. We never approved entirely of his enjoyment of this position. When he died a year ago, as Lord Allen of Hurtwood, Barratt Brown wrote of his loss at a time of "revival of military conscription" and "his personal pacifism" and "abhorrence of conscription." We think the eulogy undeserved and false to the history of the working-class struggle.

Barratt Brown wrote in the *Peace News* for June 16, 1939 :—

"His (Clifford Allen's) chairmanship, indeed, of the N.C.F. during the War, of the I.L.P. in the years after the War, and of the Next Five Years Group more recently, was a signal illustration of the pacifist faith in which he lived."

Clifford Allen's pacifist faith is a legend, manufactured by a section of the I.L.P. and the old N.C.F. It has no foundation in fact. Clifford Allen's pacifism was a sandwich of anti-militarist protest between two expressions of militarism.

Under the heading, "THE 'DAILY CITIZEN,'" the *Forward*, for February 21, 1925, published the following letter from Clifford Allen :—

"70 Overstrand Mansions,
Prince of Wales Road,
Battersea, S.W.

"Dear Comrade,—My name crept into your columns last week in connection with the early history of the *Daily Herald*. You stated :

'It may be quite true to say as Clifford Allen has said that the floating of the *Daily Herald* while the *Daily Citizen* was being contemplated helped to kill the *Citizen*, while it may be said also that the *Daily Citizen*, with its advocacy of war, deserved to die.'

"I doubt whether you were thinking very clearly when you wrote that. It was the Labour Party which advocated the war; its daily paper naturally followed loyally instead of bitter competition. If the *Citizen* had lived Labour would never have had to struggle so painfully and at such an enormous financial cost to the successful establishment of one daily paper—a miracle which has yet to be performed.—Yours, sincerely,

"CLIFFORD ALLEN."

In this letter, Clifford Allen defends the war-mongering policy pursued by the *Daily Citizen* under his editorship. Its recruiting was notorious and its militarism as of a most rabid type. If any reader doubts this fact, we are prepared to adduce overwhelming evidence. It cannot be doubted that this activity contributed to the world war and to the present situation. When economic conscripts were being recruited, Clifford Allen assisted the recruiting. This activity was exposed by us at the time in the columns of *The Herald of Revolt*.

That this is not our isolated or extremist opinion is proven by Emrys Hughes' comment on Allen's letter, published in the *Forward* quoted :—

"It may be that we were not 'thinking very clearly,' but we do not see what earthly purpose is to be served now by still weeping salt and bitter tears about the *Daily Citizen*.

"When the *Daily Citizen* passed out of existence in 1915, Johnston in *Forward* echoed the opinions of a good many of its Socialist readers when he referred to its death as a 'fitting climax' to the 'steadily increasing volume of disrespect in which the *Daily Citizen* was being regarded by those whose enthusiasm and energies and sacrifices caused its birth.'

"One is loth to resurrect controversies which one thought were better dead and buried long ago, but a good deal could be said about the *Daily Citizen* in justification of the reference in last week's *Forward*.—E. H."

When the Honours List was published on January 1, 1932, it included the name of Clifford Allen, upon whom the King graciously had been pleased to confer a peerage for "political and public service." Allen could not have received this honour for his conscientious objection to war or for his fifteen-months imprisonment. It could not have been for his chairmanship of the Independent Labour Party, 1922-23. The truth is, Allen dropped out of public life entirely for a time; but, when Ramsay MacDonald decided to become the "Socialist" leader of the Conservative Government, he addressed letters to the London *Times*, in support of MacDonald's attitude. This letter was used to prove that the Government enjoyed working-class support. If one believes that Ramsay MacDonald, first as Labour Premier, and later as Tory Premier, contributed to destruction of German democracy, and so prepared the way for Fascism and war, one can hardly salute the memory of Lord Allen as being that of a consistent pacifist.

Within a fortnight of being made a peer, Clifford Allen published, through George Allen and Unwin, at 1/-, his pamphlet, *Labour's Future at Stake*. This pamphlet defended MacDonald by accusing the Labour Government of subservience to financiers and bankers and the gold standard. It sought to bring about the closest co-operation between the rank and file of the Labour Party and British Imperialism, in the struggle against the workers and peasants of India, and the mobilisation of a new war.

It is possible to cite Clifford Allen's speeches to prove that he supported Imperialism after his elevation to the peerage. Barratt Brown laments Allen's support of the policy of "collective security" but adds :—

"But we recognised the sincerity and honesty of his mind, and we admired the courage with which he faced, again and again, misunderstanding and loneliness of spirit."

Brown eulogises Clifford Allen for being an Absolutist and refusing to accept exemption "conditional on doing work of national importance." This attitude is right enough but it may mean only that Allen considered such exemption an insult to himself, because of his intellectual and petty bourgeois status. His *absolutism* should have operated when he was publishing military recruiting advertisements prior to the Great War : and it should have operated to prevent him from paying the price for his peerage, support of the policy leading to war in Europe and the world ; leading to conscription for the second generation. Historically analysed, and although he avowed it very boldly in the pages of Debrett, Clifford Allen's Absolutism seems a very shady expression of conscience. Can it be said that his conduct, either before or after, squared with the brave and true words of his presidential address to the N.C.F., uttered in November, 1915? We reproduce them for all to read :—

"The members of the No Conscription Fellowship base their fundamental objection to conscription on this ground : that whatever else a State may or may not do, whatever infringement of individual liberty a State may or may not effect, there is one interference with individual judgment that no State in the world has any sanction to enforce—that is, to tamper with the unfettered free right of every man to decide for himself the issue of life and death. We contend that the individual conscience alone must decide whether a man will sacrifice his own life or inflict death upon other people in time of war, and that however far the State may impose its commands upon the will of the community, the right of private judgment in this particular case must be left to the individual, since human personality is a thing which must be held as sacred."

The man who uttered these words went to prison for resisting conscription, it is true. But later, he accepted a peerage for building the Government that introduced the second Great War and pioneered it with conscription. Sincerity and conscience, forsooth!

BAKUNIN HALL

29 CASTLE STREET, GLASGOW, C.4.

(Opposite Royal Infirmary)

Group Meeting ..... Monday, 8 p.m.

New Members Welcomed.

For Speakers—see announcements in Hall windows and street advertisements.

Sunday Evening ..... 7 p.m.

Organisations in other cities are invited to arrange meetings. A united platform should be organised against conscription.

EDITOR'S PERSONAL APPEAL.—Acknowledgments have been held over to June. Total required to complete this special fund last month was over £149. It is now less than £100. In thanking comrades who have subscribed, I ask every comrade to respond now. Full list of donations will be published in June.

TAVISTOCK PEACE MEETINGS:
Impressions

We shall deal with the Glasgow and other meetings in the June issue. Several complaints have been received that Lord Tavistock favours the Hitler persecution or defends it too much. We believe in the fullest discussion of such charges. Meanwhile we publish three letters, dealing with other matters also, but giving impressions of the London meeting.

Dear Guy,—Many thanks for your pamphlets. I have read them both with deep interest, especially *Historical and Traditional Christianity*. It is a real pleasure to be able to turn to such writings as a diversion from war reactions. I was impressed by your political development from Boy Preacher to Anarchist and the way in which you broke with your theological training. *Dogmas Discarded!* More power to your pen to help mankind discard even greater dogmas that confront the people to-day.

I have spoken with Comrade Davis of Shoreditch and I can reaffirm your opinion that he has been ill-advised. He is earnest in his Christian beliefs and wishes to stand by them in this time of war. His appeal has been lodged just in time and I have assured him of our solidarity.

I attended Lord Tavistock's peace meeting at the Kingsway Hall. I was puzzled frankly by the whole tone of the meeting. The meeting reeked with propaganda for the British People's Party, an obviously camouflaged Fascist movement. I recognised several known Fascist supporters as stewards. I repeat, with emphasis, my opinion, that Tavistock is not all that he appears to represent. If ever I heard whitewashing of Hitler, it was by him. Even when he regretted the brutalities of Nazism he still had some justification for such acts. His argument was simply this: "Please accept Hitler's word, for I know he is so sincere." When one thinks of the bodies of the Spanish people, murdered by Hitler's bombs, one asks: "What is sincerity?"

I support every genuine peace lover but I cannot support rabid nationalism: and nationalism is the basis of Tavistock's peace policy. I appreciate his class position and do not expect him to become a Socialist. Indirectly, by supporting Tavistock, I must support a potential Fascist movement, with which he is so intimately connected. That is the difficulty.

If you could have heard those who cheered Tavistock most, shouting: "Jews' War," "Down with Jews," etc., you would understand my opposition to Tavistock, apart from the deeper class struggle that exists between wealth and poverty. Tavistock uttered no word of protest against these Anti-Jewish shouts. Had you witnessed these scenes, you would have asked yourself: "Do these people really believe in peace and individual freedom, or are they merely anti-war because of racial hatred?"

You will understand that I do not analyse Tavistock's activity purely from a racial angle, but I feel and fear that hypocrisy is parading around in the masque of liberty.

John McGovern spoke well and to the point, though I should have liked to have heard from him the real Socialist message. His recitation of "Two Babes were Born" was grand and eloquent and deserves praise. But even McGovern failed to declare that whilst one opposed British and French Imperialism, one must oppose also German Imperialism, no matter what form it takes.

Did McGovern deliberately withhold his voice on the true nature of Hitlerism?

Unless Anti-War agitation is true and honest in every way, it must develop into open or concealed nationalistic propaganda. Hoping you are as virile as ever.

Yours for Socialism,
ALEC KAYE.

Stepney, London, E.1., 4/4/1940.

Dear Mr. Aldred,—I have read *Historical and Traditional Christianity* and *Dogmas Discarded*. I think your sermons, written when you were only sixteen, very remarkable indeed. The first two paragraphs on page 40 of *Dogmas Discarded*, especially the words: "Jesus filled the world with compassion and the Christian ages have filled the world with passion. Creed and greed where Jesus taught and exuded love—whimsical, smiling, understanding," will never perish.

It is a curious coincidence that I, too, was only sixteen (I was born in Florence on February 3rd, 1887) when I addressed an "open letter to the mothers of the world" on the issue of peace and war and sent it for publication to the Editor of *Il tranvia*, a Milan weekly for young people. It was not published, though a short story by my pen had appeared in that paper a few months previously. I regret it was not returned to me as I had not kept a copy. Both the "story" and the "open letter" would make interesting reading to-day. I must tell you also that, as in your case, Theodore Parker has always appealed to me more than Martineau, and I am particularly attached to Parker's "O Thou great Friend to all the sons of men."

What a remarkable and lovable man George Martin must have been, or must be if still alive!

And now I must tell you something that will interest you. Last evening I went to the Kingsway Hall to hear Lord Tavistock and John McGovern. If the meeting over which you presided at Glasgow was as successful as last night's you had a gratifying experience. Lord Tavistock's speech was largely a repetition of the events already made public through his recent book, but I thought he was more quietly effective in his replies to questions. It has been said that the gifts of speech and of the pen are seldom found in the same person; nevertheless, Lord Tavistock stated his case very clearly if not over eloquently. There were frequent interruptions during his speech and when Mr. Williamson was speaking, but only rapt attention when Mr. McGovern was giving the Government *what for!* I am serious when I say that if that fearless man McGovern could broadcast to the nation and to the Forces what he told the meeting last night, and could communicate to his unseen audience his obvious sincerity, the war would stop the following day. A woman sitting near me was crying during part of his speech and saying: "Go on, brother." It was a great performance and a very effective, if brief, peroration: "End this war before it ends you!"

It all made me feel that I was not doing enough to cause sanity to prevail and peace to be restored—not, as you stated in a recent letter, "a dead capitalist peace, but a state out of which we can evolve a condition of social harmony."

Best wishes.

Yours truly,
GUY FANANI.

Welling, Kent, April 4.

Dear Comrade,—I appreciate very much the privilege of reading the first half of your autibiography. It makes my brain reel to think of anyone thinking so clearly and cleavingly. My sister sympathises deeply with your struggle with Anglicanism. For my own part may I say that if you will, you can be made the instrument of still more wonderful works if you will cast yourself *completely* on the All High. That reminds one of a Revival Meeting, but it came to me.

My sister says I ought to tell you of Lord Tavistock's Meeting. Considering the nature of the propaganda it went off well. Interruptions were somehow managed so beautifully that they melted into the general buzz. The hall was almost full. A friend told me she had never heard three more magnificent speeches in her life. Some men in khaki, and people from almost all walks of life were there, and of course Mr. McGovern and Sir H. Roberton reduced us to almost tearful mirth. I suppose there wont be any mis-statements in the reports, as there was hardly anything which could be misconstrued.

Yours fraternally,
A. W. MACKEY.

Liverpool, April 5, 1940.

NEW GREAT MEETING HOUSE
Holyhead Road, Coventry.

Sunday Services: Morning, 11.0; Evening, 6.30. Children's Hour, 2.15.

Minister—Rev. RICHARD LEE, M.A.

A Centre of Culture and of Anti-Militarist and Anti-War Christianity.

In his April message, Mr. Lee says:—

"Dr. A. D. Beldon, late of Whitefield's Tabernacle, London, is spending his whole mind and strength on a new effort to unite the whole Christian Church in a ban against war. At such a time as this when Christian nations are bent on war and claim to be carrying out the will of their peoples and the will of God, to ask for a ban on war may seem the most fatuous and futile idealism.

"But Dr. Beldon puts forward some considerations which should not be ignored by thoughtful Christian people. Let me state some of them.

"1. War is a deadly sin against the body of Christ. It is the tragic failure of love which marks the wholesale defeat of the Christ.

"The sorry spectacle of the finest scholars in Europe issuing manifestoes in favour of war and claiming God on their side brings Christianity into contempt.

"2. The Anglican Church in 1938 repudiated war as unchristian. The Roman Catholic Church bases its attitude to war on St. Thomas Aquinas' dictum:—

"'*War is legitimate when the vital interests of a community can be defended in no other way.*'

Many Catholic Scholars point out that modern war may destroy a community altogether and other ways are open, if all have the courage to try them.

"3. The whole Church should give moral direction to its members in this matter of breaking the body of Christ. Individual protests against war is of little effect.

"The official action of the whole of the Churches could make war impossible and point the way to a peace of justice and love.

"This is Dr. Beldon's idea. He is commending it to some great personages in the Christian Church. It is something which ought to be possible if the Churches were really Christian. But I am not sure that there are leaders who can make the scheme effectual.

"A movement among the rank and file is needed. The Christians of Germany, if they were alive, could curb Hitler.

"If the Christians of Britain were alive they would leaven the world with that spiritual power which alone can destroy evil things. And outside Christianity there are forces waiting for the redeeming advent of the Spirit of Man."

During April, Mr. Lee lectured on Theism, Pantheism, and Deism. He discussed also Sir Richard Acland's *Unser Kampf* and *The Whip of Small Cords*, reviewed in the March *Word*.

Mr. Lee is a member of the Coventry Labour Party, and also Chairman of the Coventry Council Educational Committee. The Coventry Labour Party is opposed to the war.

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THE WORD

To Rouse The People, To Combat War, and To Speed Commonweal.

An Organ of the United Socialist Movement, Edited and Published by Guy A. Aldred, for the Bakunin Press and the U.S.M., at **Bakunin Hall, 29 Castle Street, Glasgow. C.4.** All unsigned matter is from the pen of the Editor. Annual Subscription, 2/6, post free.

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HONOURING HUMANITY

Women and children with flowers ready to place on the graves of the German airmen who crashed at Clacton-on-Sea, Essex.

Block kindly lent by "Evening Times," Glasgow.
Photo: Topical Press.

"EARTH SHALL BE FAIR"

"ALL HER FOLKS SHALL BE ONE"

Sir Hugh Roberton's Vision of Harmony

HEROIC CLACTON WOMEN BY THEIR WARTIME CONDUCT PROMISE THAT THIS DREAM SHALL COME TRUE.

Two months have passed since the Glasgow Orpheus Choir, created and conducted by Sir Hugh Roberton, sung in the Queen's Hall, London, to Gustav Holst's setting, Clifford Bax's magnificent challenge to a war-mad and war-weary world: *"Earth shall be fair and all her folk be One."*

Hearken to the words:—

"Turn back, O man, forswear thy foolish ways,
Old now is Earth, and none may count her days,
Yet thou, her child, whose head is crowned with flame
Still wilt not hear thine inner God proclaim:
'Turn back, O man, forswear thy foolish ways!'
"Earth might be fair and all men glad and wise,
Age after age their tragic empires rise.
Built while they dream, and in that dreaming weep.
Would man but wake from out his haunted sleep—
Earth might be fair and all men glad and wise.
"Earth shall be fair, and all her people one,
Nor till that hour shall God's whole will be done.
Now, even now, once more from earth to sky,
Peals forth in joy man's old undaunted cry:
'Earth shall be fair and all her folk be One!'"

Attached to the program was Sir Hugh Roberton's foreword. Looking through the clouds of war, and visioning the final loyalties of mankind, Sir Hugh Roberton declares:—

"To say that work of our kind is more than ever necessary at a time such as this, is to say the obvious. What is of artistic or of spiritual portent in our community cannot be allowed to die. We look back on the Elizabethan age and we see what? We see the Armada almost as a mirage; but the names of the giants of literature and of music, the greatest flowering of the spirit in our history, shine and continue to shine to-day with undimmed lustre.

"The implication of this must be faced if there is ever to be a new world, a world fashioned more closely to the heart's desire. And the implication is clear. Out of the seeming impermanence of thought—whether the thought be musical, literary, religious, philosophical or from any other source that seemeth good—comes forth the only permanence that finally counts in the tradition of a race or of a nation.

"The poet strikes fire from words and that fire flames down the ages. The true song is born and not all the powers nor principalities that ever were, or ever shall be can deprive it of life. These with other inspired creations form the intangible permanence of life."

Mrs. Molly Jeffrey is a soldier's wife. She lives at Clacton-on-Sea. Probably she has never read Clifford Bax's poem. Most likely she has not been to the Queen's Hall nor read Sir Hugh Roberton's foreword to the program. But in her soul she listens to the words: "Earth Shall Be Fair." They are the theme words of her life. She is a brave and simple woman, a pioneer of nobler days. On Sunday, May 5, she put flowers on the graves of the four Clacton-crash German airmen.

Her husband has been a soldier for 15 years, and has just been invalided home from France.

Her mother, Mrs. Harry Coppin, is also a soldier's wife,. And she also went to the funeral of the four Germans.

This is what Mrs. Coppin said to the *Daily Express* reporter on Sunday, by the enemy graveside:—

"There are five Coppins fighting for Britain at the moment. I wonder if those who criticise us are doing their bit as well as that.

"Our thoughts in going to the funeral were that, if any of our boys were killed in Germany, we would all feel a little better for knowing that some one, even if they were Germans, had enough sympathy to lay a few flowers on their graves."

"Earth shall be fair," because so much human understanding and sympathy with humanity is expressed so bravely, and so disinterestedly, by simple folk like Mrs. Coppin and Mrs. Jeffrey in war-time. They redeemed the world from the horror of its bloodshed.

When the German bomber crashed and blew up, two people were killed and more than 150 were injured.

More than 200 people went to the funeral of the German bomber's crew—the women who put flowers on the graves, the women who criticised them.

When children sent by their parents were putting flowers on the graves a women called out:

"Disgraceful! Disgraceful! Fancy sending little children with flowers when these Germans might have killed them!"

One of the women who put flowers on the graves, Mrs. Violet Scuffins, of Clacton, explained the incident to the reporter. She said:—

"I turned round and told the woman that she ought to have more charity. I said: 'I want to bring my children up to love, not to hate.'

"I had a brother killed in the last war, and my mother died soon after from a broken heart. I have a boy of 12 and a girl of 5, and I want to bring them up with a little mercy and charity in their hearts."

The attitude of Mrs. Violet Scuffins is a promise that war shall cease and that the earth shall be fair. Another brave and understanding woman, another pioneer of human peace and brotherhood.

Such understanding is not one-sided, otherwise the promise would be worthless. In the House of Commons, on Wednesday, March 13, John M'Govern referred to the rescue of Squadron-Leader Farquhar, at Berwick, by German airmen, *when he brought down his third enemy plane.*

John M'Govern asked the Air Minister why the Press had been refused permission to disclose the full story of the rescue, and why the German airmen had not been allowed to receive public credit for their humane act.

He also asked if the Minister would see that, in future, brave as well as brutal acts of Germans were published.

Sir Kingsley Wood—Details of the recent action to which Mr. M'Govern refers were limited only by security considerations.

John M'Govern—Can the Minister state why the fact that two German airmen rescued this British officer was not published? Is he aware that the *Daily Mail*, on February 23, having published the story in its first edition, was compelled to delete it? Is it in the interests of this country that we should refuse to acknowledge brave acts carried out by Germans while we are condemning brutal acts? Surely there is nothing to be gained by the suppression of this humane act?

Sir Kingsley Wood—Certainly not on general grounds, but in this case there were security questions involved.

John M'Govern—If the place was allowed to be stated and the type of machine and everything connected with it, can the Secretary for Air state what security reasons prevented the story from being told?

Sir Kingsley Wood—No. I cannot. There are considerations other than those which Mr. M'Govern mentions.

John M'Govern—It is a shocking thing, and pure humbug.

The fact remains: German airmen bravely rescued a fearless British officer who had destroyed German machines; soldiers' wives at Clacton-on-Sea honour enemy airmen.

"Earth shall be fair, and all her folk be one.

Fascisms, nationalisms, wars shall cease. Brotherhood and democracy shall prevail. Militarism is transient; brotherhood and democracy are fundamental and eternal.

SIR JOHN ANDERSON

Sir John Anderson is a Scot. He is one of the few men who have attained Cabinet rank directly from the Civil Service. This is hardly a sign of constitutional democracy. It does not follow that he will abuse his powers. Because the Labour Leaders in the new National Government have evolved from Trades Unionism and the Labour movement, it does not follow that they are the born champions of democracy. We state facts and draw no immediate deductions.

Sir John Anderson was born at Eskbank, Midlothian, in 1882. He was educated at George Watson's, Edinburgh University, and Leipzig. Mathematics was his special study. He entered the Colonial Office in 1905. When Sir Walter Strickland wrote to us about him in 1917, on his appointment as Governor of Ceylon, and Dr. G. B. Clarke quoted him at length, in connection with the Ceylon atrocities committed under the former Governor, Sir Robert Chalmers, who was recalled, we never expected we would live to see him Minister of Home Security and Home Secretary in Great Britain.

Sir John Anderson was Under-Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland during "the troubles." Experience of gunmen and despotic government are not valuable democratic introductions. In 1932, he became Governor of Bengal. Here he was shot at three times during his first two years of office. He showed commonsense, humour, and good nature. For he pardoned one of his assailants on condition that he completed his education in Britain. It should be explained that his 1917 report on Ceylon did not spare the administration and was a very frank statement of fact.

Sir John Anderson entered politics at home as member for the Scottish Universities in 1938. He became Lord Privy Seal almost immediately. He is wanting in democratic preparation and has been trained rather to serve the state in times of crisis. The State is one thing: the people, properly and socially so-called, is another proposition. The State speaks with authority, for that is its native tongue. Except when cajoled, blinded, and deceived, the people think in the terms of liberty. It is very hard for the civil servant to understand the voice of the people. It is doubly hard in war-time. The task is not impossible. Is Sir John Anderson equal to it?

Three months ago, Sir John Anderson's now-Cabinet colleague, Minister for Labour Ernest Bevin, was commended in a *Daily Express* editorial for standing against the compulsion for which Sir John Anderson then colleagues stood. Said the *Daily Express*:—

> "Mr. Ernest Bevin protests against the growing spirit of compulsion. He says that if the Government invade the liberties of the people, he will lead the movement to resist them . . . He is right to fight for the liberties of the people."

THE MILITARY CELL

[Mr. Stanley, the ex-Secretary for War, stated in Parliament that military detention was less punishment than ordinary imprisonment. This essay, written by the Editor, appeared in *The Spur*, August, 1916.]

"Hell from beneath is moved for thee to meet thee at thy coming."—Isaiah xiv., 9.

I have been in three types of Military cell lately. One was a detention room, intended to contain four remand prisoners. Another, similar type, half the size or less, was used for a prisoner sentenced to small punishment. These were backwoodsmen's affairs, wooden floored, zinc walled, primitively ventilated and narrow windowed, with only a little of that opened. Then I have been in the finely constructed, large and well-barred though widely opening windowed, stone-walled, iron-gated and iron-doored cell of the military detention barracks.

I have seen men verging on madness after a few days detention in the second and third types of cell. I have been near to men who have tried to shoot, to drown, to knife themselves to escape the solitude of such incarceration. And I have pondered, and marvelled, and understood. I have seen clearly that, in Christian civilisation the Galilean has failed to conquer, and that *Cæsar* and his lust still rule the hearts of men and corrupt their understandings.

Were *Cæsar's* dominion dead, the cell would not exist. That is a truism. But the Imperial Tyranny could not last a day longer had but *Cæsar's* victims the power to gather strength in the cell. In this supreme test of soul, they fail; and, because of their failure, madness rules this chaos termed human society because of its unreasoning and unquestioning animal brutality.

The slave complements the master, and is but the same monster suffering evil fortune. Condemned to the sordid association of collective work in the prison yard, I have seen hireling taskmaster and hireling, victim, sergeant warder, and soldier prisoner, meet cheerfully and merrily on the common platform of filthy talk, worthless morality, and bottomless depravity of vision. My soul has revolted. These men chant psalms in church; and, being prisoners, mumble prayers in their cells, until the dirge drives some silent neighbour to distressful despair. How I have longed to escape their society; and, with the Psalmist they cite without understanding, exclaim, "So I have gave them up to their own heart's lust: and they walked in their own counsels" (Pr. lxxxi. 12). How I have longed to escape with my criminal task to the solitude of my cell."

Given idleness, no books to read, nothing to write on or with, denied labour and exercise, I have preferred the cell to the barrack yard. Here I experience freedom, which, outside, I cannot enjoy. I discover calm, self-discipline, joyous self-communion. I sorrow deeply with Jesus at the world, and weep with impotence, truly; but I feel a greater at-one-ness with the splendid serenity of Gautama's magnificent sayings than with the heroically indignant words of the despised and rejected Man of Sorrows. I reveal quiet earnestness and some little amusement. This is what my masters term punishment. It expresses their idea of torture, and exposes their ambitions, their poverty of wisdom, their paucity of the real power of authority. For what does their punishment mean? That the worst fate that can befall one is to be left to oneself!

Prison with its cell-life thus expresses the irony of life. It shows how little we live from, and think from ourselves in these days of turmoil and tragedy. It proves us the same fools as these Roman slaves who were auctioned in the forum, and used by tyrants in the public exhibition of their insane whims.

What a farce our civilization is! Its very breath is useless. It recognises no individual soul; it spurns personality; and the most thoroughly comprehensive of its ideas is that, in ourselves, we are—nothing. We exist only as appendages to clothes, to uniforms, to amusements. No virtue from within, and only worthless passion from without. So we despise our savage ancestors!

Why not? Do we not worship gods as false as their supreme idols ever were? Do we not talk of God, and know only the devil? When we speak of fairness, do we not breathe foulness? Is not our virtue vice?

In the cell, I vision the kingdom in which we live in all its grime and crime, and I vision another kingdom which is not of this world but is of this earth. The life to come hereafter—here, in our time, when men shall have destroyed the brutality which comes from above to thrive from below.

Ere the solitude of the cell gives place to the silence of the tomb, I hope to see *Cæsar* die for ever, and all allegiance to his sway depart from the hearts of men. In the cell, I gather strength to accomplish his doom. One cannot live in the cell for ever; but can watch from there for the day of action after the night of thought: for thought is not the dawn but the hour before dawn. When the day breaks fully, the social morn will witness the collapse of the authority that would have maimed in the cell by the power that was gained in the cell. Let us watch patiently and wait bravely.

ANARCHIST C.O.'s EXEMPTED

The London Tribunal, presided over by Judge Hargreaves, is to be congratulated on its decisions in the cases of the two Anarchists, to whom it granted total exemption.

Godfrey R. Munn, Adare Walk, S.W.16, stated:—

> "I am an Anarchist and have worked with Anarchists for the past two years. I credit you gentlemen with intelligence enough to know that an Anarchist is not one who attempts to impose his views on to others with bombs . . . You will appreciate that I do not recognise your authority to decide what I shall do, and as a matter of fact should your decision differ from my desire, it will be found that my apparent regard for your authority is apparent only. If I am asked to give oaths of allegiance to any course of action with which I disagree I might do so under very considerable duress, but I can assure you that I would try as soon as possible to make those who used force on me regret tha they had done so, by making my views known to all I come into contact with and persuading them to rebel against authority."

Ralph P. Mills, 8 Ribblesdale Road, Streatham, stated that he had been active against war, through his trade union branch, by pamphlets, and by the spoken word, during the past three years. He added:—

> "In 1938 I forwarded a resolution to the Annual Conference of my union advocating a general strike against war. It is said that this is a war for freedom. Freedom to me means the right to do what I wish, so long as this does not harm the equal rights of others. I deny the State the right to infringe my freedom by conscripting me to take part in a war to which I am opposed, and therefore refuse to become a uniformed assassin at the orders of the State."

The Tribunal questioned Nunn and Mills at length. The decision was unanimous in each case. The Tribunal was satisfied that there was *a genuine conscientious objection to both combatant and non-combatant military service.*

To this understanding of Anarchists by the London Tribunal, it is interesting to add a definition of "The Kingdom of God," delivered by the Rev. Harry Goulden, of Pembroke Chapel, Liverpool:—

> "A Democratic Community is one where merit alone conducts to station and where the rulers have identical interest with those they rule. Anarchism is that condition of society where the will of the individual and the needs of the community are in perfect agreement. The Kingdom of God is the same."

Another recent remarkable case before the London Tribunal ended with the decision that the applicant (Mr. S. D. Frances), who based his objection on socialist grounds, should be registered as a conscientious objector so long as he remained at his employment as an estimating costs clerk. The Tribunal were "much impressed by the sincerity of the applicant" and hesitated whether to grant total exemption.

The trade union "representative" on the Tribunal (Mr. Swales) put in a minority report that this was "about the best conscientious objector we have had during the seven months of the Tribunal. . . A definite case for unconditional registration."

On the following Monday Mr. Frances was dismissed by his employers.

READING TRIBUNAL

The Conscientious Objectors Tribunal sat at Reading from Monday, April 29, to Thursday, May 2. Judge Maurice Drucquer was in the chair.

On Monday Judge Drucquer sat with Major J. H. Simonds and Mr. C. H. Davis.

Frederick Arthur Kenneth Baker, of 77 Cardigan Road, Reading, a clerk in the employ of the Reading Education Committee, objected to combatant duties, but not to non-combatant service of a humanitarian kind. He based his objection on religious grounds.

The Rev. E. J. Willis, minister of Wycliffe Baptist Church, gave evidence as to the sincerity of the applicant.

Baker was registered for non-combatant work.

To our mind, this was a most unsatisfactory appeal in every way.

At Tuesday's sitting of the Tribunal, Thomas Aylwin, of "Gayhurst," Butts Hill Road, Woodley, a fitter and assembler employed by Messrs. Philips and Powis, was placed on the Military Service Register without qualification.

Judge Drucquer stated that the applicant was helping the war at his work and could not have any serious objection to war therefore.

Dennis Makepeace Jones, of 25 Belmont Crescent, Maidenhead, a sanitary and food inspector in the employ of the Maidenhead Borough Council, stated that the study of history proved to his mind that war did not end war.

The Tribunal decided that this was not a conscientious plea.

Frederick John Mackey, of 8 Bridle Road, Whitchurch Hill, said he was a sign writer by trade, but was now working as a labourer at the building of the tobacco factory at Theale. He was a Roman Catholic nominally, but had not attended church regularly since he left school. His father was disabled in the war. Four uncles were killed. Two returned but committed suicide because of their war disabilities.

The Tribunal rejected his appeal.

At the Wednesday session, Ernest Douglas Owen, 10 Raglan Gardens, Eavesham, an insurance clerk employed by the Salvation Army, declared :—

"My uniform is international. My father is a Salvation Army Officer and I have been brought up in an actively Christian home. I object to all forms of combatant and non-combatant work."

The Chairman stated that Owen was the first member of the Salvation Army to appear before the Tribunal.

Answering the chairman's question as to peace association, Owen said he had been a member of the Peace Pledge Union since May 1936.

Owen was registered unconditionally as a conscientious objector.

The Tribunal registered Albert Richard Cobb, 50 Bartlemy Road, Newbury, for non-combatant service and recommended him for the R.A.M.C. He is an automobile electrician and a Methodist local preacher and a Sunday School teacher. He based his objections to war on religious grounds. The Rev. J. H. Mortimer, Vicar of Old Marston, Oxon, wrote a letter testifying to Cobb's sincerity.

Harry Albert Aldridge, of Tan House, Headley, near Newbury, a general labourer, said he had served in the Army for 14 months, and he found the life so unbearable that he got his parents to buy him out.

Aldridge added :—

"I swore I would never join the Army again, and you can shoot me or do anything you like."

The chairman said it was obvious that Aldridge had an objection to the Army, but the Tribunal was not satisfied that it was a conscientious objection, and the application would be rejected.

Describing himself as a partner in the Forest Laundry, Broad Lake, Bracknell, Herbert James Barnes said he was a follower of Christ. He was not a member of any peace organisation, although he had distributed pacifist literature since the outbreak of war.

The chairman said that, althugh there was some doubt, the Tribunal was prepared to register Barnes unconditionally.

Frank Rouncefield Bell, a salesman employed by E. Jackson and Sons, Reading, whose address was given as 81 Wokingham Road, Reading, based his objections on Christian grounds.

Evidence supporting the application was given by Mr. J. Illsley, a member of the Brethren.

Bell was registered for non-combatant service in the R.A.M.C.

On Thursday, the Tribunal granted conditional exemption to Arthur Horoman, a student at Reading University, living at 95 Donnington Road, Reading. The conditions were that he complete his studies and do part-time A.R.P. work. Horoman based his objections on religious grounds and stated that he was a Methodist. He was a member of the Reading University Pacifist Federation.

On the question of non-combatant work, he said he could not undertake work which would release a man to do a job which he himself was not prepared to do. He was willing to do A.R.P. work, and to that end had taken a first-aid course. He had already approached the Vice-Chancellor for A.R.P. work.

The Tribunal decided that there was no genuine conscientious objection to either form of military service in the case of John Bryant, a Post Office sorter, living at "Caerglow," Shinpeld Green, Reading.

Bryant declared that war was in opposition to Christian principles, and was the cause of incalculable mental and physical suffering. Force, he added, could not effect a change of heart.

Judge Drucquer remarked that it was sometimes painful to have to read of all the ill-effects of war, and never to read of the good effects likely to result from a just war.

The following question and answer reveal the strange belief of the Tribunal, that no one can serve the Government conscientiously and be opposed to war :—

Judge Drucquer—You are in a Government service which is helping the war. You do not find it inconsistent with your conscience to continue at the Post Office?

Bryant—The Post Office is not an institution for the direct support of the war.

We hold that Bryant was correct and that Judge Drucquer was in error.

From the standpoint of every day commonsense, we contend that, for a man in Judge Drucquer's position, to pronounce officially the view that he did in this case, is a grave and dangerous mistake. The view is mischievous as well as untrue in fact. There must be hundreds of people enjoying official position, whose views are definitely opposed to war and violence. Anarchists define Government as organised crime or violence. That is their sincere understanding. Is this also the view of Judge Drucquer?

The Chairman of a Tribunal is not supposed to enunciate such reactionary sentiments that his remarks become, in effect, subversive. To say that a pacifist cannot be a post office sorter is subversive nonsense, whatever may be the motive that inspires such utterance. It is not the private view of the speaker, but the calculated effect of the utterance that counts in law. We would be loth to conclude that Judge Drucquer's political views are too antiquated to permit him to discharge his legal functions as Chairman of the Reading Tribunal satisfactorily.

The Tribunal rejected, as not being genuine, the application of Charles Jeffrey James Higgins, 37 Northumberland Road, Slough. Higgins is a milling operative, employed by the Intertype Company, of Slough. He was brought up a Christian and said that he was endeavouring to follow his belief. He based his objections on religious grounds, although his views were not those of the Roman Catholic Church, to which he belonged.

Raymond Walter Alcock, "Castlemead," Castle Street, Banbury, satisfied the Tribunal that he had a genuine conscientious objection to combatant military service. The Tribunal was not satisfied as to non-combatant service.

Alcock appealed on religious grounds. He had given up the Church of England because of its attitude towards the war.

An extraordinary decision was given in the case of Robert Carterton Hicks, of Keble College, Oxford. Answering questions, Hicks stated that he was prepared to undertake work of national importance. The Tribunal decided that, *since he was willing to do this, he had no conscientious objection to either form of military service.*

Has a Tribunal a legal right to insist that one must be either an absolutist or a complete militarist?

Graham Harper King, St. Edmund Hall, Oxford, was registered as a C.O., conditional upon his continuing his studies, taking his diploma, and doing part-time A.R.P. work.

King said he had been a pacifist since he had been able to think about war. He was a member of the Presbyterian Church and of the University Pacifist Association. He had refused to join the O.T.C. at school.

A similar decision was given in the case of Leslie Leather, Jesus College, Oxford.

Leather declared that war was evil and destroyed values—moral, intellectual, and spiritual—which were the hall-mark of civilized life. He based his objection to war on religious and ethical grounds. He added :—

"The only way of breaking the vicious circle of reprisal and counter-reprisal is for one party to swallow its pride and make the concessions necessary."

The Tribunal rejected as non-genuine the claim of John Stanley Messenger, who adopted a very firm and uncompromising attitude. He challenged conscription itself as well as the moral issue of killing.

Messenger registered as a free-lance writer, of 9 South Parks Road, Oxford, but is now an actor for the Religious Drama Society at Leicester. He decided he must be a pacifist at the age of 12 years when he saw the film version of Mason's "Four Feathers." He refused to take Certificate A in the School O.T.C., which attitude was regarded as insubordination.

He based his objections on moral and ethical grounds. He did not think the State had any right to dictate what an individual should do, as it denied him the freedom of distinguishing between right and wrong.

Messenger added that he objected to capital punishment. He objected to combatant and non-combatant service, and also to work of national importance.

BIRMINGHAM DECISIONS

On Thursday, May 2, the Midland Tribunal, sitting at Birmingham, removed from the register of conscientious objectors the name of John L. Mountford, 127 Chell Green Avenue, Chell Green, Tunstall.

Mountford explained that he had been in the Army, but said he purchased his discharge 18 months ago, when he realised that he might have to "go and kill innocent people."

Judge Longson (Chairman)—What did you think when you joined up? What did you think the Army was for?

Mountford—I was too young to realise.

What made you change your mind after you had joined up?—I realised the futility of war.

Leonard Edward Bicknell, painter and decorator, 3 Stourbridge Road, Kidderminster, was registered on Friday, May 3, as a conscientious objector, the condition being laid down that he must continue in his present job.

Referring to Bicknell's employment, Judge Longson said—"The same job as Hitler's."

Bicknell—No, sir. I do sanitary work and plumbing as well.

Judge Longson—I thought there must be some difference between you.

Norman Philip Rowland, shoemaker, of 120 Winson Street Birmingham, was also conditionally registered. He declared :—

"I should not like anyone to kill me particularly, and I don't want to do it to anybody else."

Professor J. G. Smith—Surely that's a question of your personal comfort rather than your conscience?

Rowland replied that it was a question of doing to each other as one would be done to. He had been taught pacifism since he was a

child. Two members of his family were "C.O.'s" in the last war.

Eric Sheppard, a scrap metal sorter, 4 Lewis Road, Coventry, and a Christadelphian, was granted exemption from military service on condition he carried on with the same kind of work as he is doing at present.

Questioning Sheppard about his work, a member of the Tribunal asked him, "Do you call it scrap because it is used in a scrap?"

Cyril Walker Stevens, a bookbinder, of 37 Marriott Road, Radford, Coventry, based his objection on "my conception of the teaching of Christ."

A Baptist, Stevens was supported by the Rev. Ingli James, minister of the church he attends, who testified to his sincerity.

Stevens was granted exemption conditional to his remaining at his present kind of work.

On Monday, May 6, the Tribunal exempted conditionally Ronald Charles Tennant, Station Road, Dorridge, a grocery assistant, who described himself as an "active pacifist."

His name was allowed to remain on the register on condition that he remains in his present employment.,

Leslie William Stanley, a Birmingham parcel porter, said he objected to war because it is contrary to Christian doctrine. Asked if his opinion was derived from books, he replied that he could not read. He was exempted.

The Tribunal removed without qualification from the register Robert Stanley Roberts, West Boulevard, Birmingham; and Leslie Claude Slaughter. The latter avowed simply: "I believe I have no right to kill."

The Tribunal treated very fairly Frank Hulme, lorry driver, Weathercock Farm, Biddulph Moor. He based his objection on Christion grounds but said he did not remember what was the difference, generally, between the Old Testament and the New.

After a retirement, Judge Longson said that, although Hulme had not put his case in a very satisfactory manner, they were satisfied he had a conscientious objection, and left his name on the register on condition he carried on with the kind of work he was doing at present.

The Tribunal refused exemption to Leslie S. Jenkins, 165 King Street, Fenton, who based his objection on humanitarian grounds.

"I believe in the sanctity of a human being's life," he declared, and added that his school background had taught him his views. "Killing, he added, "was the worst crime that anyone could commit."

Gilbert Raymond Holt, bank clerk, Sunholme, Wolseley Road, Stoke-on-Trent, put his objection on the simple religion he had been brought up in at home. He was granted exemption on condition that he remained a bank clerk.

We sympathise with the Tribunal in the case of Richard Roberts, 12 Hartington Street, Wolstanton. He was working on the erection of a Government factory. Exemption was refused. Judge Longson said:—

"If you have got a conscience, you cannot toy with it like that. There can be no compromise."

C.O. ARRESTS

The arrests of 1940 C.O.'s are taking place all over Brtain. Here are some May cases.

William Holness was summoned at Redcar for ignoring a calling-up notice. He was remanded for military escort, and when it arrived was taken to Carlisle Barracks.

J. Mitchell, of Oldham, was taken by military escort to Manchester, after trial by the local magistrates. At the local Tribunl he was given non-combatant service.

When D. Wright, of Manchester, was brought before the magistrates, he was charged as "Fusilier" Wright.

He had ignored two enlistment notices, and was arrested at work. He, too, was handed over to a military escort and taken to Chester.

"C.O." WITH "NO SCRUPLES"

The allegation that a conscientious objector had "no scruples whatsoever as to the methods he adopts to evade military service" was made in a letter read by a witness, on oath, before the Lancashire Conscientious Objectors' Tribunal in Manchester on Wednesday, May 8, 1940.

The applicant in the case was Clifford Gregory (26), cashier, of 95 South Park Road, Macclesfield. He did not appear, but his statement was read in court. It contained these passages:—

"I believe war to be irrational, unmoral, illogical, and what to me is the greatest objection of all, a direct violation of the teaching of Christ."

"Pacifism to me is a faith, and as a faith I will cling to it. I will think, speak and live peace."

After a statement by Mr. Douglas Taylor, of the Ministry of Labour, Mr. John L. Wardle, 70 Fence Avenue, Macclesfield, was called.

Judge R. C. Essenhigh—I think you wrote to the Ministry a letter dated April 13, 1940? —Yes.

Are you prepared still to stand by what you state in that letter?—Yes.

Have you any objection to being sworn?—No.

That letter was sent by you and some of your workmates?—Yes.

Wardle was sworn and read the following letter, addressed to the Divisional Controller, the Ministry of Labour, Manchester:—

Dear Sir—I wish to express on behalf of those signed below a strong protest against the acceptance of Mr. C. Gregory of South Park Road, as a conscientious objector. We have all worked with the above person in the same office for upwards of six years, and we can in all sincerity say that up to about six months ago Mr. Gregory had not in any way expressed pacifist views. To take things from the beginning on the Monday after war was declared Mr. Gregory hastily visited his doctor for examination: the doctor passed him A1. From that day he had gradually developed pacifist views, and has openly stated that he would find a way of avoiding military service as he thought we were partly to blame for the outbreak of hostilities.

"But, perhaps, a more significant thing happened later on. Upon hearing that there were several "safe" clerical jobs available in the R.A.F., he made all arrangements to travel to Stoke to volunteer, along with one of those signed below—(this person is quite prepared to swear on oath to this while I myself looked up the necessary train services). Unfortunately, our employer refused to sanction their volunteering, otherwise he would today be serving with the R.A.F.

"Finding that his job would be placed in a precarious position if he volunteered, he immediately became an active Peace Pledge supporter, and has developed views and ideas which we all know have been instilled into him by his tutors. We have no doubt that he will know all the answers to the majority of the tribunal's questions as he spends much time memorising and studying similar questions and answers. He contributes regularly a proportion of his wage for the comfort of his fellow workers serving in H.M. Forces, and has been studying German for about six months. He is a professed atheist, and does not believe in patriotism to one's country.

"In conclusion, may we say that this statement can be substantiated by the majority of his fellow workers, and although we cannot present any better proof than our word, and this statement, we can assure you that Mr. Gregory has no scruples whatsoever as to the methods he adopts to evade military service. His only thought is that he shall live in safety and be able to continue his pleasures whilst others fight for him."

Jack Bebington gave evidence and said he agreed with this letter. Subsequently, it was stated that there were nine signatures to the letter.

Judge Essenhigh addressed the witnesses:—

"The tribunal desires to express thanks to you for coming forward to do this public duty. There are men who, from time to time, present themselves as conscientious objectors, and it is well that they should know that, if any evidence is forthcoming at all to the contrary, so far as this tribunal is concerned that evidence will be adduced, and here we have got conclusive evidence that this man, Clifford Gregory, is not, and cannot ever have been a conscientious objector. Therefore, the opinion of this tribunal is that he should be taken from the register of conscientious objectors without any qualification whatsoever."

The witness, Wardle, felt the importance of the occasion. He rose to say that he thought it ought to be generally known that people could come forward if they wished. They themselves (the signatories of the letter) at first did not know this, but they made it their business to find out.

Judge Essenhigh—In these circumstances I think it would be only right that where information can be obtained it should be sent along to the Minister, or, perhaps, to some representative of His Majesty's Government, who might deal with the matter. I am much obliged to you.

The failure of Gregory to attend the Tribunal pre-supposes the truth of the charges as to his insincerity. If he is misjudged, he has his own conduct to blame. Conscience demands consistency. If his conscience is really active, and will not permit him to serve as a soldier, no amount of misjudgment, and no power of man will convert him into a soldier. The matter is still in his own hands.

How much prejudice inspires the letter of protest against him is a matter on which he would like enlightenment. The charges of "atheism" and of "want of patriotism" are indictments that will not commend themselves to intelligent people. When the late Horatio Bottomley became converted for the duration of the Great War, the press forgot his atheism, which was notorious, and overlooked the cash basis of his "patriotism."

We condemn as being utterly unprincipled the conduct ascribed to Clifford Gregory. The man is probably a hypocrite. But we cannot discover a high moral tone in the communication of his workmates. There are passages that indict them badly. Their lofty claim to consideration is incompatible with unfortunate phrases no moral mind would employ.

Whether we live or whether we die is a small matter. To live wholesomely is the important thing. If we cannot live, and preserve our integrity while living, we should submit to fate, and calmly invite destruction. Even in an age of sordid materialism, integrity counts above honours. Integrity is life.

When Judge Essenhigh thanked and warned, from very love of wisdom, he should have rebuked also. One of the wisest of the Roman Emperors maintained that the State was in danger when justice depended on reformers.

HYDE PARK REPORT

The Hyde Park arrests are in their eight or ninth week. Yesterday there were six arrests, comprising members of the P.P.U. ("Forward" section), S.P.G.B., and I.L.P. I do not yet know the result of the cases and I am angry that the London movement did not support the editor of THE WORD when he made his stand on the question of literature circulation in November 1938, and May 1939. The Marlborough Street hearing is reported in THE WORD for June 1939. The High Court report has to be published yet and is overdue. If the editor had not been allowed to stand alone then, the struggle would not be necessary to-day. Meetings, without circulating literature, are a farce.

Last week there were several dismissals, but one friend of mine—Howard Whitten—got seven days. The solicitor, supplied by Civil Liberties, made a bad hash of this case and played right into the hands of of the prosecution.

The whole case was trumped up, and there was absolutely no obstruction. My evidence was quite clear on the point but many important questions were not asked.

So far, none of our N.C.L. speakers have been arrested, but some speakers (I think Fascists) have. Up to now I have been fortunate. Whilst I have no desire to seek trouble on minor issues, I am convinced that it is not going to be very long before the fight for free speech again becomes a major struggle—and one which I certainly cannot and would not avoid.

I have found that with London crowds these days one point is put forward regularly every ten minutes: "If you were in Germany you wouldn't be allowed to say that: you'd be in a concentration camp!"

This is wishful thinking. The implication is that a concentration camp ought to be our fate. It even suggests that such a camp probably will be our lot before the destruction of Europe is completed. I see no great reason for virtuous "self" righteousness on the part of those who think in these terms of repression.

ANNESLEY ALDRED.

London, W.14., May 6.

HERESY IN HIGH PLACES

Last month we drew attention to Clifford Allen's attitude towards conscription. His imprisonment during the last war will be recalled to-day by C.O's now suffering durance vile. Just over a year ago the Bishop of Winchester officiated at a Service of Remembrance held at St. Martin-in-the-Fields for Lord Allen of Hurtwood. This is the official description in the sacred pages of Debrett, of the former "conchie" jailbird, Clifford Allen. An unusual heterodox feature of the ceremony was the reading by Francis Meynell of a poem that was frankly Rationalistic. An apostrophe to the spirit of the late peer and former "conchie," the poem boldly proclaimed Humanism as his sole religion and the supreme passion of his life :—

"... Surely not by nature is Man evil:
Such was your faith ...
Yours was no doctrine subtle and remote,
No popular gospel or transcendental creed,
But the plain verity that we, being men,
Must learn the wisdom of humanity ...
Dear to you was this world of men, and dear
The beauty of the earth."

The tone is pagan throughout. Listeners in that place of Christian worship heard no mention of the Christian God, no word of Christian hope or consolation. Only tribute to the spirit that had passed. Could Agnosticism find clearer utterance than in the words with which this poem closed? :—

"Never were you tempted by despair
Into morose rebellion or vain hate
Against that unknown Power, what'er it be,
Which, blind or intelligent,
Friendly or indifferent,
Controls the flux of things and human fate."

Strange words, these, to form part of an Anglican service, with a Bishop of the Established Church presiding—words that were followed immediately by the anthem "Jesu, Joy of Man's Desiring.'

—

Our cuttings include the following extract from a daily newspaper, dated February 2, 1939 :—

"The Duke and Duchess of Windsor have sent £20 to Dr. Marie Stopes for the benefit of her birth control clinic in Cardiff. The cheque arrived with a very charming letter. It said: 'Knowing the wonderful and humane work that this clinic performs under your auspices, the Duchess and I have great pleasure in sending you a gift of £20, cheque for which I enclose with our good wishes for the certain success of your undertaking.'"

There was a time when Labour leaders courted the society of the Prince of Wales. When he became Edward VIII., he said many things that commanded respect because of their radical implications. His manner of leaving the throne did him greater honour than it did his enemies. We are opposed to kings: but we commend the courage of Edward, Duke of Windsor in supporting openly the cause of birth control in opposition to the superstition that clamours against rationalism in this matter.

—

The crisis through which Europe and the world is passing compels us to recall the Munich agreement and the broadcast address of thanksgiving of the Archbishop of Canterbury in October, 1938. His Grace declared that the effect of the prayers for peace which had ascended to God during the previous few weeks was now obvious to all! This seemed strange reasoning at the time, considering that the Archbishop also expressed his sense of gratitude to the statesmen in all countries who had brought about the settlement.

Since 1938, the world has decided that the settlement was due to Mr. Chamberlain and not to God. That is because it has lost all respect for a settlement which proved no settlement, but only a prelude to war. Obviously, the premature thanks of the Archbishop of Canterbury belongs to the category of either heresy or blasphemy. To thank God for what God did not do and ought not to have done is bad theology. But it was acceptable at the time.

—

Lady Oxford confessed to certain heresies in the *Daily Sketch* a year ago. She objected to people who did not believe in a future life and asked: "Do they believe that we go into manure when we die?" This query was absurd and orthodox enough but her view of God ranks as heresy. Here it is :—

"There is no doubt that religion does not appear to occupy the minds of men to-day as much as it did before the War (which is a danger as well as a misfortune). Though few of us believe in eternal punishment or 'original sin,' we have no reason to believe that because God is *good* He is good-natured."

The idea of God being recognised as being "bad-tempered" is, without doubt, heretical theology.

—

Even the present Prime Minister, Winston Churchill, was accused of heresy at the 40th Annual Dinner and Reunion of the Rationalist Press Association, held at the Trocadero Restaurant, London, on May 13, 1939. Lord Snell of Plumstead, C.B.E., presided. After various complimentary references to various rationalists, he quoted Hilaire Belloc's lines :—

"When we are dead .
May it be said:
'Their sins were scarlet
But their books were read.'"

Lord Snell recalled the famous controversy that arose when, a generation and a half ago, the Duke of Rutland wrote to the *Times* asking that journal to beseech the nation to pray for rain. Great discussion resulted. Sir Edward Marsh, in his reminiscences, referred to it by quoting some lines which he ascribed to Winston Churchill :—

"The Duke of Rutland asked the *Times* to pray
For rain; the rain came down the following day.
The pious marvelled, sceptics murmured 'Fluke,'
And farmers late with hay said: 'Damn that Duke.'"

As a matter of fact, Lord Snell's reference did not do justice to Winston Churchill's irony in connection with this subject, as recalled by Sir Edward Marsh.

In the solemn style of a letter to the *Times* the present Premier deals with the confusion caused by sporadic and vague appeals to the Almighty for rain. He suggests the formation of a Royal Commission to establish a really scientific basis of climatic reform, defining the proper proportion of rain to sunshine, relegating the rain largely to the hours of darkness, and arranging fine weather for crops and holidays.

"These reforms, when duly embodied in an official volume could be made the object of the sustained appeals of the nation over many years, and embodied in general prayers of a permanent and not of an exceptional character. We should not then be forced from time to time to have recourse to such appeals at particular periods, which, since they are unrelated to any general plan, must run the risk of deranging the whole economy of nature and involve the interruption and deflection of universal processes, causing reactions of the utmost complexity in many directions which it is impossible for us with our limited knowledge to foresee."

SOCIALISM AND THE POPE.

64 pages. Price 4d. Postage extra.

New matter deals with Spain, Cardinal Manning and the Workers' daily struggle, etc. This is No. 1 pamphlet of the new **Word Library.**

The following note was published in *Forward*, December 15, 1917 :—"Tom Kerr, after many legal battles, has been fined and handed over to do his bit for K. and C." Which means that Kerr became a C.O. and resisted conscription.

(Concluded from Col. 3)

To our mind, these questions are fair, pertinent, and unanswerable. But we think that Mr. Ratcliffe would have made comment stronger and more effective if he had not used the phrase: "This Irish Paddy." That savours of prejudice and abuse. The cause of peace must be served by the most severe respect for the rules of dignity. The argument against the Lord Provost is one of conscience and war and inconsistency of conduct. His views, whether they are Papist, Protestant, or Atheist —do not enter into the indictment, if sincerely held. His nationality does not enter into the discussion.

PROTESTANTISM AND WAR

Mr. Alexander Ratcliffe, Secretary of the Socttish Protestant League, and editor of *The Vanguard*, is to be congratulated on his stand for conscience and Anti-Militarism. Mr. Ratcliffe now publishes his paper from his own address, 2 Endrick Drive, Bearsden, Dumbartonshire. The annual subscription is 3/-; single copies, 3d.

In the issue for March 30, Mr. Ratcliffe denounces the churches and the clergy for their attitude towards the shambles of war. He deals with the issue of "small nations" and retorts on the "so-called Christians and Protestants" who object to his anti-war stand. He asks what was done to defend Abyssinia, and Albania against the Fascist invasion of Mussolini, aided by the Pope. He adds :—

"When Spain was invaded by Hitler and Mussolini, did Mr. Chamberlain on that occasion demand that we should go to the help of the Spanish Government, a Government at that time which was giving religious liberty to the Protestants?"

In the same issue, *The Vanguard* cites a statement published in *The Tribune* for February 2, declaring: *"War is the liar's paradise."* This is from an article written by Mr. G. R. Strauss, M.P., applauding Lord Ponsonby's wonderful work, *Falsehood in Wartime*. In this book Lord Ponsonby deals with the German invasion of Belgium in 1914: the statement, falsely attributed to the Kaiser, that Britain's army was a "contemptible little army"; and the question of the Lusitania. Lord Ponsonby quotes Winston Churchill's *The World Crisis*, to prove that the Lusitania carried ammunition, the known quantities being stated. G. R. Strauss, M.P., indicts the Government's control of information in war-time in these trenchant terms :—

"War is the liar's paradise. For lying is then no longer mean and dishonourable, but noble and patriotic. Nor, under war conditions, is it difficult. The Government have complete control over all sources of information, and, through the censorship, the power to suppress any facts they do not want the people to know ... Many innocent people still think that deliberate mass deceit is the sort of dirty weapon which only the Fascist Governments use."

We do not know what view Sir John Anderson takes of Lord Ponsonby's assertions or Mr. G. R. Strauss's detailed development of the theme, which must be rather embarrassing to the Government.

This issue of *The Vanguard* reviews our pamphlet, *The C.O., The Tribunal, and After*. It describes this pamphlet thus :—

"A handy brochure of guidance and advice to those who have conscientious objections to military service. The Rights and Status of such under the National Service (Armed Forces) Act, are explained. A helpful 'Guide' which should be taken advantage of by all concerned: especially those who are in doubt as to procedure should consult this up-to-date pamphlet."

With May, *The Vanguard* became a monthly publication. Under the heading, "Lord Provost Disclosures," this issue quotes from the April *Word* our account of Dollan's P.S.M. meeting. Our contemporary refers also to Dollan's Wormwood Scrubbs article, describing the sad lot of C.O.'s during the Great War, and adds :—

"Our Glasgow Papist Lord Provost was a C.O. during those days of the last War, and so he ought to know!"

Referring to the Dollan note reprinted by us from the *Forward*, November 24, 1917, *The Vanguard* challenges :—

"This Irish Paddy states that the job of Lord Provost 'is but a stepping-stone to a title,' and that the 'canvassing, intrigue and chicanery that goes on to secure votes is disgusting.'

"Will the Lord Provost tell us what changes have taken place since the Moderates were put out of power by the Scottish Protestant League? Will Mr. Dollan decline the 'title' which he is sure to get when once his term is up? And can he honestly tell us that there was nothing disgusting evident in the canvassing and election of the first two Labour Lord Provosts for Glasgow?"

(Concluded at foot of Column 2)

WAR DEFENCE POWERS

The Press, Minority Propaganda, & Home Security

On Thursday, May 9, Captain Ramsay addressed three questions to Sir John Anderson, the Home Secretary and Minister for Home Security, on :—

1. Money and Orders from Germany.
2. Subversive Activities.
3. Anti-Semitism and Pro-Nazism.

The reader is referred to questions 16, 17, and 18, columns 1380-1382 of *Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons, Official Report.*

We cannot reproduce the questions and answers in full because of the space required by the supplementary questions.

The purpose of question 16 was to protest that it was unfair for the Government to suggest that German firms and orders were coming to this country, when there was no foundation in fact for such a suggestion. Question 17 insisted on money being received in Britain from the Comintern. Question 18 asked the Home Secretary not to be stampeded by "our Jew-ridden press" into confusing Anti-Semitism with Pro-Nazism. Captain Ramsay's questions were definite party and class-biased, pro-Fascist propaganda.

Question 26 was from Mr. H. Strauss and enquired of the Home Secretary what additional powers he was seeking to deal with organised attempts to weaken the resolution of the people to prosecute the war to a successful conclusion. Sir John Anderson replied by making a statement at the end of questions.

The spoken statement summarised Orders-in-Council amending the Defence Regulations that had been made that morning.

The first section, dealing with enemy aliens, and technical British subjects, does not concern those of us who are interested in the vital question of the freedom of the press. The anti-alien powers are normal powers for a period of crisis. Whether they are used wisely or unwisely in every instance is a detail question of practical administration.

The second group of Regulations were summarised by Sir John Anderson as follows (*Cols.* 1383-1384, *Official Report*) :—

"The second group of Regulations is designed to check the spread of propaganda calculated to undermine the resolution of the people to prosecute the war to a successful issue. These Regulations have been very carefully drawn **so as to avoid penalising the mere expressions of opinions while at the same time giving full power to deal with mischievous activities directed towards impeding the war effort of the nation.** The main Regulation provides that, if the Secretary of State is satisfied that any person or organisation is concerned in the systematic publication of matter calculated to foment opposition to the prosecution of the war to a successful issue and that serious mischief may be caused thereby, he may cause a formal warning to be given that if such activities are persisted in the persons responsible will become liable to proceedings; and if any person or organisation so warned subsequently publishes matter calculated to foment such opposition those responsible are liable to a sentence of penal servitude for seven years or a fine of £500 or both.

"A second Regulation extends the scope of Defence Regulation 39A so as to make it an offence to endeavour to incite men who are liable to military service to evade their duties, or to endeavour to incite persons to abstain from enrolling voluntarily in any of the defence services. Finally a new Regulation has been made empowering the Secretary of State to direct that no further use shall be made, pending an application to the High Court, of any printing press which has been used for the production of documents published in contravention of the Regulations dealing with illegal propaganda."

We have italicised certain phrases. The question is: *Can one give expression to opinions in war-time, that are not war-opinions, without running the risk of being accused of mischievous activities?*

If the charge is made of mischievous activity, does it follow that, even if upheld by the judiciary, such a charge is true? War, whether right or wrong, is not the natural aim, goal, or destiny of man. War is a menace to life and liberty and a disorder. Beyond and above all war, even blurting out in the midst of war, is man's love of harmony, peace, and social service. The war-mind, unfortunately, sees menace to its purpose everywhere.

In saying this, we are not indicting the executive. During the last war, until our arrest under the Military Service Acts, we conducted our paper, *The Spur.* This paper was published monthly continuously from June 1914 to April 1921, inclusive. After our arrest, it was edited and issued by our comrade, Rose Witcop. We inspired its publication even from prison. Our essays appeared in it regularly. Its tone was uncompromising. Despite its anti-war tone, and its fervour on behalf of the conscientious objectors, during those war months, *The Spur* was not attacked by the authorities. It was never interfered with in any way, although other papers were. In the main, the authorities acted mildly. Once *The Spur* office was visited for the "Knock-out Blow" pamphlet, which we have never seen to this day, although we have read much about it. *Dora* gave full powers of suppression. Obviously, they were not acted upon in that sense. History may repeat itself. Only there is a disquieting vagueness in the definitions given by the Home Secretary. The terms should be precise.

Ignoring the questions addressed to Sir John Anderson by Messrs. H. Strauss, John McGovern, Alan Herbert, W. Gallacher, G. Buchanan, R. W. Sorensen, G. Mathers, and Sir Waldron Smithers, we pass to Sir John Anderson's full printed statement. (*Official Report; Commons,* Columns 1387-1392. The Second Group of Regulations commence on Column 1389.) The Home Secretary states the position clearly and defines his difficulty in framing accurately regulations which express his purpose. In fairness to the Government, and to the minority to whom reference is made, we reproduce this section of the statement in full :—

"The second group of Regulations is concerned with the activities of individuals and organisations who, by spreading defeatest or anti-war propaganda, are seeking to undermine public morale and to weaken the resolution of the people to prosecute the war to a successful issue. As I said in my reply to Questions on 25th April, there is a risk that our traditional reluctance to limit the free expression of minority opinions may be exploited by persons whose real purpose is to hamper, for ulterior motives, the war effort of the nation. The Defence Regulations introduced on the outbreak of war included stringent provisions dealing with propaganda, under which it would have been an offence for any person to endeavour to influence public opinion in a manner likely to be prejudicial to the defence of the realm or the efficient prosecution of the war; but after the Debate on the Regulations which took place in this House on 31st October last there was a drastic curtailment of those provisions of the Regulations which had attracted special opposition on the ground that they were capable of being used for the suppression of minority opinions. The Government are anxions to avoid any unnecessary interference with our traditional liberties, but they feel that a distinction can and must be drawn between the mere expression of honest opinion on the one hand and, on the other, the deliberate and systematic advocacy of defeatest or anti-war policies with intent to weaken the national resolution to prosecute the war to a successful conclusion. Legal provisions on this subject must necessarily be cast in somewhat general terms if they are to cover all forms of propagandist activity which are prejudicial to the national interests; and the difficulty has always been to find a form of words which will suffice to check the really mischievous activities, without at the same time penalising expressions of opinion, with which we should all desire to avoid interference, however much we may disagree with the opinion expressed. The consultations which I have held have led me to the conclusion that this point cannot be fully met except by giving, to a responsible Minister answerable to Parliament, an administrative discretion to determine in what cases individuals or organisations should be made liable to criminal proceedings for engaging in mischievous activities of this kind; and in the new Regulation which has now been made a novel procedure has been adopted in order to secure that the sanctions of the criminal law shall be applied only to persons acting with deliberate intent to prejudice the national interest. The Regulation provides for the issue of a warning to any person or organisation who appears to the Secretary of State to be concerned in the systematic publication of matter calculated to foment opposition to the prosecution of the war to a successful issue. The warning will draw attention to the matter objected to and will make it clear that if after the warning there is any future publication of matter calculated to foment such opposition the person or persons concerned will become liable to prosecution under the Regulations. **Until a warning has been issued no person can be prosecuted for an offence under the Regulation; but if after receiving such a warning there is a continuance of mischievous activities those responsible then become liable to prosecution and, if convicted, to heavy penalties—namely seven years' penal servitude or a fine of £500, or both.** The Regulation provides ample safeguards against any misuse of the new powers which it confers. In the first place the Secretary of State must be satisfied, not by an isolated remark but by a consistent course of conduct, that there is systematic publication of matter which is calculated to foment opposition to the prosecution of the war to a successful issue, and further that the continuance of these activities may cause serious mischief. Then there must be a formal warning by a notice in writing of the consequences of persistence in this course of conduct. Then, if such conduct is persisted in, proceedings based on a specific contravention of the Regulation can be instituted only with the consent of the Attorney-General and can be taken only at Assizes or courts of corresponding jurisdiction; and the defendant cannot be convicted if he can show to the satisfaction of the court that he had no intent to foment opposition to the prosecution of war to a successful issue and had no reasonable cause to believe that his activities were calculated to foment such opposition. I hope that what I have said will suffice to satisfy the House that this new Regulation is so drawn as to penalise only deliberate, organised and systematic efforts to undermine the national morale; and I need hardly add that it is the firm intention of the Government to apply the criminal sanctions provided by this Regulation only in cases of real gravity where the national interests may be seriously threatened.

"A second Regulation in this group is designed to extend and strengthen the provisions of Defence Regulation 39A, under which it is already an offence to endeavour to seduce from their duty persons in His Majesty's service or in the various services of Civil Defence. Experience has shown that it is not enough to restrict this provision to persons already embodied in the various services. The efforts of those who wish to undermine the efficiency of these services may be directed not to persons already serving but to those who are shortly to be called up for service; and the Regulation has therefore been amended so as to make it equally an offence to endeavour to incite persons liable to such service to evade their duties or to endeavour to incite persons to abstain from enrolling voluntarily in any of the defence services. Here again care has been taken to avoid penalising the mere expression of opinion. **It will be no offence merely to state the statutory rights of men liable to military service to claim exemption on conscientious grounds, nor will the Regulation prevent the giving of guidance to a young man who is troubled in conscience and seeks advice from a priest or a friend.** The regulation is aimed at those who try to incite young men liable to military service to stimulate conscientious objections for the purpose of evading their duties. I am satisfied that this limited provision is necessary and that it will command general support.

"Finally, power has been taken to apply really effective sanctions against the use of printing presses for the production of publications which contravene either the new Regulation dealing with the corruption of public morale, or the expanded provisions of Regulation 39A regarding attempts to cause disaffection or Regulation 39B dealing generally with the publication of false statements prejudicial to the national interests. Under this new Regulation the Secretary of State may, if he is satisfied that any printing press has been used for the production of any document in respect of which any person has been convicted of an offence under any of these three Regulations, direct that the press shall not be used for any purpose until the leave of the High Court has been obtained for its further use. The High Court may grant such leave if satisfied that the use of the printing press for the production of the offending document was due to a mistake, or even though not so satisfied may grant leave for its future use subject to conditions, or may if it thinks fit order that the printing press shall be destroyed. In many cases documents constituting an offence under these Regulations will have been printed by persons other than those convicted of distributing or publishing them; and in serious cases it is desirable that there should be power to bring it home to the printer that his plant cannot be used with impunity for the production of mischievous documents of this character which contravene the law. A power to seal up the printer's plant is likely to operate as a more effective deterrent than criminal proceedings leading to a fine; and this new power should materially reduce the extent to which

printing presses will be made available for the production of documents of this type."

There is no doubt that this is a carefully weighed statement. In considering its tone, one must remember that a certain Socialist Republic (so-called) instituted measures of state security, showing far less regard for private liberty than this declaration of the Home Secretary. One must remember that this is war-time and one must consider the psychology of the Government and of the majority. On the other hand, if the Government intends to be as fair as the Minister declares, why seek these abnormal powers? The existing state powers were sufficient to protect the realm.

Despite Sir John Anderson's assurance, there is a menace to free speech and to freedom of thought and to vital democracy in these powers. It is possible that this potential threat to liberty—*to that essential constructive liberty necessary to save every nation in the world from the terrible aftermath of this terrible war*—will not be abused by the executive. There remains the suggestion of fear. This suggestion is a cloud that settles with oppression on the mind of man. Such fear is one of the inevitable wrongs of war. Like Dora from 1914-1918, this defence legislation will attempt to survive the war. Not the men even who evolved it, but the men who succeed them, will attempt the perpetuation of the legislation of crisis into the period of peace.

Philip Boyle.

GLASGOW COURT MARTIAL

Philip Boyle, 246 Todd Street, Dennistoun, Glasgow, is the first C.O. in Glasgow to be Court-Martialled. He is also the first Roman Catholic C.O. in Great Britain to be Court-Martialled.

Comrade Boyle is well-known and liked by all his pacifist comrades in Glasgow, everyone of whom was impressed by his quiet sincerity, his serious, studious disposition, his gentleness, and his sunny, smiling, optimism. Boyle's objection to war and killing arose from his Christian faith. Obviously, the Tribunals did not believe him because he insisted on his Catholicism. He maintained, whatever priests said, or even the Pope, a man could be a Catholic and also a pacifist. He felt that a Christian must object to bloodshed.

Boyle was arrested on Monday, May 6, at home, at 10 p.m. He was handed over to the military authorities at the Eastern Police Court, Glasgow, the following morning. Down to the time of his Court-Martial, on Friday, May 24, he experienced some rough treatment. At his Court-Martial, and following upon the D.C.M., he was treated with courtesy and consideration. Every opportunity was afforded him to bring out his conscientious scruples. A very full, descriptive account of his Court-Martial appeared in the Glasgow *Evening Times*—first Final Edition—for May 24. Good and full reports appeared the following morning in *Glasgow Herald*, *The Bulletin*, and *Scots Daily Express*.

Boyle's full story as told by his father, and related to us by himself, will be published in our next issue. We shall publish also an account of his Court-Martial.

The *New Leader*, in its issue for May 16, published the following description of Boyle's first treatment on being handed over:—

"When the father of an arrested C.O. visited his son in prison he found that the young man was clad only in an old mackintosh. The soldier's uniform, which had previously been forced on him, lay on the floor.

"The C.O., Philip Boyle, of Dennistoun, Glasgow, had been placed under arrest and taken to Maryhill Barracks. After he had been forced into uniform he was taken before the Commanding Officer, who told Boyle to go home for the day and then come back and be a good soldier.

"Instead, Boyle went back to his cell and stripped himself of the uniform.

"Boyle had been refused exemption by the local and Appellate Tribunals on the ground that as a Catholic he could not be a C.O."

THE "CONCHIE" PROBLEM

Mr. Herbert Morrison, who was a Conscientious Objector during the Great War of 1914-1918, is Minister of Supply in Mr. Winston Churchill's War Cabinet. Mr. Arthur Greenwood—who defended Morrison being a "Conchie" in 1916 and holds that he is consistent in being pro-war to-day—is Minister without Portfolio in the same Cabinet. Mr. C. R. Atlee, Leader of the Labour Party—who served as a Major in the last war and was opposed to conscientious objectors at that time—is Lord Privy Seal. These facts direct attention to the part played to-day by the "over-age" conchie M.P., when the conscientious objector of to-day who has failed to convince the Tribunals of his sincerity, is being maltreated because of his conscientious objection to war. Some of these young C.O.'s are sons of men who fought and were wounded or killed in the Great War. It is a scandal if the children of these men are to suffer persecution whlist the men who were denounced as C.O.'s in 1916 are to be elevated to public position, in order that they might help to direct war. Elevated to public position, the over-age "conchie" of 1916 forgets his past, and silently acquiesces in the persecution of the "conchie" of 1940. Conscientious objection is no more wrong in 1940 than it was in 1916. If it is right to repose authority in the over-age "conchie" of 1916, then justice should be secured to the "conchie' of to-day. The trouble with war is that whilst it sacrifices human life, it destroys also human worth, and understands neither rhyme nor reason. We understand the person who feels, wrongly, in our opinion, that matters are more grave to-day than in 1916. That fact does not justify hypocrisy. Nor should it blind our minds to the fact that, in 1916, the facts were grave. Mr. Neville Chamberlain was Minister for National Service in 1916, whilst Mr. Morrison was graduating through Tribunals to prison and Home Office Schemes. His feelings were the same then as to-day. He was askd then, in effect, as a member of the War Cabinet, to be fair to Mr. Morrison. We ask now for justice for the youth who play to-day the part then played by Mr. Morrison.

Our plea is good logic and even sound patriotism. Whilst folk around us grow excited, we adopt the motto: "Keep calm." We have perfect faith in Freedom and in progress. We do not believe that Fascism or Nazism is going to conquer the world. We do not believe that dictatorship will conquer democracy. We believe that, out of the present turmoil, except for the saddening disasters of sudden and unreserved death, liberty will emerge, stronger than ever before in the history of humanity. We object to the toll of human sacrifice but we have no doubt as to the final result. As the late Brigadier-General Crozier said the "Old Contemptible" may have contributed to this result, but so also did the absolutist conscientious objector. In these days of stress and storm, one should read less of Karl Marx and more of General Crozier. When a British Army officer takes to pen and paper, he usually sees to it that he writes powerfully and wisely. Crozier believed that the pen was mightier than the sword and that peace was more important than war. The "over-age" conscientious objector, who underestimates the importance of conscience to-day, stamps himself as being insincere in 1916 and worthless as a public figure. The conscientious objector may require more moral courage to-day than in 1916. He is contributing usefully to the redemption of the world from tyranny and blood lust.

Many of the men who risked their lives in the last war and by the miracle of chance or fate, survived—realise the truth of this contention. They appear before Tribunals to support the pleas of conscientious objector sons. They have experienced war. They have lived through its horrors. Not their own suffering, but the nauseous feeling of killing others, has stirred their conscience. They are embittered against war and sense unerringly its wrong. In 1916-1919, they stood guard over conchies. To-day, they avow, openly, and before all the world, their own belief in conscience. The moral scars of the battlefield never can be removed from their being.

These "old contemptibles," now defending the conscience of youth, are to be honoured for their moral courage. When they believed in war, they were in the early flush of manhood. Over-age, they elect to send no youth to his doom. They add experience to their age and so warn from considered wisdom. They know the folly, the crime, the sadness and the sordidness of the disaster, called war. These members of the "Old Contemptibles" merit the honourable regard of all who would will peace.

The fire-eating "over-age" patriot of 1914-1919 has his counterpart to-day. Despite the Military Service Act of 1916, despite the disfranchising clause of the Representation Act, the C.O. of that period has succeeded in finding a place for himself in the life of the nation. He sits in Town Council and Parliament. You will find him among the Mayors, the Aldermen, the Provosts, and the Bailies. The C.O. of yesterday is very much a figure in public life to-day. You will find him apologising for his past, recruiting for war, strutting around in war-paint, an over-age conchie: the man who would not fight when age permitted: the man who wants youth to fight now he is over-age. Whether war be right or wrong, and even if war be the only way, the over-age "conchie" is one of the most disgraceful and contemptible figures in public life.

The Nelson *Leader* for Thursday, March 21, 1940, published, beneath big headings, reports of speeches delivered at Nelson and Colne by P. Noel Baker, M.P., and S. Silverman, M.P.

The opening paragraphs of the report includes the following passage:—

"At the Nelson meeting, held in the Labour headquarters, Mr. Baker was continually interrupted, and at one period he had to sit down until order was restored. Derisive laughter greeted many of his remarks, and one lady member of the audience shrilly demanded, 'How dare you talk of war? Have you no sons of your own?'

"Mr. Silverman was given a much more attentive hearing, in the course of one of his best constituency speeches, but his remark that he had spent three years in jail during the last war, but could not take up the same position this time, was greeted with cries of 'You are an M.P. now,' 'You are over military age,' and 'You would lose your job—that's why.'

"Mr. Sydney Smith, chairman of the Nelson Labour Party, presided."

Baker, despite persistent interruption, proceeded to defend the Labour Party, to justify the war, and to describe his experiences in Germany prior to the Great War of 1914-1918. He described the concentration camps under Nazism but admitted that the Government of Britain was responsible in part for the rise of the Nazi dictators. He added that Britain wanted victory only for peace and would make peace as soon as a German Government arose prepared for acts that would bring peace. The British Government would offer such a German Government equality of international co-operation, disarmament, and security.

We turn to the *Leader* report:—

"He (Baker) believed when this war was over . . .

"A woman—You will have a million dead men then. How dare you talk about war? Have you no sons?'

"Mr. Baker—Yes.

"The woman—Is he going to fight?

"Mr. Baker—He is twenty. He has registered and will soon be called up."

The following sub-heading and context is from the Leader report:—

"GOOD RECRUITING MEETING.

"In answering a further question concerning the loss of lives that would probably occur if the war became severe, Mr. Baker said he did not want to see life lost any more than anybody else, a remark which was greeted with derisive cries and the statement, 'Course tha does.' Mr. Baker took strong exception to the remark, and addressed the interrupter in a manner which revoked applause . . .

"During the applause which followed Mr. Baker's exit from the platform, a voice was heard to say, 'A good recruiting meeting.'"

Silverman's speech was, at least, Socialist in tone, despite its pro-war conclusions. He

pleaded for Free Speech and urged that *"doubts, difficulties and criticisms should be argued out."* He added: *"Do not let us be bitter with one another."*

It is very difficult to respond to this plea when we know that conscientious objectors are being treated unfairly. To-day, Mr. Silverman supports the Government that is treating C.O.'s exactly as the Government of 1916 treated Mr. Silverman Surely, he should get this injustice put right as a condition of non-bitter discussion and attempt at mutual understanding.

Mr. Silverman continued :—

"What was the attitude of the Labour Party to the war? It was exactly the attitude of the Communist Party to this war until a month after the war.

"In answer to cries of 'No,' Mr. Silverman stated that was an incontroversible fact.

"A woman—Why doesn't the Labour Party change its mind?

"Mr. Silverman—Surely that is a ligitimate ground for a difference of opinion without heat, bitterness, and carping criticism."

We approve entirely of this retort to the Communist Party critics. But the errors of the Communist Party, its opportunism and betrayals, do not justify the present war-attitude of Silverman. It is no reply to those who are opposed to war.

Silverman continued :—

"He (Silverman) knew of nobody in the Labour Party who believed the Chamberlain Government was fighting Fascism, who believed they were fighting to make the world safe for small nations.

"Did they think he would trust Chamberlain with the life of a single conscript?

"A voice—But you are doing."

The Churchill Government includes Mr. Chamberlain and the Labour Leaders. The Chamberlain Government included Mr. Churchill. Does Mr. Silverman mean that, on the home front, in the matter of civil liberty in war-time, in the matter of paying heed to the right of conscience, the Churchill Government is superior to the Chamberlain Government?

Unlike Mr. Attlee, Silverman defines the present war as an imperialist war. He declared, rightly, that German Imperialism was as black as British Imperialism. He asked himself : did it make a difference which imperialism won?

"'In 1914-18 I felt there was no difference, and spent three years in jail as a result,' Mr. Silverman said. 'For my part, I could not take the the same view to-day.'

"At this point there were a number of interjections, people shouting out 'You are an M.P., that's why,' 'You are over military age,' and 'You would lose your job if you did.'

"Referring to the latter remark, Mr. Silverman said, 'As far as I am concerned, anybody can have it.'

"A voice—Yes, and you can have mine on the dole, too.'"

Silverman's retort about his job was not true. It was natural but incorrect, because it was not meant. Silverman's job secures him dignity, and £600 per annum.

We put these points to all over-age "conchies" who support war: Ought conscience to prompt such a "conchie," migrated from prison to parliament, to retire from public life? Ought he to take a vow of silence? Does he owe such retirement to his past conduct and to his present and future reputation?

The working class movement should consider these points seriously. If it honours the over-age conchie it should not permit the imprisonment of the young "Conchie" of to-day.

CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS
REQUIRING INFORMATION
Communicate :—
Mr ANNESLEY ALDRED
85 ADDISON GARDENS, W. 14
SHEherds Bush 5402. NO CHARGE

PARLIAMENT & C.O.'s

House of Commons, Tuesday, May 7, 1940.

Officers.

REAR-ADMIRAL BEAMISH asked the Secretary of State for War what decision has now been reached with regard to officers who have conscientious objections to combatant service continuing to hold commissions.

Mr. STANLEY—It has been decided that such officers shall be called upon to resign their commissions.

Civilian Employment.

CAPTAIN PLUGGE asked the Minister of Labour whether, in the cases of conscientious objectors who are permitted to remain in their present positions, he will suggest to the Tribunals that they should at least give them some other occupation which has relation to the sacrifices which are made by men in the Fighting Forces?

Mr. G. BROWN—The duty of specifying the civilian work which certain conscientious objectors must undertake as the condition of their registration is placed by the Act not upon me but upon the Tribunals. In deciding what work to specify the Tribunals have regard to the national interest, and I have no doubt that at the same time they keep in mind the sacrifices made by men called up for service in the Armed Forces.

SIR R. CLARRY asked the Minister of Labour whether he has considered the proceedings of a certain conscientious objectors' Tribunal, of which he has been informed, during which 71 objectors, many describing themselves as students, were heard, of whom two were granted total exemption and four were listed for military duties, the majority being registered in Class B, enabling them to evade their national duties and obtain lucrative work; and whether he will consider bringing in amending legislation immediately to allocate, without execption, all physically fit men who plead conscientious objection to military units in order that they may obtain the benefits of military discipline and be given the non-combatant duties appertaining to their units, in view of the fact that the exploitation of the existing law is the cause of much discohent and ridicule?

Mr. ASSHETON—My right hon. friend has seen a Press report of the proceedings of this Tribunal on 18th and 19th April, and it is understood that the great majority of the men were registered as conscientious objectors on condition that they undertook work in agriculture or forestry. The National Service (Armed Forces) Act, 1939, makes provision for Tribunals to order that a man shall be conditionally registered as a conscientious objector, the condition being that he must undertake specified work of a civil character and under civilian control, and this provision is intended to meet the cases of men who have a genuine conscientious objection to performing non-combatant duties in the Armed Forces. My right hon. friend is keeping under close review the manner in which the provisions relating to conscientious objectors operate but does not think the results of one or two days' hearings of one Tribunal point to any urgent need for amending legislation which would require all conscientious objectors to be posted to military units for non-combatant duties as suggested by the hon. member.

Thursday, May 9, 1940—Hearing in Camera.

Mr. ROLAND ROBINSON asked the Minister of Labour under what circumstances applicants for registration as conscientious objectors have been granted the privilege of a hearing in camera before local Tribunals?

Mr. ASSHETON—By Regulation 19 of the National Service (Armed Forces) (Miscellaneous) Regulations, 1939, the hearing of cases before conscientious objector Tribunals is in public unless the chairman in any particular case for special reasons directs otherwise.

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"LETTERS TO THE EDITOR."

Under this heading, the well-known London paper, *Public Opinion*, for April 26, says :—

"Letters covering the years 1904-1940 written by Mr. Guy A. Aldred to many well-known newspapers on such varied topics as Free Thought, the Dartmoor Mutiny, Sanctions, Capital Punishment, Fascism, Civil Rights and Spain, are published under the title of "Letters to the Editor."

"The fruits of some of these past disputes have already been reaped, but the author is fair enough to publish some of the replies in opposition to his letters.

"Also published in this same series called the Word Library and written by Mr. Aldred are "Historical and Traditional Christianity and Dogmas Discarded."

UNWANTED "CONCHIES"

On May 6 last, the South Western Area of the West Riding St. John Ambulance Brigade refused to allow conscientious objectors to become members. This unit has 2,000 members. The chief officers decided that they would not accept C.O.'s. It had rejected previously the application for membership of a conscientious objector advised to join by the North Eastern Conscientious Objectors' Tribunal in Leeds.

Dr. G. H. L. Hammerton, Dewsbury, County surgeon of the S.W. Area of the West Riding St. John Ambulance Brigade, declared :—

"I, personally, would not give a lecture to a conscientious objector under any circumstances. We are all in this war together and I want nothing to do with conscientious objectors."

Tribunals frequently make it a condition of being registered as a conscientious objector that the applicant takes up agricultural work.

Three months ago the West Riding branch of the Farmers' Union, the biggest county branch in the country, adopted a resolution of the Leeds branch

"protesting emphatically against conscientious objectors being ordered to obtain work in agriculture, thus replacing our own farm men and farmers' sons where called up for military service."

Dealing with the question of C.O.'s and the land, *Country Life*, London, for May 11, says :—

"Conscientious objectors are let off military service usually on condition that they take up agricultural or other productive work. This is all very well in principle, but farmers in a good many districts, short-handed as they are, are not at all inclined to pay the labourer's wage to men whose scruples they view with considerable suspicion, and who, they think, ought to be drawing a soldier's and not a labourer's wage. The Saernarvon Branch of the National Farmers' Union, for example, has passed a resolution not to employ conscientious objectors, partly on the grounds that they do not know their job and it costs time and money to teach them. It is easy to see their point of view, the more so when the farmers themselves know quite well that ministers and schoolmasters hold instruction classes for these objectors whom they are then expected to maintain."

The Farmers' Weekly, London, for May 10, publishes a report from the East Glamorgan branch of the National Farmers' Union, showing that objector-workers were unwanted :—

"The branch received a strong protest from the East Glamorgan branch against the employment of conscientious objectors on the land. When the resolution was read and the county secretary, Mr. E. Verley Merchant, inquired what action they should take, there was a chorus of shouts of 'Don't take them.'

"It was decided to enter a protest in the hope that the tribunals would cease to draft such men on to the land.

The Grays and Tilbury *Gazette* for May 4 reported that employees of R. A. Wiltcher, the West Thurrock and Chadwell St. Mary sand and ballast merchant, had threatened to go on strike unless one of their colleagues, a lorry driver who obtained exemption as a conscientious objector, was dismissed. He was Leslie Tickle, of 82 Southend Road, Grays. He appealed to the Tribunal on Monday, April 29, and was exempted from military service on condition that he continued to follow his present employment. Aged 24 years, he is within a few months of the age at which his occupation, that of a driver of heavy vehicles, is reserved.

About 45 men were concerned in the strike threat, and a representative of the *Essex and Thurrock Gazette* was told by an official of the firm that, because of the men's attitude, there was no alternative but to dismiss the employee. Much regret was felt at this step, because he was a very good workman.

The *Shoe and Leather Record*, London, for May 9, reports :—

"A lightning strike by women and girls employed by the Balfour Shoe Co., Ltd., Irthingborough, resulted last week in the dismissal of a young man who had registered as a conscientious objector to military service."

Chatham Council have unanimously adopted a recommendation that all conscientious objectors in their employ should resign their appointments.

The Isle of Ely Education Committee, at their meeting at March, on Tuesday, May 7, decided to dispense with the service of teachers in elementary schools who had been registerd as conscientious objectors.

The committee also passed a resolution recommending this step to the managers of non-provided schools and to the governors of grammar schools in the county.

The Rev. F. F. Herbert denounced conscientious objection as rank hypocrisy. He was opposed by the Rev. L. A. Lewis. He said they had been told that they were fighting the war because they were opposing the spirit of evil which had robbed a country of its freedom, of its liberty of thought and of action.

Mr. Lewis added :—

"I am not a conscientious objector, I am not even a pacifist, and if I were not sheltering behind a minister's collar probably I would be doing my part in the Forces to-day."

On Tuesday, May 7, Reading Council stuck to its ban on conscientious objectors. The Corporation decided a month ago that their employees registered as conscientious objectors should be given leave of absence without pay for the duration of the war.

Alderman W. H. Bale said the work of the Council was linked up with the war effort, and already one conscientious objector had refused to do such work. During the coming months they would need 100 per cent. loyalty from their staff.

The Council by 24 votes to 19 decided to adhere to their decision not to employ conscientious objectors during the war.

Three conscientious objectors on the staff of the Sutton and Cheam Council have been granted leave of absence for the duration of war without pay.

Councillor W. L. Whiteley said, on May 7, that it worked unfairly in the case of one of the men, H. V. Williams, who was exempted on condition he remained in his present job.

"The Council are taking it upon themselves," he added, "to say that they will not allow Williams to fulfil the conditions laid down by the Tribunal."

Dismissed by the East Anglian Electric Supply Company, Neville Edward Payne Sandiford, of Onehouse Road, Stowmarket, who had been registered as a conscientious objector on condition that he continued in the employment of the Company, told the Tribunal at Cambridge, on May 6, that he was discharged because he was a conscientious objector. Two more conscientious objectors were discharged at the same time as himself.

He was registered as a conscientious objector on December 7, and he left the employment after two weeks' notice on April 27. He had been looking for similar employment.

Judge Lawson Campbell said Sandiford's best course was to go on looking for the kind of work he had been doing, and if he could not get it, he would have to come back to the Tribunal. In the meantime, the case would be adjourned.

John James Marshall, a Nairn conscientious objector, who lost his job as a painter because other tradesmen refused to work alongside him, has now got a situation with another Nairn painter.

Marshall was the only applicant to be granted unconditional exemption at a recent sitting of the North Tribunal. He explained that he became an objector at the age of twelve, after his father had died in tragic circumstances as the result of the last war.

He lost his former job following a protest by tradesmen along with whom he was engaged on a job in the town.

Plumbers, plasterers and carpenters held a meeting on the spot and intimated that they would not work so long as he was employed on the job.

"Because of the opposition of the workmen and public opinion generally, I had no option but to ask Marshall to leave," Mr. Donald Ross, his former employer, said. "Marshall is an excellent journeyman, and an honest, straightforward lad."

Major J. S. Miller, Kingsway House, Kingsand, writing in the *Western Morning News*, Plymouth, for May 6, justifies the victimisation of C.O.'s in Cornwall. Eulogising Cornishmen as heroic fighting men, the major says :—

"It is only natural, therefore, that they should resent the attitude of the objector to military service.

"Cornwall has had its conscientious objectors in the past, men who objected to the payment of duties on certain goods imported into the country. They were called smugglers, but they were brave men, and many died for their conscience.

"The position of the objector to military service seems analogous to that of the smuggler. The former gains protection from the hardships and dangers of war, while the latter gained illicit wealth, both gains being at the expense of others. There is, however, the difference that while one conscience is protected by the State, the other was ruthlessly crushed."

The Lytham St. Annes Council has decided that "conscientious objectors should be compelled to carry out work of national importance at rates of pay no higher than, and under conditions no better than, those of H.M. Forces."

This is an extraordinary resolution. In the first place, if the law holds that a conviction can be genuinely held by an individual then the conscientious objector should not be subjected to extra-legal conditions by any body acting under the law, and created by the law. If he is to be "compelled" to do specified work at ridiculous and impossible rates of pay then this compulsion and these conditions should apply to all those in reserved occupations, all above the present conscription ages, teachers, members of Parliament, councillors—in short, all who are not actually in the fighting line.

The form of society which would result from such conditions would be the totalitarian state in an even more rigorous form than exists in Nazi Germany. The soldier's pay is not sustenance like the labourer's, but pocket-money. Those who desire equality should seek to raise the hero's pittance to that which is worthy of a human being, rather than reduce a community to such despicable standards of industral conscription.

On Friday, May 3, the Wallsall and District Co-operative Society, which covers Wallsall, Wednesbury, Darlaston, Cannock, Sutton Coldfield, etc., decided by 338 votes to 125, to add a new rule, deciding not to employ "conchies" and to dismiss those at present in its employ, "while Great Britain is at war with a Foreign Power." This rule is being submitted to the Registrar General for approval.

In face of the facts collected by this article, the opening sentences of a leader published by the *Nottingham Guardian*, on May 6, makes queer reading :—

"QUEER CONCHIES.

"We are told the percentage of conscientious objectors in each category of conscripts. These percentages are low. But even a small percentage, repeated in many categories each numbering two or three hundred young men, aggregates a considerable total. In some quarters it is now put as high as between forty and fifty thousand, that is to say, in military parlance, three or four full divisions, or about an army corps. Perhaps, however, the fighting forces gain, rather than lose, by the absence of these people. What is rather different is the fact that many of these men are evading even the national service they undertook to perform."

How can the C.O., who agrees to accept work of national importance, wrongly, from my viewpoint, carry out the orders of the Tribunal if everyone conspires to make it impossible for him to do?

DANGERS OF COALITION

Important Speeches in the House of Commons

By JAMES MAXTON and S. O. DAVIES

In the House of Commons on Monday, May 13, the Prime Minister (Mr. Churchill) moved:—

"That this House welcomes the formation of a Government representing the united and inflexible resolve of the nation to prosecute the war with Germany to a victorious conclusion."

Mr. Maxton and Mr. Stephen divided the House and acted as Tellers for the Noes. The resolution was carried: Ayes, 381; Noes, 0. There were some abstentions or else some Labour Members were absent from the House.

Jams Maxton made an excellent speech, the social importance of his argument being obscured by the idea of war crisis that prevails. Although Mr. S. O. Davies, the Labour Member for Merthyr, did not vote against the resolution, he made an excellent speech from the working-class viewpoint, and insisted on truths war-time psychology does not recognise.

The noticeable thing about this coalition is that it is a coalition only for destruction. Hitler also stands for destruction. What is needed is something more than cries for destruction. If we must have a Ministry for War why not a Ministry for Peace? Why not lay down principles and a policy of definite peace and give the world something permanent and imperishable behind and beyond the slaughter? If this is not done, the world is to drift into a mere armistice and a chaos of war's aftermath. Either there must be a Ministry for Peace, for World Peace; or else chaos and more war must follow: or else, the war will end in world social revolution, marked not so much by thought, as by violence and despair. Humanity demands constructive principles and constructive policy.

JAMES MAXTON'S SPEECH.

Mr. Maxton rose to speak at 3.19 p.m. The Member for Glasgow (Bridgeton) said:—

I rise to oppose the Motion, because it conflicts with every political belief that I have ever held, and because it conflicts with the principles upon which I was elected to this House of Commons. I do not approve of the reconstructed Government. I view with great regret the fact that right hon. and hon. Gentlemen above the Gangway have agreed to cross the Floor of the House and to become part of His Majesty's Government. Their spokesman from the Front Bench paid tribute to Parliament as a great institution, and said that reconstruction of this sort, in face of the circumstances, could not have occurred in any other country. We know that it has been common form in France during all the time that there have been parliaments there. France has a great belief that by changing a few men round about, something new and strange may happen. I have never believed that the strength of the House of Commons lay in the fact that there was one body of men with certain principles upon which they were united on one side, opposed by another body with a different set of principles on the other, and that the clash of these two principles in debate and discussion—[Interruption.]. I would like to go back over it and show how the position in which we are to-day is due entirely to the fact that this mistake was made in the last war policy. The years from 1918 to 1939, when war broke out again, the wasted years, were, in my view largely due to the fact that the then existent parties coalasced and merged their principles, and then, at the conclusion of hostilities, there were left all sorts of individual rancours sapping all party principles, and there was no Government in this country that could face the creation of a new Europe that should have been created after the heavy cost that was paid for victory on the last occasion.

I congratulate the right hon. Gentleman upon having achieved the highest political governmental position in this country. His personality no one can deny, his courage no one can deny, and—I am getting more and more fatalist—it was written in the book of fate, say, perhaps on the Battlefield of Blenheim or some place, that he would one day be Prime Minister of this country, and perhaps it will be a comfort that he has got it now. But frankly, I cannot see the wonderful motive power that has been produced by the transference of the relative positions of the two right hon. Gentlemen opposite. It is the most amazing thing to me. I watched the fights of last week in this House from some considerable distance. I was 400 miles away. I do not think it was a pretty spectacle. I do not think that what has happened since makes it any prettier. It is very easy for the right hon. Gentleman above the Gangway to say that last week was fine and that this week was fine, and to whitewash the whole business. Last week was not fine. I was taking part in a by-election in the West of Scotland facing audiences of all different kinds and complexions, and the one thing that struck me last Tuesday and Wednesday was the calm, serious, sober way in which the electorate listened even to points of view that were obnoxious to the majority. They were calm and serious because——

Earl Winterton (Horsham)—Wait until the bombs fall and then they will take a very different attitude.

Mr. Maxton—I am quite satisfied that my fellow citizens in the West of Scotland will not get the wind up either. We were calm and serious while the right hon. Gentleman was making hysterical speeches on the Floor of the House of Commons. It does not require any great courage to attack the late Prime Minister. He was in an awkward spot and the jackals gathered around. It was their night to howl, and they howled, and now we have a new Government—a Government of all the talents—[An Hon. Member: "And you are howling"?] I put it to the House whether my utterances here can be described as howling. [An Hon. Member: "We might say 'whining'."] No. I do not think even that is a decent description. My hon. and right hon. Friends above the Gangway are a little bit nervy to-day. The excitement started over the fact that the Norwegian business had not been such a success as was expected. The Government came under serious criticism. [Hon. Members: "No."] I understood so. But, I can still read. I heard that the Navy came under serious criticism. [Hon. Members: "No."] I heard it from behind me. And so we make the First Lord of the Admiralty into the Prime Minister, and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Hillsborough (Mr. Alexander) First Lord of the Admiralty, so that in future there shall be no dubiety about the pugnacious, belligerent nature of the First Lord.

I cannot see what has happened to justify any change of attitude on my part. We are in this position to-day because of 22 years of wasted opportunity, 22 years of time, when this country was practically, for 20 years out of those 22, under the control of Governments not essentially differing in position or personnel from this one, and now you say this is going to create an entirely new orientation. The only difference is that the Prime Minister cuts out of his speech any reference to the possibilities of peace short of wholesale slaughter. I and my hon. Friends believe that the overwhelming mass of the people of this world, Germany included, are against the slaughter method of life, and I believe that that great force, mainly a working-class force, throughout the world——

Mr. Logan (Liverpool, Scotland)—Surely you do not see that in Germany?

Mr. Maxton—I can see people in Germany to-day, people that were my comrades and the comrades of hon. and right hon. Members above the Gangway, and I do not believe that they have deserted their principles.

Miss Wilkinson (Jarrow)—They have gone to the concentration camps.

Mr. Maxton—The function of a political working-class movement is to mobilise that anti-war opinion throughout the world and make it effective in the affairs of humanity. [Interruption.] I could make, if I were sitting there, all these cheap, irrelevant interruptions as well as anybody else, and I regret to say that I have frequently done it, but the fact remains that shouting about Hitler will not kill a single German, nor will it save a single Britisher. I admit to-day all the difficulties that face the people who hold anti-war beliefs; I admit all the difficulties that face those people who hold democratic beliefs, and the difficulties that face the efforts of the people who believe that the world must be reconstructed on a different social basis, but I stand by those principles of freedom and social equality. Principles are not any better for being thrown overboard, and although I admit all the difficulties, can we not have freedom without the young men of Europe being slaughtered——

Viscountess Astor—How?

Mr. Maxton—I say to the Noble Lady that now you have got us to this particular point I cannot show you how, but I can tell you what the principles are and tell you that just as the right hon. Gentleman got his chance last week so the chance of those who stand by these principles now will also come and that something better will come out of this slaughter and general folly.

In the course of the speeches which followed, Mr. Austin Hopkinson (Mosley) addressed an appeal to James Maxton, which reads sincerely but displays an inability to realise the gravity of having a Coalition Government, commanding an overwhelming majority, devoted to the issue of war, but with no policy for peace. No other cry but destruction. To make a shambles of the earth, of human minds as well as of human bodies, is a colossal and dangerous folly. The majority have the right, and at least they have the power, to decide that the war must go on. But surely, it is obvious, that war that does not define its goal in terms of harmony and social affection, in final terms of definite internataional wellbeing, is an error. All the members opposed to Maxton urged coalition for war. Not one suggested that, side by side with such coalition, there should be a Ministry for Peace, as carefully supported as that for war. To establish such a ministry would argue calm, fearlessness, and total lack of hysteria: would pronounce dynamic will towards justice, freedom, and human wellbeing. This is not defeatism but the contrary.

S. O. DAVIES' SPEECH.

At 4.14 p.m. Mr. S. O. Davies rose to speak. His was the last speech made before the voting.

Mr. S. O. Davies (Merthyr)—Everybody appreciates how difficult it is for one to reorientate his mind and assimilate the implications of what has just taken place. Hon. Members on the Government Benches may perhaps appreciate the anxieties that are felt on this side, and our misgivings. We cannot dismiss entirely from our memories how disastrous Coalition Governments have been in the past, and it is absurd that we should be expected to overlook all that they have meant in the days gone by. We ended the last Great War with a Coalition Government in power. I happened then to be very closely associated with the mining industry, and I remember distinctly the catastrophic consequences that were brought to bear on the miners at that time. We on this side have always been conscious of the great gulf that divides us in political, economic and social matters from the other side of the House. It is a gulf that some of us believe will never be bridged until radical changes take place in the social structure of this country. We have contended, and needless to say we shall continue to contend, that hon. Members opposite represent a society that we consider to be harsh and cruel, a society that dominates the class which has placed every Member on this side of the House here to represent it and to challenge that form of society. We know its incredible meanness, and we know the appalling dangers and insecurities of the form of society which exists at this moment, while this war is going on, for the poorer classes of this country.

Frankly, I do not envy the step that my right hon. Friends have taken, and I have a strong suspicion that that step will not add to their happiness. We shall await to see whether the injustices of this form of society will continue. No change of personnel will affect them unless a radical change in viewpoint is adopted by the Coalition Government. I shall probably be told that this is only a temporary expedient, determined by the exigencies of the war, but we must question, and we shall continue to question, how our resources in this country, human and material, are to be mobilised with a view to winning the war. We regard with considerable anxiety the fact that if the war is to be continued on the basis of a form of society in this country that is decrepit, and that is divided from top to bottom, once you step outside this House, with its class domination, with its inhibitions and its contradictions, if these are to be perpetuated during this war, we at any rate must dread the appalling consequences. If this is a war for democracy, it can be waged and won only when democracy is experienced by our own people, for a mere change of personnel will not end the devastating economic crisis that we know so much about. It will not in itself end unemployment and insecurity or bring greater comfort to the old age pensioners and veterans of industry.

I should like to ask whether this change will remove from the Statute Book of this country the Trade Disputes Act. [Hon. Members: "Oh!"] I am entitled to ask that before I support the Motion on the Paper. I want to try to get a line on the implications of the step that has been taken, and so far I have very little guidance as far as what we call the home front is concerned. I must repeat, Is it to be understood that that instrument, placed on the Statute Book with the deliberate intention of crippling and destroying the political power of the great trade unions of this country,

is to be removed Is that part of the bargain that has been struck? I am entitled to an answer to that question, if anything like co-operation across the Floor of this House is expected. I am also entitled to ask whether the present contemptible Workmen's Compensation Bill which is before the House is to be withdrawn, or whether it is to be imposed upon the crippled workers of industry, who are represented by most of us on this side. A mere Coalition will not necessarily end the present unconscionable profiteering that is going on in the manufacture of arms, in the food supplies, and in the essentials of the very life of the people of the country. Have the Government started on a reorientation as far as those demands are concerned? Can there in fact be anything approaching co-operation in the political arena while all the present economic and social injustices prevail? My answer to that question is "No."

I shall be told that the only thing that matters is that the war should be won. We are of the opinion that this war will not be won by stultifying and hamstringing opinion in this House of Commons, and we shall most strenuously fight against any attempt to stifle fair and constructive criticism from these benches. We shall not willingly accept anything approaching voluntary totalitarianism, if that is the price of the Coalition that has been established. I draw some consolation from the fact that the working-class movement of this country has not been built up by a few individuals, however distinguished their service might have been. This movement of ours, which we will protect and fight for with all the strength and the jealous regard of which we are capable, was ushered into being by barbaric and intolerable conditions, and it will remain in being, wars or no wars, until those conditions will have been removed. We have never believed that those conditions can be destroyed by any magic, such as——

Mr. Marcus Samuel (Putney)—Might I ask the hon. Member whether he read the Question put last Wednesday by the hon. Member for West Leyton (Mr. Sorensen) to the Minister of Information "whether he will arrange for the fuller world appreciation of the best British characteristics by the dissemination of facts concerning the development of our social services, the progress and benefits of democratic trade unionism, political associations and local government, and the preservation of religious, political and literary freedom, especially in comparison with totalitarian and other States where this does not prevail or has been substantially destroyed?"—[Official Report, 8th May, 1940; col. 1218, Vol. 360.]

Mr. Davies—I shall express no opinion upon the profound contribution which the hon. and gallant Member has just made to the Debate. As I was saying before I was interrupted, we have never believed that the conditions to which I have referred can be destroyed or removed by any magic, such as by walking 12 feet across the Floor of this House. We shall watch this Government critically and anxiously. Their task presumably is to mobilise the men and resources at our disposal; but will they be able to do it? I am confident that they will not be able to do it unless the dead hand of the past is removed, and until the crippling weight of organised profiteering is lifted and the patriotism of high finance, of the money changers and gamblers on our stock exchanges is completely eliminated. These are the powers—and we have no illusions about this—which brought Nazism into being and the powers which will bring Nazism into being in this or any other country if their dominion is to last much longer. We on these benches are as prepared to fight Nazism as is any representative in any part of this House, whether that Nazism is partially concealed in this country or blatantly open elsewhere. We shall do so, but not at the price of sacrificing the principles which have ever been dear to us, namely the interests of our own people who have placed us in this House.

GEORGE LANSBURY

A memorial service to George Lansbury—whose remains were cremated in accordance with his wishes and whose cremation was attended with no signs of mourning—was held on Sunday, May 19, at St. Matthew's Church, City Road, London. The Mayor of Islington, and the Mayor and Mayoress of Finsbury, Aldermen and Councillors of both boroughs, and representatives of Peel Settlement, St. John St., attended. The Rev. G. C. Langdon, M.A. (the Vicar), declared that he had a tremendous love for George Lansbury and regarded him as the greatest man of his day, measured by the Christian standard of social service and personal integrity. Mr. Langdon declared that G. L. burned with holy indignation against wrongs done to the weak and the downtrodden.

An excellent report of the service and tribute was published in the "Islington Gazette."

In the "Daily Herald" for November 5, 1921, George Lansbury wrote, concerning the then Glasgow imprisonment of the editor:—

"Among these is Guy Aldred, editor of the 'Spur,' whose case is well-known to all readers of the 'Daily Herald.' He was born on November 5, 35 years ago. His life has been a strenuous one all through, and during the past ten years he has spent more time inside prison than outside. His one crime in the eyes of Scotland Yard and the Government is that he has desired to serve his fellow men and women. To-day he is serving a monstrous sentence of 12 months imprisonment, with four months added, because of a refusal to grant bail, and the charge which has landed him in prison is the old one of sedition."

The New Emergency Powers

We feel it to be our duty to publish the full text of the Order in Council, made at Buckingham Palace, the 9th day of May, 1940. Order No. 680, 1940, Adding Regulation 2c and 94A to, and amending Regulataion 39A of the Defence (General) Regulations, 1939. S.R. & O., 1939, No. 927. Made under *Section 1., Emergency Powers (Defence) Act, 1939, 2 and 3, Geo. 6, C.62.*

Corruption of Public Morale

1. After Regulation two B of the Defence (General) Regulations, 1939 (hereinafter referred to as "the principal Regulations") there shall be inserted the following Regulation:—

2c.—(1) If it appears to the Secretary of State that any person is concerned in the systematic publication of matter which is, in the opinion of the Secretary of State, calculated to foment opposition to the prosecution to a successful issue of any war in which His Majesty is engaged, and that serious mischief may be caused by subsequent publications of a similar character, the Secretary of State may cause to be served upon that person a notice in writing drawing his attention to the matter objected to and warning him that if he is concerned in any future publication of matter calculated to foment such opposition as aforesaid he will become liable to prosecution under this Regulation.

(2) If, after such a warning as aforesaid has been served upon any person, that person publishes, whether orally or otherwise, any matter calculated to foment opposition to the prosecution to a successful issue of any war in which His Majesty is engaged, or aids abets counsels or procures the publication of such matter, then, whether or not the matter is of a similar character to the matter in respect of which the warning was given, that person shall be guilty of an offence against this Regulation and shall on conviction on indictment be liable to penal servitude for a term not exceeding seven years or to a fine not exceeding five hundred pounds or to both such penal servitude and such fine.

Provided that it shall be a defence to any prosecution in respect of a contravention of this paragraph to prove that the person by whom the offence is alleged to have been committed had no intent to foment opposition to the prosecution to a successful issue of any war in which His Majesty is engaged, and had no reasonable cause to believe that the matter published was calculated to foment such opposition.

(3) If, after such a warning as aforesaid has been served upon any person that person, with intent to commit an offence against the foregoing provisioons of this Regulation, has in his possession or under his control any document of such a nature that the publication of copies thereof, or the aiding abetting counselling or procuring of such publication, would, if committed by any person who had been duly warned under this Regulation, constitute such an offence he shall be guilty of an offence against this Regulation and shall, on conviction on indictment, be liable to imprisonment for a term not exceeding two years or to a fine not exceeding five hundred pounds or to both such imprisonment and such fine.

(4) Where it appears to the Secretary of State that a person upon whom a notice is to be served under paragraph (1) of this Regulation as being a person concerned in such publication as is mentioned in that paragraph, is so concerned in the capacity of a manager of any organisation engaged in the systematic publication of matter, the Secretary of State may direct that the notice shall state that the notice is a warning not only to the person upon whom it is served but also to the organisation named or described therein; and if on the prosecution of any person for an offence against this Regulation it is proved—

(a) that a notice so purporting to warn an organisation has been served; and

(b) That the person upon whom the notice was served was at the time of the service thereof a manager of that organisation; and

(c) that the person charged was at the time of the commission of the act in respect of which the prosecution was instituted a manager of that organisation or of an organisation engaged, in succession thereto, in substantially the same systematic publication as was formerly carried on by that organisation;

then, for the purposes of paragraph (2) and paragraph (3) of this Regulation, the person charged shall be deemed to be a person upon whom such a warning as is referred to in those paragraphs has been served.

For the purposes of this paragraph any person taking part in the management or control of an organisation, or holding or purporting to hold a position of management or control therein, shall be deemed to be a manager of that organisation.

(5) A prosecution in respect of a contravention of this Regulation shall not be instituted in England or Northern Ireland except with the consent of the Attorney General.

(6) A person shall not be summarily convicted of an offence against this Regulation, and a court of quarter sessions shall not have jurisdiction to try any person upon an indictment charging him with an offence against this Regulation.

(7) A notice served upon a person under paragraph (1) of this Regulation may be withdrawn if at any time the Secretary of State is satisfied that it is no longer necessary that the notice should continue in operation, and after the withdrawal of any such notice no person shall be deemed to be by virtue of that notice a person upon whom such a warning as aforesaid has been duly served, but without prejudice to the service of any subsequent notice.

2. The following amendments shall be made in Regulation thirty-nine A of the principal Regulations:—

(a) after sub-paragraph (a) of paragraph (1) there shall be inserted the following new sub-paragraphs:—

"(b) endeavour to incite persons who have become or may become liable under the National Service (Armed Forces) Act, 1939, to be called up for service to evade any duties or liabilities which they are or may become liable to perform or discharge under or by virtue of that Act, or to perform or discharge any such duties or liabilities otherwise than to the best of their ability; or

(c) endeavour to incite persons to abstain from enrolling voluntarily in His Majesty's forces or in any civil defence organisation, or endeavour to prejudice the training discipline or administration of those forces or of any such organisation, or.";

(b) sub-paragraph (b) shall be re-numbered as sub-paragraph (d), and in that sub-paragraph for the words "sub-paragraph (a) of this paragraph" there shall be substituted the words "sub-paragraph (a), (b) or (c) of this paragraph";

(c) after paragraph (1) there shall be inserted the following paragraph:—

"(1A) In this Regulation the expression 'civil defence organisation' means any organisation in which persons serve, or are engaged, under any public authority in the performance of functions in connection with the defence of the realm or the securing of the public safety; and the expression 'enrolment' includes any procedure by which a person may become a member of His Majesty's forces or of a civil defence organisation."

Seizure of Printing Presses used in connection with the Commission of Certain Offences.

3. After Regulation ninety-four of the principal Regulations there shall be inserted the following Regulation:—

94A.—(1) If the Secretary of State is satisfied that any printing press, or a printing press under the control of any person, has been used for the production of any document in respect of which a person has been convicted of an offence against Regulation two C, thirty-nine A or thirty-nine B of these Regulataions, he may by order direct that the printing press, or that all or any of the printing presses under the control of that person, as the case may be, shall not be used until the leave of the High Court has been obtained for the use thereof, and any such order may authorise any persons specified therein to take such steps (including the taking possession of any printing press with respect to which the order is made or of any premises in which is contained or of any part of such printing press or premises) as appear to the persons authorised to be necessary for securing compliance with the order.

(2) Upon any application to the High Court for leave to use any printing press with respect to which an order has been made by the Secretary of State under the foregoing provisions of this Regulation, the Court, after affording to all persons appearing to the Court to be interested an opportunity of being heard, may, if satisfied that the use of the printing press for the production of the document in respect of which the offence was committed was due to a mistake, make an order granting such leave unconditionally or may, although not so satisfied as aforsesaid, make an order granting such leave subject to such conditions as may be specified in the order, or, if the Court is satisfied, either upon such an application as aforesaid or upon an application made by or on behalf of the Attorney General, that such leave ought not to be given, the Court may by order direct that the printing press be forfeited to His Majesty or be destroyed or otherwise disposed of, or may make such other order as to the Court seems just.

(3) In this Regulation the expression 'printing press' includes any machinery, apparatus or plant capable of being used for printing, lithography, photography, or other mode of representing or reproducing words in a visible form, or any type or other article belonging to such machinery, apparatus or plant.

(4) In the application of this Regulation to Scotland, for any reference to the High Court there shall be substituted a reference to the High Court of Justiciary, and for any reference to the Attorney General there shall be substituted a reference to the Lord Advocate."

Rupert B. Howorth.

OUR LETTER-BOX

Dear Comrade,—I wish to thank you for publishing such an interesting and enlightening paper as THE WORD as the best help to C.O.'s yet discovered by me. I have been reading same now for past five months and have recommended it to all my Objector friends.

Your son, A. G. Aldred, and I have had several interesting chats over the telephone and his advice to me is both helpful and appreciated.

I am a member of the N.C.L. and P.P.U.

With best wishes,

FRANK L. LASSMAN.

Leytonstone, London, E.11, May 6, 1940.

Dear Comrade,—Thank you so much for "The Rebel's Disciples." I've at last digested it, and shall pass on to others strong enough to assimilate without danger to their organisation! It was perhaps an interesing coincidence that, looking among theological books, I came on one entitled "The Vulgate: A Source of Errors," a most enlightening and thrillingly new exposition as far as I was concerned, and one which showed me along with yours, the awful pitfalls into which we've fallen, all because of wrong translations, a whole system of religion built up on about half a dozen errors in translation. It is almost too much to take in.

With all good wishes, yours fraternally,

AGNES N. MACKAY.

Liverpool, 1., April 28.

Dear Sir,—Please do not forget to send THE WORD each month, because it is a real friend to me. It is a splendid paper, and I am trying to get other C.O.'s in Kendal to take a copy each month.

Wishing you every success, and all the best.

I am, yours sincerely,

HARRY SIMPSON.

Kendal, April 30.

Dear Friend,—I find THE WORD very interesting and illuminating, especially the reports of Tribunals. I hope your work and efforts will receive continued success. I pass on my copy to other people in the hope of interesting them.

Yours fraternally,

S. STAY.

Salisbury, April 21.

Dear Comrade Aldred,—Is there any chance of "Socialism and Parliament" being put out soon? You sent me Part I. recently and I should like the other part. The reason is that I wish to put the anti-parliamentary attitude before the I.L.P. here. I am becoming convinced that the anti-parliamentary case is very sound, when one considers the Labour Party now, one can draw no other conclusion. If the U.S.M. has put out anything on its organisation I should like to have it.

Two other pamphlets I should be glad to see reprinted are "At Grips with War" and the one with press cuttings on your various adventures with the minions of the capitalist state.

I have to register on the 27th. We have to go to Reading now. The Judge, Maurice N. Drucquer, served from 1915 to 1919 in the Great War, and is on the Royal Reserve of Officers. Another member is a Major. Actually, their psychology is nationalistic and their emotional bias, rather than their philosophy, is summed up in the maxim: "L'Etat, c'est moi." Trained to authority, their minds are not given to wisdom or deeper understanding. Militarism obeys but never or rarely reflects. Thought is subversive.

I agree with W. A. Rathkey, that only intensive education will stop the workers being duped time and time again.

With best wishes, yours sincerely,

ALBERT McCARTHY.

Shirley, Southampton, April 16.

Dear Guy,—It is strange to reflect how those who declared that fundamental change in society was impossible, have pursued a course of reformism ending in social stalemate at home, and violence both at home and abroad. This war will, of necessity, end capitalism, as we know it. Society can never return to its old forms, traditions, and institutions. The violence is such that even most extreme direct actionist and defender of social violence as a progressive factor, would be appalled to outline it as a possibility, much less employ it as an agent. The Communist International has much to answer for in this matter, as well as the Fascist agencies. One day there will have to be a reckoning. Spain should be a lesson to us. When the time comes, the case against C.1, against the Fascist dictatorships, and against the democratic statesmen and democratic capitalism that betrayed Spanish vital democracy and its heroic working class, must be made crystal clear. If Socialism is not the next stage in social evolution, then the generations of men are doomed to experience a series of wars and violent struggles. Not permanent revolution, but permanent war in lieu of social revolution, is the lot of humanity.

That a form of Fascism is most probable here, is apparant everywhere. Nothing has been more conducive to this sorry result than the deification of the State and the glorification of violence, to which the C.P. has given so much time and money. The C.P. and the B.U.F. have both faded out for the time being, and eventually may be declared illegal. The poison which they spread will remain, and it will be hard work for the Libertian Socialists and Anarchists to eliminate it from the minds of the workers.

Perhaps the only good thing this war will do will be to separate the sheep from the goats, and show the workers who were the men who told them the truth, not as a means of getting into Parliament, but because they aimed at the emancipation of their class.

You have blazed that trail for some years, and I hope you will live to see some results for your work. All good wishes.

Yours in the Cause,

M. KAVANAGH.

Southend-on-Sea, May 3.

Dear Guy,—THE WORD improves with each issue. As a forum for C.O.'s, as a means of spreading the message of social emancipation, the paper is, to-day, without equal. Certainly, it will rank as high as "The Spur" and "The Commune" did in the past. Its message is simple. There is no parrot use of a mass of economic phrases or hackneyed quotation of statistical data. It is more important for the workers to understand the principles of the brotherhood of man than to grasp the intricacies of Marxian dialectics. Of what use is ability to quote Marx and Engels, if we justify Stalin and brutal dictatorship?

Further reflections have confirmed my first impressions of Lord Tavistock's meeting. It is time to call a halt to eulogising Fascists masquerading as guardians of liberty, peace, and workers' rights. The German worker is dazzled with the errors of National Socialism. We must not find excuses for Hitlerism. Tavistock does this and he is wrong. It is as logical to associate with Mosley as with Tavistock and it is undesirable to associate with either. If Lord Tavistock wants peace and Socialism, let him come boldly into our movement, but let him do so as the unqualified opponent of all persecution. It is right to indict Churchill only if we indict also, and in the most uncompromising terms, Hitler, Stalin, and Mussolini. Otherwise, it is special pleading and treachery. We must not compromise at this time of crisis with pseudo-Socialists and peace-lover-cum-fascist advocates. Genuine Socialists can make no such Popular Front for peace, for the result would not be peace but surrender to despotism. We must be opposed to the newly arrived peace-lover who finds Nazism so beneficial and Hitler so sincere.

Outstanding is the last message of the late Sir Walter Strickland. To you has fallen the task of continuing his fight for Freedom, so that "the march of homicide" can end for ever.

With kind thoughts,

ALEC KAYE.

Stepney, E., May 6.

Dear Friends,—Please accept my small contribution to your very excellent and well informed paper THE WORD.

Yours sincerely,

A. R. WARNET.

Brighton, 18/4/40.

Dear Aldred,—Just my mite to help you in the splendid work you are doing to help the poor young lads who are being forced against their will to take part in killing their fellows, with whom they have no quarrel.

Excuse haste,

GEORGE ROBERTSON.

Edinburgh, April 29.

COMRADE SHORT DEAD.

Our comrade, Tom Short of Rutherglen, after many months of agony, passed away on May 24. He was laid to rest in Riddrie Cemetery. A Socialist Service was conducted by his friend, Tom Anderson, of the Proletarian School. Comrade Short lived genuinely for the worker's cause and the world is poorer by his death.

Comrade Short was a devoted associate and disciple of the late John Maclean.

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Organisations in other cities are invited to arrange meetings. A united platform should be organised against conscription.

Printed by the STRICKLAND PRESS, at 104 George Street, Glasgow, C.1, and Published by the BAKUNIN PRESS, at Bakunin Hall, 29 Castle Street, Glasgow, C.4.

EMMA GOLDMAN

Emma Goldman outside Transport Workers' Headquarters, Euston Road, London, 1937, on her arrival from Spain.

"Associated Press" copyright.

Emma Goldman died in Toronto on Tuesday, May 14. She had a stroke in February and had been ill since. She was 69.

"Red Emma" was Russian born, but went to the United States as a girl of 15. She was imprisoned in 1893. Voltairine De Cleyre's famous speech on her imprisonment was reprinted in our *Herald of Revolt*.

During the Great War, Emma Goldman took a firm stand against conscription. Her indictment in 1917 led to Counsellor Harry Weinberger presenting a striking plea-in-error on law, conscience, and the Militia to the Supreme Court of the United States, at the October term, 1917. This case was summarised in THE WORD for August, 1939. Its law is as important in Britain as in the States.

Emma Goldman's "Anarchism" was published in our paper, *The Spur*, in October, 1917. Her striking and human essay, "On Release From Prison," appeared in the same paper in March, 1920. Also her explicit declaration, "What I Believe."

In 1919, Emma Goldman was deported to Soviet Russia. She was deported from Soviet Russia and so became a woman without a country.

We objected to some of her associations in Britain and a quarrel ensued that was never healed.

Commenting on her death, the *New Leader* for May 16, says:—

"In recent years she worked closely with the I.L.P. in connection with events in Spain and, despite political differences, rendered great help to our Party in defence of the P.O.U.M."

It is our intention to publish a full account of her career at an early date.

THE WORD

To Rouse The People, To Combat War, and To Speed Commonweal.

An Organ of the United Socialist Movement, Edited and Published by Guy A. Aldred, for the Bakunin Press and the U.S.M., at **Bakunin Hall, 29 Castle Street, Glasgow, C.4.** All unsigned matter is from the pen of the Editor.

Vol. 1. No. 12. JULY, 1940. Price: TWOPENCE [Ann. Sub. 3s. 0d.]

WHY THIS FASCIST MENACE?

MUSSOLINI & MOSLEY EXPOSED AND EXPLAINED

The advent to power of Hitler in February, 1933, was due to the Versailles treaty, and to the failure, even, of the Allied Statesmen to carry out fully even their contracts under this treaty dictated by them.

E. D. Morel wrote tersely, and prophetically on this subject in August, 1922, when he complained :—

> "The terms imposed upon the vanquished enemy are the direct outcome of these secret Pacts, of which our people—let it be emphasised once again—knew nothing at the time. . . . The peace, instead of being constructive, is destructive. Instead of healing, it makes new and gaping wounds in the political body of Europe. Instead of liberating it enslaves. Instead of suppressing militarism it gives to militarism renewed vigour. . . . Instead of destroying war as an institution it confers upon that institution a renewed lease of life. It is not peace but a sword which our rulers and their Allies have given to the world. . . . Upon the Cenotaph should be added this sentence: 'They died to make a better world. But those who sent them to their death have made a worse one.'"

Everyone knows to-day that Morel was right. That knowledge does not help the world to-day. We are faced with the fact that defines that knowledge in concrete terms. Hitler's attainment of supreme distatorship was the transient, but most realistic, triumph of counter-révolution in Europe. Since then, the whole world has trembled in fear of war and total retrogression, as Hitler and Mussolini pursued the policy of zig-zagging Germany back into a place in the sun. Hitler outbid the Kaiser for he wanted to become the Sun itself : to have the place and to be that place, the world's sole inspiration. Hitler is a commentary on stupid and humiliating peace treaties.

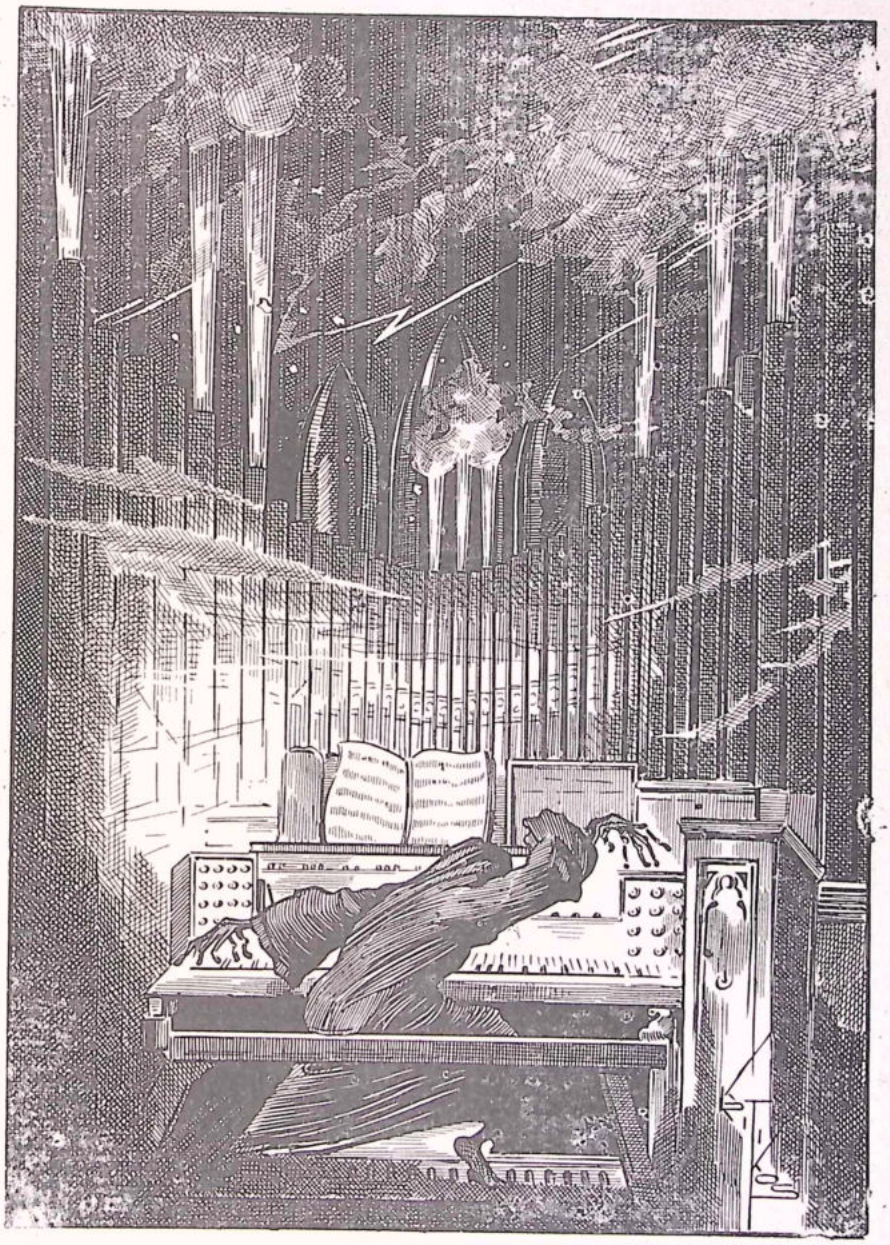
Italy and Germany have tended to become allies since the end of the last war. Mussolini and Hitler emerged from the underworld to greet and to sustain each other. Their common emergence might have meant little only they discovered politicians and statesmen and publicists in the Allied countries to applaud them. Their crimes against humanity were forgotten if not forgiven, as though days of reckoning did not exist. They found admirers in the Anti-Socialist ranks of Imperialist Toryism, of capitalism dreading the workers' struggle towards emancipation. The parliamentary opportunists and the pseudo-intellectuals of political Socialism professed to discover something allied to genius in the dictator-bullies of Europe.

In November, 1922, the *Daily Herald*, then the absolute and uncontrolled Labour Party organ, with unexampled treachery to the cause of the workers, and to all that represents democracy, attempted to whitewash the White Terror of the Fascisti, which held Italy in its grip.

Hamilton Fyfe was then editor of the *Daily Herald* and he dared to write :—

> *"Whether the Italian Fascisti are enemies to the point of view of the workers in this country is not very clear."*

It was perfectly clear, but Fyfe did not wish to face the fact.



FURIOSO

[Reproduced from "The Spur," February, 1917.]

Fyfe wrote of Mussolini, with profound ignorance, as follows :—

> *"It is impossible not to feel a certain amount of admiration for this man who has organised what he calls a bloodless revolution."*

Mussolini organised, not a bloodless revolution, but a calculated, cowardly, and bloody reaction. He did this with the able support of the very weak-kneed parliamentary Socialists, then struggling to their extinction in Italy.

Five years later, Bernard Shaw published his apology for Mussolini and declared that Mussolini took charge of Italy because Malatesta refused to become dictator. Thus wrote Britain's famous teacup revolutionary, intellectual bagman, and doting sage.

Fyfe and Shaw helped the murderer of Matteoti, and the callous persecutor of his wife and children, to secure a good world press. They knew not what they did in their charlatan criminal folly but they knew that they did wrong. But they helped Mussolini to strut. The world's press featured the megalomaniac making thunderous orations about how he, the renegade, had saved Italy from Socialism, and how the whole world would be Fascist by 1942'

On June 10, 1940, Mussolini declared war on Britain, as previously he had invaded Spain with his Fascist legions, in order to make his nightmare come true. Dictatorship, mild but real, has been established, for the duration of the war, in Britain, and the British Commonwealth of Nations. The United States of America will be dragged into the conflict. Then Fascism or Dictatorship will be established, for the duration, in the United States. This is a serious menace, even if temporary, to all those principles of constitutional liberty and rights of the citizens that the English speaking race fought for so splendidly, largely through martyrdom, during the sixteenth

seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries. Who can say how long it will take to persuade dictatorial government, once it is established in the great English-speaking democracies, to resign its power?

In an interesting address at Brookwood Labour School, delivered in July, 1936, Rose M. Stein outlined the plans of the United States War Department for "Mobilization Day," the day the United States again enters into world war. She explained how the Industrial Mobilization Plan had been developed, and was being kept efficient, by the War Planning Division of the War Department, as a result of continued study since the conclusion of the great war, the structure being based on the experiences of the world war.

Very soon this mobilization for war must come into operation in the United States, as it has done in the British Empire, because men like Fyfe and Shaw had to inflate the power-conceit of Mussolini. The praise was based on falsehood. Mussolini no more saved Italy than Hitler saved Germany. Both have cursed the world, like devils conjured up from hell by the legions of the damned.

In 1932, Hessell Tiltman published a work, called *Slump*, in which he devoted a chapter to conditions in Italy. He described the increase in bankruptcies and the decline in rail traffic; the growth of unemployment; the forsaking of white bread for maize diet; and the reappearance in rural Italy of a disease prevalent only when the standard of living is low, called "pellagra."

The average hourly wage in the principal industries was, in 1928, about 5d. By 1932, wages had dropped to about 15s. 0d. for the full working week. The "dole" was 9¼d. per day and even this low unemployment benefit ceased after 13 weeks.

During the period that the workers' wages were £1 per week, the expenditure of the working-class family that lived, or starved, on this sum, was as follows:—Rent, 5s. 0d.; Food, 12s.–14s.; balance, clothes and pleasures.

Tiltman described the earnings and status of the agricultural labourers under Fascism.

In 1932, whilst Mussolini was rejoicing in the glamour of Bernard Shaw's uninvited and most ignorant praise, the Italian land-workers in Northern Italy were working eight hours a day for 2s. 2d., which being translated means 3¼d. an hour. In Cremona, Fascist law fixed the agricultural workers' wage at £17 10s. per year. In the South, the wage ranged from 1s. 3d. to 1s. 8d. per day. *Also payments in kind were substituted for wages.*

This misery steadily developed. In the two years, from 1935 to 1937, the consumption of meat in Italy dropped 11.4 per cent. A special bread, of low nourishment value, made its appearance. Italian workers, despite police fears, sarcastically termed the product "the bread of Empire!"

The fact that all was not well in Italy in 1932, did not prevent Sir Oswald Mosley from dressing cynically romantic youths up in black-shirts, and having himself photographed, haranguing them in Trafalgar Square, as became the future dictator of Britain. Mosley must have the power-complex badly developed to be fascinated by Mussolini and Hitler. It is charitable to believe that he never paused to consider how Hitler and Mussolini arrived at power.

Mosley admired the adventurous arrogance of the dictators and did not appreciate their criminal worthlessness. They contributed nothing to the thought of the practical well-being of the world. They were destroyers. And Mosley thought their worth above that of the martyred pioneers of democracy. Presumably, his training and environment has made him this way.

Sir Oswald Mosley was born on November 16, 1896. He was educated at Winchester and Sandhurst. He served in France during the great war, in the 16th Lancers and the Royal Flying Corps. He was the last man to escape from Ypres. His military career was interrupted by a serious injury to his leg. An operation saved his leg but for three years he was forced to wear irons.

For the remainder of the war, Mosley occupied official posts. At its conclusion, he was returned to Parliament for Harrow, as a Coalition Sonservative. This was in 1918. He termed his policy "Socialist Imperialism," and claimed later that it anticipated Fascism.

Mosley objected to the "Black and Tans" in Ireland and so left the Tory Party. He sat on the cross benches as an Independent Member. At 1922, he won his seat against an official Conservative, with a majority of over 7,000. He held the seat in 1923. As the Labour Party had repudiated the Communist Party, Mosley approached it for membership. At the 1924 election, he opposed Neville Chamberlain, and was defeated by the narrow majority of 77. At a by-election at Smethwick, he was returned as Labour Candidate by a majority of 6,582. He was now a member of the Labour Party Executive, and helped to draw up the Election Program: "Labour and the Nation."

In an interview on April 12, 1926, Mosley promised to renounce his title. He said:—

> *"When I first joined the Labour Party I said I should renounced the title I should acquire on the death of my father. It will be quite easy not to be addressed by it."*

The *Sunday Express*, August 23, 1928, reproduced from the *Evening Standard* of the previous week, a statement made by Mosley to the International News Agency representative. Sir Oswald Mosley said:—

> *"I shall take the title; it is not worth giving up, although titles count for nothing.*
>
> *"The fact that I shall take the title will make no difference to my political activities. I shall continue my work as a Socialist member of Parliament.*
>
> *"I have always maintained that titles of any sort are absolutely worthless, especially in this day and age.*
>
> *"But then again, the title is not worth giving up."*

In 1929, Sir Oswald Mosley challenged the unemployment policy of the Labour Government and then resigned both from the Government and the Party. He founded the New Party, which continued for two years. Its influence dwindled and in 1932, he avowed his Fascism and founded the British Union of Fascists. What he never explained was how he came to admire Mussolini, who had no solution for unemployment, and whose career has been one of unprincipled violence, from left to right.

In the year 1912, two American-Italian I.W.W. leaders, Joseph Ettor and Arturo Giovannitti were arrested and charged with having incited to the murder of a girl striker, and also with having engaged in "unlawful conspiracy" during a textile strike in Massachusetts. Their innocence was established but it required a tremendous agitation to bring home its truth to the authorities. In America, Emma Goldman played a great part in the struggle. In Italy, a young Italian Socialist, the editor of *Lotta di Classe* (the *Class Struggle*), denounced Capitalism in the bitterest terms. That editor was Benito Mussolini. He preached international working-class solidarity. Here is an excerpt from his article:—

> "The international agitation of the proletariat, aimed at saving the lives of Giovannitti and Ettor, who are threatened with death in the electric chair, is every day being more intensified. . . . There is still time to make our cry of protest sound aloud, and solemnly to unite ourselves to the millions of proletarians who, from one continent to another, renew and consolidate the inviolable pact of class solidarity in the names of Ettor and Giovannitti."

Giovannitti and Ettor were saved.

Fifteen years later two other Italian workingmen faced death in the electric chair—men as innocent as Giovannitti and Ettor. Mussolini, the Socialist editor, who had demanded that the Italian Government should protect its Socialist nationals in the United States, was now the Government of Italy, the all-powerful dictator overawing even the Italian Monarchy. *He made no word of protest as the heroic Anarchists, Sacco and Vanzetti, were led to the electric chair.*

In 1938, Gaudens Megaro published his *Mussolini in the Making*, at the usual impossible price for the proletariat, of 10s. 6d. Megaro depicts Mussolini as the revolutionary Socialist, anti-militarist, defamer of the Monarchy, enemy of God and religion. In these days of proletarian outlawry, he spoke and wrote with the same violence as has marked him in his days of conceit of power, oppression, and Fascism.

In his Socialist days, Mussolini had no time for the Monarchy, whether of Italy or any other country. Mussolini described the monarchs of Europe in these terms:—

(1) The Kaiser: *"Lousy William, the Emperor of the Germans, the verbose and already ridiculous Attila of the twentieth Century."*

(2) Edward VII.: *"Libertine."*

(3) Czar: *"The hangman of the Neva."*

When Antonio D'Alla, an Italian stone-mason, attempted to assassinate King Victor Emmanuel, Mussolini expressed disgust at the congratulations sent to the king on his escape and demanded the expulsion from the Italian Socialist Party of the Socialist deputies who had joined in these congratulations.

Mussolini wrote:—

> "The King is a citizen who is 'useless' by definition. Many peoples, ancient and modern, have dismissed their kings, when they do not wish to safeguard themselves better by sending them to the guillotine, and these people find themselves in the vanguard of progress."

People have been known to dismiss dictators too.

Mussolini was distinguished in the Socialist Movement not so much for his Atheism as for the vulgarity with which he expressed his Atheism. The German Socialist Congress at Gotha in 1875, and at Erfurt in 1891, declared that, in the Socialist Movement, religion is a private matter. Mussolini loudly challenged this declamation and maintained that religious belief of any kind was incompatable with Socialism. He lampooned Christianity without mercy. In 1904 Mussolini's anti-religious views were published in a pamphlet entitled *Man and Divinity*, published at Lugano, under the auspices of the International Library of Rationalist Propaganda. The author rejoices that, owing to the steady advance of science, the people everywhere are deserting the churches *"where for generations and generations they dragged themselves to pray to a God—a monstrosity borne of the ignorance of mankind."*

Mussolini compares Christ with Gautama the Buddha, and asserts that Christ originated nothing. He dismisses the Christian moral concepts as counsels of subjection, resignation, and cowardice. He wanted to raize the walls of convents to the ground, and so liberate the minds of the people from "the religious absurdity."

As regards war, this man to whom the Italian Monarch now entrusts the supreme command of his army, was declared by the then Italian authorities, while he was in Switzerland, sponging on Socialist comrades, *"absent without justification when his class was called for army service."*

Of militarism, Mussolini wrote:—

> "Militarism is in us, in our habits. It is we, . . . the sons of the proletariat who populate the barracks; it is our powerlessness that fortifies jingoistic patriotism . . . There is indeed an infallible means of destroying from its foundation the infamous militarist constraint: desertion!"

He denounced the national flag of Italy as *"a rag to be planted on a dunghill."* He asserted that the Italian army had never won and could never win a war. He anticipated the rise to power of a man of his type and preached his inevitable destruction. At this point he wrote:—

> "If there should appear a crazy megalomaniac, the proletariat would no longer lend itself, as a docile herd, to the holocaust."

Mussolini defined his megalomaniac when he wrote in 1910:—

> "Within me I recognise no one superior to myself."

In 1938, Angelica Balabanoff published, in English translation, her autobiography, *My Life as a Rebel*. She depicts forty years spent in active work for the Socialist Movement in Europe during its most historic period and describes, intimately, its leading figures. We use the word "Socialist" in a wide sense, and certainly not a severely accurate one.

Angelica Balabanoff saw the European Socialist Movement at the height of its triumph and in the depths of its failure and collapse. She held various positions in its ranks and was, at

one time, co-editor with Mussolini, then a Socialist, of *Avanti*, the Italian Socialist organ.

The youngest of sixteen children born into a wealthy Russian household, she persuaded her parents to send her to a boarding school at Kharkov. Later, by renouncing her share of her father's wealth and accepting only enough to keep her on the level of the working girl, she went to the Université Narvelle at Brussels. She plunged into Radical and Socialist activity. An excellent linguist, she became an international figure on the Socialist platform. It was thus she met Mussolini. Her description of how they met at Losanna at a celebration of the thirty-third anniversary of the Paris Commune is told in another column by herself. She tells of his betrayal of the Movement and explains in her picture of the man why he became the criminal enemy of the workers and of human freedom everywhere :—

"His hatred of oppression was not that impersonal hatred of a system shared by all revolutionaries. It sprang from his own sense of indignity and frustration, his passion to assert his own ego, and from a determination for a personal revenge."

Does a sense of indignity and frustration explain Mosley? Does it explain all Fascism.

THE REBEL AND HIS DISCIPLES.

64 Pages. Price: FOURPENCE.

Full of Facts.

A Study in Church Economics and Biblical Forgeries.

A complete *resumé* of early Christian history. The first clear attempt to explain Christian Origins in the terms of Socialist Materialism as opposed to Secularist Secretarianism. Describes the beliefs of the heresiarchs and pagan basis of orthodox Church ideas.

Explains how the Christian Church became Pagan and Imperialistic. The author was commended for his research by the late Rev. Charles Voysey, B.A., Minister and Founder of the Theistic Church. To banish gods from the haunts of men and to inaugurate the *Age of Reason* is the purpose of this pamphlet. It is a call to Christian Socialists to discard their theological dogmas and superstition for a healthy social materialism.

The story of the "life" of Jesus and a study in the evolution of dogma. Shows that every true Christian must be opposed to war. Special appendix discusses the attitude towards war of the Bishop of Birmingham and other Christian scholars. Complete list great Christian martyrs for conscience.

The *Civil Service Socialist*, London, said of the first edition (1912) :—

"An interesting study of Christian origins from a Socialist standpoint . . . Historical Christianity was, according to Aldred, invented by the Church or borrowed by it from Paganism, and justified by wholesale forgeries in the gospels . . . contains much that is interesting and informing, together with some suggestive criticisms."

The Inquirer, London, the Unitarian weekly, reviewed the second edition (1920), and said :—

"A 'popular' account of the life of Jesus . . . The priesthood and 'Christian Socialists' are anathema to Mr. Aldred, and it is easy to see what the former must think of him, since he denies the orthodox dogmas which they maintain ('the complete Christ legend is contradictory and absurd' he roundly states) and holds that they 'are as miserable devotees of the cause of Mammon as any other of the interested Pharisees of despotism have ever been.'"

The Vanguard, Glasgow, edited by Alexander Ratcliffe, for June, 1940, says of the third edition :—

"A pamphlet of some 50 pages in which the author gives his views about Jesus and His followers of early times. Repudiating Biblical testimony regarding the birth, etc., of Jesus Christ, Mr. Aldred goes on to state that neither Jesus nor His parents were Jews, and also that Jesus was not descended from David. It is also asserted that Jesus was not born at Bethlehem, and, strangest assertion of all, it is affirmed that Jesus was not a Christian! He was just a Rebel! As is expected, the Deity of Jesus is denied, and it is held that the Apostle Paul 'did his best to paganise Christianity.' Whilst we most certainly disagree with Mr. Aldred in his unjustifiable and unproved assertions about Jesus, his pamphlet is enlightening and worth reading. It also contains a List of the Marian Martyrs, and a Statement on 'The Church and War.' Christian people who read 'The Rebel' must expect to be shocked."

OTTO BAUER

A GREAT EUROPEAN SOCIALIST

By P. J. Dollan.

[P. J. Dollan, now Lord Provost of Glasgow, wrote this article on Otto Bauer for the *Forward*, Glasgow, July 16, 1938. It should be remembered that Dollan attained his civic dignity by writing articles like this. It is reproduced because the sentiments expressed by Dollan in this article are opposed to the sentiments he now pronounces so loudly. The italics are not in the original.—Ed.]

Otto Bauer, the greatest of all Austrian Socialists is dead, the victim of Allied Governments' treachery in the Peace Treaty, and of Dolfuss and Hitler treachery in recent years.

Bauer, the leader of Austrian Socialists from 1919 until the Dolfuss armed rebellion of 1934, was one of the noblest men in our ranks, *and if he had been supported by Great Britain in the critical post-war years, he and his comrades would have saved Europe for democracy.*

I met him at the International Socialist conferences in Marseilles, Brussels and Vienna, and again had the pleasure of meeting him on other two visits to the Austrian capital, where he was revered by all democrats as the greatest thinker and statesman of his time.

He would have saved Austrian Socialism and democracy if he had been allowed to carry out his plan for a democratic union between Germany and Austria. But the Lloyd Georges and the Baldwins were too stupid to see the wisdom of his policy, and *in opposing it they prepared the way for Fascism and reaction.*

The opposition of the Allied Governments prevented Bauer getting his proper place in international politics, and those who kept him out of international affairs committed a crime against peace and progress. The timidity of some of the German Social Democrats was also a hinderance to his leadership.

Otto Bauer led all the International congresses in my time, and was regarded by every delegate a sone of the biggest intellects in the European Socialist Movement.

It is not easy for us, who lived so far from Austria, to say whether he or the militants were right. *But we do know that if Otto Bauer had been supported by the British Government, as Franco had been supported by the Tories, there would have been no Nazi terror in Germany and no Franco insurrection in Spain. He had to grapple with difficult problems.*

SOCIALISM BY FORCE.

The failure of the Bela Kun Communist rising in Budapest convinced him that any attempt to establish Socialism by force in Austria would fail.

He was afraid of the combination of Italy, France and Britain, and the independence of Austria would be sacrificed if the Socialists adopted premature and badly organised shock methods. He hoped the British and the French would realise the wisdom of strengthening Austria for democratic purposes, and that they would encourage the alliance of Austrian and German Socialism.

History has taught us his hopes were not realised. The French and the British encouraged reaction in Austria and made it possible for Dolfuss to assassinate the social democracy of Vienna and Austria.

Vienna was then the Mecca of European Socialism and the inspiration of all in the world who were working for social reform and gradual progress. It was too energising for social reform, to be allowed to live as a Socialist city.

It was crucified by Italian and British capitalism, and Otto Bauer and his comrades had to fly into exile after three days of heroic fighting against the armed hordes of Dolfuss and reaction.

Thousands of Socialists were imprisoned and many lost their lives in that civil war of 1934, which was aided and abetted by all the worst elements of European capitalism.

THE CIVIL WAR.

Otto Bauer, in the few months before the Dolfuss insurrection, had a suspicion it might take place. He helped to arm his Socialist comrades, but always warned them against precipitous action. He knew that their resources were too weak to buy armed strength and that they could not hold out against the armed might of Austrian and European reaction.

Some small supplies of arms reached the the Austrian Socialists from Great Britain and other countries, but they were woefully inadequate to cope with the hordes of guns and materials sent in by Mussolini.

Austria lived for some months on the brink of civil war, but Bauer always advised his comrades that they were not to start the bloodshed.

I believe I am right in saying he and his wife and some friends were at a cinema when the civil war broke out, and it was then too late to avert the catastrophe. He took his place alongside his comrades in the tenements in defence of democracy, and was severely wounded during the fighting.

He escaped to Czecho-Slovakia in the hope of reviving social democracy in Austria, and was making fair progress when the Hitler hordes swamped Austria and imposed an even worse form of terrorism on the country than that inaugurated by Dolfuss.

Otto Bauer died in Paris at the age of 59, a martyr for International Socialism.

He will live, however, in the history of our Party and share in the pioneer glory of Jaures, Keir Hardie, Karl Liebknecht, and others who led democracy on the way to freedom.

The cause for which Otto Bauer gave his life will yet triumph in Austria as elsewhere.

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JOHN MACLEAN.

Labour's Northern Voice, Manchester organ of the Independent Socialist Party, in its issue for April, 1940, says :—

"*John Maclean* by Guy A. Aldred . . . This is the life story of a man who put up a great fight for Socialism in Scotland and was sentenced to three years' penal servitude in 1918 for his 'seditious' speeches. His great speech from the dock is given in full. James Maxton reviewing the first issue of this booklet in 1932 wrote: 'I am glad that Aldred has issued this short life, as I believe it to contain the inspiration which, communicated to hundreds of young Socialists to-day, will give them the fighting vigour necessary to carry out Movement eo early success.'"

THE C.O.—THE TRIBUNAL—AND AFTER

A Guide for Conscientious Objectors, Explaining Their Rights and Status under The National Service (Armed Forces) Act. Edited and compiled by Guy A. Aldred.

24 Pages. **Post Free, 2½d.**

PHILIP BOYLE.

The following account of the Court Martial of Philip Boyle appeared in the first final of the *Evening Times*, Glasgow, Friday, May 24. It was omitted from the later final but reappeared, in essence, the next day, in the *Glasgow Herald* and the *Bulletin*. The *Scots Daily Express* also published a report.

GLASGOW C.O. COURT-MARTIALLED

Refused to Wear Uniform

The first conscientious objector in Glasgow to be court-martialled on a charge of refusing to obey a military order appeared to-day before the court-martial, which was held in a city barracks.

Accused was Private Philip Boyle (21), whose application for registration as a conscientious objector was rejected both by the Glasgow Tribunal and the Appellate Tribunal in Edinburgh. The charge which Boyle faced was one of having, when on active service, disobeyed the lawful command given by his superior officer and refused to wear his military uniform when ordered to do so by a company sergeant-major.

The court-martial was held in the library of the barracks. The Court consisted of three commissioned officers—Major L. V. Evans (the President), Captain R. A. Ogg, and Lieutenant P. M. Sinclair. The prosecution was conducted by Second Lieutenant G. Menzies Anderson, a councillor in Glasgow Corporation.

Boyle, who was wearing battle dress, was brought into the library under escort. Also present at the court-martial were his father and Mr. Guy Aldred, a friend of accused.

After Boyle had said that he did not object to being tried by the President or the other officers, the three members of the Court took an oath that they woulld "well and truly try the accused."

"I PLEAD NOT GUILTY."

The charge having been read, Boyle was asked if he was guilty or not guilty, and replied that he did not admit that he was under military law.

The prosecuting officer pointed out that acccused had been called up in terms of the Military Training Act, 1939, and as such he was subject to military law.

So far as a conscientious objector was concerned, said the prosecuting officer, he could go before a Tribunal which considered his case. If this Tribunal did not grant an objector exemption he was then called up.

After consulting with Mr. Guy Aldred, accused said, "I plead not guilty."

The first witness was Company Sergeant-Major H. Allan, who said that on Friday, May 10, he went to the guard room of the barracks, where Private Boyle was in confinement in one of the cells. Boyle was a recruit who had been posted to the witness's company.

He told Boyle that he was going to give him an order to wear a uniform and pointed out to him the seriousness of refusing to obey that order, telling him that he would be liable to a trial by court-martial.

QUITE UNDERSTOOD.

Boyle told him that he quite understood all this.

"I then said, 'Private Boyle, I am giving you an order to put on your military uniform,'" said the witness. "Boyle replied, 'I refuse to wear any form of military uniform.' Boyle was then kept in confinement."

In cross-examination Boyle asked the witness —"Did my reply indicate any personal disrespect to you as a superior officer?"—"No."

"Was it clear to you that I made this reply because I was a conscientious objector?"—"It was clear to me."

Sergeant Edward Davie, the next witness, said that he was present when the C.S.M. ordered Boyle to wear his military uniform, and the private refused to do so.

That concluded the evidence for the prosecution.

The only witness called for the defence was accused's father, Richard Boyle, who spoke to his son's good character. He said that his son was a perfectly serious conscientious objector, having been brought up in a Roman Catholic home. He had never been in any trouble, and had held his views for four or five years.

WRITTEN STATEMENT.

Summing up the case for the prosecution, Second Lieutenant Anderson said that if there was any defence at all to the charge it could only be on conscientious grounds, and in a military court that was quite irrelevant. He submitted the command given to Boyle was lawful and that the accused had refused to obey it.

Boyle then handed a written statement to the Court, in which he said that he objected to war not because he was afraid of what might happen to him—but because he objected to killing. He had to register his protest, and he hoped to serve whatever sentence might be imposed on him without bitterness or dismay. When released from serving that sentence he could only renew his protests. He did all this without any disrespect to the military authorities and thanked the Court for its courtesy.

That ended the hearing of the court-martial.

Sentence was promulgated on Thursday, June 6. Boyle was sentenced to 112 days, reduced to 28 days. He was removed to Barlinnie Military Detention Prison.

UNSOLICITED TRIBUTE.

The *Evening News*, Glasgow, in its issue for Thursday, March 28, published a note on "Peace Offensive" in its "Talk of the Town." Here it is:—

"Opposite Glasgow Cathedral is Bakunin Hall, run by Guy Aldred. You'll know Aldred better than his master Bakunin.

"Just now he is boosting the forthcoming meeting in the St. Andrew's Hall, at which the Marquis of Tavistock will try to find support for his peace plan, with John McGovern, M.P., also on the platform.

"Guy Aldred also runs the Strickland Press in George Street. When his life-long friend, Sir Walter Strickland, died not so long ago and named Aldred in his will, the energetic Glasgow Pacifist stated that he would devote his allowance to anti-Militarist propaganda. He is doing it."

Whether this is quite true or not in every detail, it is very nicely said. Only it requires much more than the diminished allowance from Sir Walter Strickland's overburdened estate to conduct a campaign for sanity and social health in these days of war, oppression, misery, and despair. For war means a wearied world and an oppressed humanity.

In a later paragraph, there is a reference to John McGovern. This concludes as follows:—

"McGovern is not an out-and-out Pacifist like Guy Aldred. I can remembered that he encouraged the recruitment of the International Brigade for Spain."

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CAPTAIN RAMSAY.

The *Times*, London, in its issue for March 24, 1940, says:—

"Capt. A. H. M. Ramsay, M.P., was detained under Defence Regulation 18B as it stood before its amendment by the above Order in Council."

The *Times* then reproduces the regulation under which Captain Ramsay was interned, and explains its operation fully. It proceeds to describe Captain Ramsay's career:—

"Captain Ramsay has been Unionist Member for the Peebles and Southern Division of Midlothian and Peebles since 1931. He was educated at Eton and the Royal Military College, Sandhurst. In 1913 he joined the Coldstream Guards, and during his service in the last war he was severely wounded. He served on the British Military Mission in Paris in 1918."

The *Times* then recalls how, after the resignation of Hore Belisha as Secretary of State for War, Captain Ramsay tabled the following motion:—

"Control of the Press—That this House realises that the reaction of the national Press to the announcement of the change in the Secretary of State for War proved unmistakable evidence as to the character and extent of the powerful organisation that influences or controls the policy and output of our national publicity services, and further confirms the specific charges repeatedly made during the last few years by leading Italians, Slovaks, Sudetens, Spaniards and Arabs to the effect that by systematic dissemination of untruths, suppression of vital truths, and selection of persons whose opinions are featured, the British publicity services are clearly shown to be under a control as effectively concealed as it is operated, which systematically biases them against any national cause, Christian or Mohammedan and favours internationalists and Jews."

This motion reveals Captain Ramsay as a most dangerous person in that he possesses neither a sense of humour nor yet one of proportion. He definitely favoured the Italian and German invasion of Spain and described that blackguardly excursion and crime as Spanish National Patriotism. Early in July, 1938, in pursuit of the same reaction, he attacked the proposal to hold an International Freethinkers' Congress in London, by introducing the following resolution in the House of Commons:—

"That leave be given to bring in a Bill to prevent the participation by aliens in assemblies for the purpose of propagating blasphemous or atheistic doctrines or in other activities calculated to interfere with the established religious institutions of Great Britain, to amend the Aliens Restriction (Amendment) Act, 1919, and for other purposes connected therewith."

Will Thorne, M.P., protested that Captain Ramsay resumed his seat without saying "*a single word about the Bill he wished to introduce.*" The Speaker commented: "*I noticed the same thing myself.*" And Edmund Harvey, M.P., the Liberal Quaker, opposed the resolution in a speech in which he declared:—

"St. Augustine of Canterbury was an alien, St. Paulinus of York, when he went to King Edward, was an alien coming to upset the religious institutions of the country.

"'Go back,' he cried, '300 years and think of the time when a Puritan House of Commons condemned for blasphemy a Quaker whose tongue was bored with red hot irons and whose forehead was branded. I think that the House then dishonoured itself more than its victim. Go back some 50 years, and think of how the House shut out from its membership one whom they regarded an an Atheist, some perhaps as a blasphemer, and when he lay dying the House expunged from its Minutes the record of what it had done. We do not want to go back to that sort of thing. We want to remember rather that we are the guardians of the spirit which John Milton expressed in his noblest prose work. We want to remember his words to-day:

"Give me the liberty to know, to utter and to argue freely according to conscience, above all liberties.'"

Captain Ramsay obtained leave by a majority of 31. No Cabinet Minister voted with him. Sir John Simon voted against him. Every Catholic Labour Member except one voted against him. Three members of the Opposition voted with him. Generally it was felt and known that Captain Ramsay was standing for a Mussolini-Hitler persecution and reaction.

SIR WALTER STRICKLAND'S WAY TO PEACE

His Views on Religion—Buddhism and Christianity

[The following article from our pen was published in the *Malton Messenger* for July 22, 1939. It is reproduced exactly as printed in our contemporary, and we have preserved the original headings. We have summarised faithfully Sir Walter Strickland's views, but it must not be concluded that we endorse them in their entirety. We agreed with Strickland on many points and we opposed him on many points. Our present business—and it is a promise made to him during the last year of his life—is to state correctly his approaches to the social problem, especially in its aspects of war and religion.—Ed.]

Sir Walter Strickland links us with the far away past. It is difficult to realise how completely has disappeared the world into which Strickland was born. Since he grew into a thinker and visioned an order in which the problems which afflict mankind would have been overcome the length of his years and the memories they recall play a part in the study of his biography.

Strickland was one year old when Miss Berry, famed as a pioneer woman of letters of the eighteenth century who carried her memories into the nineteenth, died. Miss Berry was born in March, 1763. In her closing years she recalled Charles Fox wondering how people could make such a fuss about the dullest of dull books—Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations." Fox was an Eton boy, just promised a trip to Paris by his father when Miss Berry was born; Pitt was a child in the nursery, Burns was toddling in and out of his father's cottage, and Fanny Burney's series of now forgotten novels were to the generation of young people what Scott's were to the next but one. The youths and maidens of that time had to content themselves with bad fiction, but found compensation in good history, for Gibbon was introducing the world to his learning and publishing volume after volume that caused them to be proud of their age. Dr. Erasmus Darwin was writing verses and anticipating evolution as he went round in his chaise to his patients. Erasmus Darwin was born in 1731 and was the grandfather of Charles Darwin, born seven years after his death. Erasmus Darwin could never have anticipated how evolution and science would be linked with the name of Darwin.

Strickland's boyhood and youth—the period during which he progressed from the cradle at Westminster via Harrow to taking his degree at Cambridge in 1876—belonged to a most interesting era. It might be described as a period of magnificent and historic obituaries. Russia comes into the picture, but how far removed from the Russia of to-day. True, despotism may still exist in that country but it is a despotism of another age and of a different order. Not less terroristic, but with the splendour of its dynasty vanished: a Russia set in a new Europe and a new Asia, in a world of apprehension and horror but a world of experiment, unparalysed by the dead past.

When Strickland was four years old the Emperor Nicholas I, known as "Nicholas with the Bloody Stick," died, worn and broken, and not yet fifty-five years of age. He was the grandson of the great Catherine and son of the miserable Paul. The sinister Metterinch died when Strickland was eight years of age. This man was born in 1773 and for a time was the master of Europe. In those days no one thought of a Stalin or of a Hitler. Metterinch negotiated the marriage of Napoleon and Marie Louise. He built up a powerful Austria and made Vienna a famous city of power and diplomacy. During the first years of Strickland's wandering on the Continent, Vienna was probably the most famous of all European cities, not excluding Paris, and Austria was a great and powerful empire. At the time of Strickland's death, Austria was passing into oblivion and Vienna is now a provincial town.

A STUDENT OF PHILOSOPHY AND HISTORY

Reference to some of the other personalities who passed away during Strickland's early years will enable us to understand his background, always remembering that he was a student of philosophy, history and literature. The death of the persons mentioned, and of others not noticed in this essay, represented real memories and real links with the past to Strickland. In his later years, when all about him was changing, they would constitute more important historical associations than at the time of their occurrence when all seemed so firm and established.

In 1855 Joseph Hume and Samuel Rogers passed away. Hume, who was born in 1777, will be remembered as a great Radical politician, who time after time championed the cause of Thomas Paine and of Richard Carlile in the House of Commons. Rogers is remembered as the author of "Pleasures of Memory." He represented the bridge that literature passed over from the old condition of patronage to the new one of independence. He heard the talk of the town on Johnson's letter to Lord Chesterfield and lived to see the removal of most of the taxes on knowledge. Commencing his literary adventures when publishers were patrons he lived to witness Charles Dickens' plan of independence for the publishers themselves. Other names are those of Robert Owen, Lady Noel Byron, Charlotte Bronte, Thomas de Quincey and Macauley-Macauley, who elevated letters to a place high above law and statesmanship.

The names of de Quincey and of Macauley bring us directly back to a consideration of Strickland's Cambridge days. At Cambridge, during Strickland's undergraduate period, Bishop Lightfoot enjoyed the outstanding position as the scholar of the University. Bishop Joseph Barber Lightfoot, flourished 1829-1889, had what the pendants term a brilliant career at Trinity College and was elected a fellow of the college a short time after Strickland's birth. During the time Strickland was at Harrow and Cambridge, Lightfoot's reputation was very high in orthodox scholastic circles.

FASCINATED BY BUDDHISM.

Strickland found himself coming into constant collision with Lightfoot's authority and driven more and more to a study of Buddhism which later fascinated him. He also came under the influence of de Quincey who, although writing from an orthodox standpoint, had opposed Lightfoot's conclusions. The bishop laboured to disprove any connection between Buddhism and the Essene doctrine. Strickland concluded that not scholarship but bias had caused Lightfoot to maintain this position. In contradistinction, he held that through Persia, Buddhism had penetrated into Judea, and so influenced the teachings of the Essenees and of Jesus of Nazareth.

Strickland carefully studied de Quincey's remarkable reply to Lightfoot, and wrote a monograph on it complaining that de Quincey's conclusions were clouded only because he did not wish to depart too seriously from orthodoxy. Strickland pointed out that de Quincey had permitted his genius to halt in face of the mere talents of Bishop Lightfoot, and developed quite an interesting study on the relationship of genius to talent. He regarded genius as something original and worthy and talent as something almost spurious and counterfeit. He maintained this view to the end of his life.

A FACTION OF JEWS.

On the question of Buddhism and Christianity, Strickland concluded that the Essenees were an ascetic faction of Jewish gnostics or eclectics situated to the east of Jordan, versed in mysticism and given to astrology. Despite their superstitions they upheld clear social ideas of Communism and Pacifism. Following de Quincey Strickland claimed that the Essenees employed twelve as a symbolic number and that twelve stones played a part in their very simple worship. Jesus and his disciples, he averred, were actually a sub-section of reforming Essenees who taught a return to righteousness and actually expounded early Christian doctrine. The differences that subsequently developed between Christianity and Buddhism were never intended to exist by the first apostles of Christianity.

INTELLECTUAL ADVENTURES IN SOHO.

After leaving Cambridge, Strickland discovered a modern Arcadia in "the not too odiferous purlieus of upper Rathbone Place." He has described very fully his adventures in this portion of London, Oxford Street, Tottenham Court Road, Charlotte Street, Fitzroy Square, Soho, the very heart of conspiratorial and refugee London. Here, at the age of 28, Strickland found Hinduism, Communism, conspiracies against the French Government, atheistic meeting places and discussions on the heresies of Charles Voysey, whose trial for heresy by Privy Council had led to the establishment of anti-Christian Theism. In these days the names of Bradlaugh, Annie Besant and Charles Voysey were the most significant in the intellectual circles in London. In Soho Bakunin's friends were organising Nihilist meetings.

Just as Strickland developed a wanderlust in Yorkshire so he learned, whilst indulging the intellectual life, how to live in lodging houses and to travel third class in London. The period after his graduation in 1876 and before his close association with the Continent in 1890 was a most formative one.

Exeter Hall had just become the great centre of orthodox missionary activity. It was idolised by the saintly and denounced by the radicals and the wits. Built in 1831, Exeter Hall was purchased by the Y.M.C.A. in 1880 for £25,000. At the time that Strickland was wandering through Soho, the Hall was enjoying its heyday.

The ideas that Strickland developed during this period, both as regards the place of the Church in society—the relation of the pulpit to the state—and also the peace of the world returned to him towards the end of his life. He was very jealous of the traditions of English literature and English thought and expressed an anti-English bias largely from anger at the abuse of a great heritage. He thought that the English-speaking people ought to give up their imperialism and not permit themselves to drift to war; that their influence in the world was historic and could not be under-mined. As I have pointed out in a previous article, he was descended from the Dutch on his mother's side and looked to the Dutch playing a part in averting war and assisting the cultural development of mankind. He clung to this idea despite his clear views on the subject of colonisation, to which he was opposed. He believed that a major war could be avoided even under Capitalism.

HIS WAY TO PEACE.

His solution of the war problems, short of Socialism and en route to Socialism, might be summarised as follows:—

THE ENGLISH PEOPLES CAN ESTABLISH PEACE.

(1) Re-establish the power of the pulpit. He believed that the Church should become the centre of spirituality and grace without creed. The 39 articles of the Established Anglican Church should be abolished: the thought of the Church should be free: its teaching, first century in spirit and in ethics. The Church should be open to all men of genius who felt the power to serve and to preach.

(2) Heresy should be promoted and be allowed

to correct itself. This would remove death from the Church.

(3) Whether ministers of the State Church or ministers of the independent Churches, the aim of the minister should be to re-establish himself as a Clerk in Holy Orders. He should serve the community until social changes improve the conditions of the people, and slums and poverty are destroyed. The minister can play a real part in the poor districts as advisor, letter writer, public defender, etc. An active ministry is required more to-day than ever and the minister without being sanctimonious or hypocritical, could establish a real power of goodness.

(4) Completely internationalise the pulpit. Especially organise complete federation of British, Empire and American Churches.

(5) Cast out all fear (a) from religion, (b) from politics and economics, (c) from races:

(a) From religion. Develop mutual approaches and intercommunication and interpenetration, voluntarily but not compulsorily, between all religions: Buddhism, Mohammedanism, Judaism, Christianity, etc.

(b) From politics. The purpose of democracy is to recognise the co-existence of Fascist and alleged Communist dictatorships. Accept such as facts, but influence them by recognising their co-existence. Do not hate people born under Fascism or Communism because of murders committed by their regimes. Make democracy function as living reality and do not cling to it as a static political system.

END RACIAL ANTAGONISM.

(c) From races. Recognise brotherhood as a fact and end race hatred and antagonism. Accept man as equal to man everywhere. Make Empire the starting place for a world federation and turn the political cosmic process into an ethical process.

En route to the new social system, Sir Walter Strickland wanted to see established

(1) Living geographical education; children to visit all countries; education to be internationalised.

(2) Mutual patriotisms to be respected.

(3) Radio and cinema to be employed in education. Definitely organised international as well as national schooling over the radio.

(4) Older children and University students; International Scholarships.

As regards the relations between countries, Sir Walter's idea was the total abolition of the passport system. En route to this a wider system of passports or less countries. Believing that the Anglo-Saxon countries had a great part to play, the establishment, in addition to British and U.S.A. passports, a common citizen passport whereby full rights of citizenship in either country or the possessions of either country, equal to that enjoyed in the American or British Motherland, should belong to the holder, irrespective of whether he or she was born under the British or the American flag. All British subjects to be styled citizens. By simple compact, and such definite organisation as may be involved, war to be ruled out under all circumstances as an arbiter in any dispute between Britain and America.

Until total disarmament is established and a court of peace rules the world, all armament to be nationalised.

Secret diplomacy to be abolished and all questions to be discussed openly by the peoples of the democracies, in the Press, on the platform, in Parliament, and congress.

Ministers of peace and world federation to be appointed.

Britain to establish in the Motherland, and in consultation with the Colonies, complete right of asylum for all who are oppressed, whether as Gentiles or Jews, whether on racial or political grounds, whether right and "reactionary" in politics, or left and "revolutionary." The right of asylum is a tradition of democracy, a tradition of the English race, a source of strength.

The entire motto to be "Without fear."

Sir Walter held that Socialism must come, but could come in this way without bloodshed.

WAR ANOMALIES!
The Remedy: Equal Wages

The Rector of Birmingham, the Rev. T. Guy Rogers, deals very effectively with the question of victimisation of conscientious objectors, in a letter, published in *Birmingham Post*, June 6. Mr. Rogers writes:—

"Sir,—The debate, in the City Council, on the position of Council employees who are conscientious objectors seems to have proceeded on very restricted lines, and to have done scant justice to a difficult situation. Presumably the 140 men concerned have satisfied the Tribunal that they are genuine conscientious objectors. If so, no one has a right to call them craven cowards; and in normal times those who did so might be liable to serve penalties. The men were not present to defend themselves, which makes the accusation itself seem cowardly as well as unjust.

"Without knowledge of all the circumstances it is impossible for anyone to say whether these conscientious objectors have acted with full consideration for the rights of the community as a whole; but, presumably again, they have never asked for a war bonus and there is no evidence that they wish to claim rights of seniority if the community thinks well to deprive them of such rights. They are probably passive in the matter, unorganised and without anyone to guide them in making suggestions which might ease the situation for all concerned. Has it occurred to anyone to call them in friendly consultation to discuss the matter? Someone may have done so, but again we are in ignorance.

"It is most regrettable that the conscientious objector, who is bound to be increasingly regarded as a nuisance by people engaged in a life and death struggle, should not be legislated for on a national basis, assigned non-combatant duties by legislative authority and protected in the carrying of them out. Failing to perform such duties presumably he would be interned and allowed to live on such land as he could cultivate. Far better such a fate than to be bullied or ostracised or maligned by his fellows.

"We are supposed to be fighting for the rights of human conscience, and we must not allow the difficulties with which the conscientious objector presents us to disturb the cool judgment which the situation demands. These difficulties are admittedly very real. What, for example, would happen if the Council House were attacked?

"But there are a great many other anomalies and inconsistencies which will need to be dealt with discreetly and firmly. If it comes to that—why should anyone have war bonuses when the pay of the man on active service is so meagre? Why should there not be conscription of wealth as well as of human life? Why should the economic burden of the war fall so unjustly on different people? It is easy to direct the attention of the community to the admitted inconsistencies of the position of the conscientious objector, but there are scores of other inconsistencies which must be considered by the community as a whole. We need above all a balanced judgment. All our civic problems are soluble with general goodwill.

T. GUY ROGERS,
Rector of Birmingham.

June 5.

Mr. Rogers gets to the point in his concluding paragraph. His plea for cool judgment is worthy of his intellectual status and approach. A splendid example in a time of crisis.

How many people and interests are hiding behind the abuse of the conscientious objector? *Why not equal income for every adult citizen, irrespective of age or sex, and work, in wartime? Why not standardise and equalise all wages? Why not end abuse of a minority and agree on sound, practical policy? Are the Anti-Conchies willing? If not, why not?*

GUY ALDRED'S

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"Mr. Guy Aldred is publishing from the Strickland Press, Glasgow, a number of interesting pamphlets, all written by him and disclosing extraordinary vitality. *Dogmas Discarded* and *Historical and Traditional Christianity*, each price 4d., are of particular interest."—*The Inquirer*, London, April 19, 1940.

CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS AND A.R.P. WORK

Correspondence has just passed between the Secretary of the North Wales Conscientious Objectors Tribunal and Mr. William Jones, clerk of the Denbighshire County Council and County A.R.P. Controller, regarding the enrolment of conscientious objectors in the A.R.P. services in Denbighshire.

On April 4th Mr. William Jones wrote to the Clerk of the Tribunal requesting that a resolution passed at a meeting of head wardens and deputies for the Wrexham rural district be brought to the notice of the Tribunal. The resolution stated that owing to the age-limit laid down by the Ministry for Home Security, the meeting considered that conscientious objectors were not eligible for service under the A.R.P. scheme and was not prepared to accept their services under any circumstances. Mr. Jones added that there was a general feeling among volunteer A.R.P. workers that they will not work with conscientious objectors, and he fully endorsed that view.

The letter continued:—

"If at any time we are authorised to employ paid workers on A.R.P. services in this county, I shall not be prepared to sanction the engagement of anyone within the ages liable for military service, and in that case conscientious objectors would be excluded. In view of the difficulties that are likely to arise with the volunteers, may I respectfully suggest that the condition with regard to A.R.P. work be not imposed upon any conscientious objector in this county."

The Clerk of the Tribunal wrote pointing out that certain considerations seemed to have been overlooked.

"The Tribunal is only concerned with granting or refusing exemption from military service according to the evidence. The members of the Court fully realise that the views expressed in your letter are sincerely held by many people besides the Wrexham rural district and the clerk of the A.R.P. services, and that few people can approach this difficult question entirely free from antecedent prejudice. The requests contained in your letter are outside the jurisdiction of the Tribunal, and the members must exercise their own judgment as to the conditions of exemption. They must act according to the rule laid down, namely, deal with each case according to its particular circumstances.

"With regard to the suggestion that service in A.R.P. be not imposed as a condition of exemption the Tribunal has no power to make any discrimination in favour of Denbighshire or any other county."

Mr. William Jones replied that his first communication was not intended in any way as criticism of the work of the Court, but that its sole purpose was to point out that so far as Denbighshire was concerned a condition that an objector should engage in A.R.P. work would be ineffective. He agreed with the suggestion of the Clerk of the Tribunal that a copy of the correspondence be forwarded to the Prime Minister, the Minister of Labour, and the Secretary for Home Defence.

AUTHOR'S OTHER WORKS INCLUDE:

Socialism and Parliament.—Part I.—Socialism or Parliament. 1934 Rewritten and Revised Edition Out of Print. Shortly to be reprinted. 16 chapters and 8 appendices.

Socialism and Parliament.—Part II.—Government by Labour. 3rd Edition. Rewritten and Revised. Shortly to be published.

For Communism. (1935.) 21 chapters and 12 appendices. Shortly to be reprinted, with slight revisions and corrections.

These booklets will be issued in popular form, for wide circulation, at absurdly cheap prices, to stimulate purchase and study.

Why Jesus Wept. A series of historical essays.

Bakunin. The life story of the great agitator. With his collected writings.

Richard Carlyle, Agitator. Enlarged, to include selections from Carlile's writings.

These books will be issued rapidly from the Press—in slightly less popular form than the works previously mentioned, because they belong to study rather than to ordinary propaganda. The interest in these writings will be special rather than general.

At Grips With War. First Edition, 1929. Second Edition, 1932. This work will be re-issued at an early date.

MUNICIPALITIES SACK "CONCHIES"

On Monday, May 27, the conscientious objector became municipal news throughout the country.

At Blackpool, the Education Committee referred to the General Purposes Committee of the Council the question, whether the services be retained of conscientious objectors, Fascists, Peace Pledge Unionists, Communists, and others employed by the Education Committee

"who are not prepared to support the national effort 100 per cent."

Councillor Dunn alleged that the existence of C.O. teachers imposed a stigma on the whole profession. Councillor Miss M. E. Garner wanted the Education Committee to name the teachers accused of subversive activity. Councillor J. C. Terry opposed the clamour. He declared :—

"The question of what should be taught in schools is a national matter and not one for a local authority to decide. I venture to say that if local authorities had decided in the past what should be taught in schools there would have been some startling varieties of patriotism."

The Camborne-Redrith Urban Council resolved unanimously to support the Lytham St. Anne's Borough Council resolution quoted in the June WORD. Councillor B. Treloar expressed the opinion that every conscientious objector should be dismissed from his employment and compelled to do something to defend his country.

At Liverpool, Councillor S. C. Saltmarsh raised the question :—

"How many of the Liverpool Education Committee teaching staff are Communists, Fascists, or members of the Peace Pledge Union, 'or other well-known organisations having interests inimical to the State?'"

The Chairman of the Education Committee, Councillor C. G. S. Gordon, said the Committee had no knowledge of any Communists or Fascists. One member belonged to the Peace Pledge Union.

Councillor Saltmarsh asked for the number of conscientious objectors among the teaching staff, and how many had been granted exemption.

Councillor Gordon said that three or four teachers had registered as conscientious objectors, but their cases had not been heard yet.

Councillor Saltmarsh—I think they should be dismissed; for they cannot be allowed to teach our young people this propaganda.

Councillor Gordon—Well, of course, they will *not* be allowed to do that.

A protest against this attitude was published in the columns of the *Birmingham Evening Dispatch* that same day. Councillor W. S. Lewis, of the Birmingham Town Council, in a published interview, said :—

"The view I have taken is that we are fighting this war to maintain freedom of thought and expression, and if this is true we must respect the opinion of the real conscientious objector.

"As an ex-Service man, I can understand the views of those who object to the conscientious objector, but this is no time to be vindictive.

"Let those of us who are prepared to strain every effort to win the war stand by the lads of our fighting Services and at the same time appreciate the feelings of the real conscientious objector."

The following day the matter was discussed fiercely by the Blackpool Town Council, the Leicester City Council, the Old Fletton Urban District Council, the Bridgend Urban Council, and the Oldham Industrial Co-operative Society.

Blackpool decided that conscientious objectors and employees holding subversive views are not to be employed by the Corporation.

At Leicester, the Lord Mayor ruled the discussion out of order.

Councillor T. R. Hill demanded to know what was the attitude of the Council towards conscientious objectors.

Alderman Amos Sheriff asked the Lord Mayor to rule the question out of order because the Tribunal was responsible for it.

The Lord Mayor—The Town Clerk tells me that the question is out of order.

At Old Fletton, Councillors G. Wright and H. J. Goodwin left the Council Chamber as a protest against the ruling of the Chairman, supported by the Clerk, that the Urban District Council had disposed of the matter by accepting the resignation of the only conscientious objector employed by the Council, Mr. R. F. Stocks, 83 High Street, Fletton.

Councillor Wright's resolution was : *"That no conscientious objector shall be employed forthwith by the Council."*

Councillor Wright's last words were, as he and Councillor Goodwin left the Chamber : *"I should never accept that ruling. If this is the case I leave the meeting in protest. There is no need for me or anyone else to be here!"*

Bridgend Urban Council decided that no conscientious objectors were to be employed by the Authority. Councillor E. Field moved this resolution because, as he said, he had no time to waste over conscientious objectors. Councillor S. Schofield, Chairman, seconded! Councillor G Powell was the only Councillor to protest and to vote against the motion. He was neither a pacifist nor yet a conscientious objector. But he wanted to know what was behind the motion. Britain was a democratic country. By taking such action, the Council would be breaking down the fundamental supports for which the country was said to be fighting.

At the half-quarterly meeting of the Oldham Industrial Co-operative Society, Mr. Herbert Bentley asked if there were any conscientious objectors in the employ of the society, and if so if the committee thought it was right that these men should be employed while the sons of members were fighting.

The Chairman, Mr. J. J. Friend, ruled the question out of order.

The following day, Wednesday, May 29, extraordinary sentiments were expressed at a "Conchie" debate at the Maidstone Town Council; the Newhaven Urban Council, by 8 votes to 5, decided to terminate the employment in the Surveyor's Office of a clerk, on the ground that he was a conscientious objector; and the Buxton Borough Council decided to reduce a "conchie" employee to a soldier's status.

At Maidstone, the Deputy Mayor (Councillor Percy Brown) moved that no conscientious objector *of military age* should be allowed to retain his position in the employ of the Council.

After declaring that he had a great deal of sympathy with the genuine conscientious objector, Councillor Brown launched such a bitter attack against conscientious objectors that it is impossible to know what he defines as a genuine objector.

Councillor Brown said :—

"The Council have a right to say: 'We will not employ a man so craven and devoid of all sense of his obligations to the ratepayers of Maidstone, who pay him his salary, and who would stand aside and not attempt to protect them in any way.

"I say that man is not a fit and proper person to be employed by the Borough of Maidstone."

Alderman Egerton Martin seconded.

Councillor F. R. Connor moved, as an amendment, the following motion, which was carried by 16 votes to 3 :—

"That no conscientious objector exempted from joining His Majesty's Forces, being of military age, be allowed to retain his position in the employ of the Council except under terms as to rates of pay and conditions comparable with those applicable to military service."

Alderman T. Armstrong opposed the motion and the amendment. He described the resolution as "cheap jack patriotism." It was for the Tribunals to decide who were genuine conscientious objectors, and not for the Council. Alderman William Day backed up all that Alderman Armstrong said. Councillor C. H. Hobday said he fought in the last war and would fight again. It sometimes required more moral courage to stand for one's principles than to face bombs. It was easy to follow the crowd and go with the stream. He opposed both resolution and amendment on the same grounds as Alderman Armstrong had—that we had a law which gave men the right to be conscientious objectors. To vote for the resolution would be to apply economic blackmail.

At Newhaven, Councillor J. C. Pargeter opposed the dismissal of the "conchie" clerk, on the grounds of fair-play. He was opposed to conscientious objectors. He added :—

"I am fair-minded enough to realise that men have a right to use their own minds and brains."

Councillor E. J. Coker seconded Councillor Pargeter's opposition.

Councillor Coker declared his abhorrence of conscientious objectors but opposed the dismissal on the ground that it *"would be opening the path to serious consequences to the liberty of everyone."* The Council was stepping beyond its bounds and dealing with the man in a tyrannous way for his conscience's sake. Councillor Coker also said pertinently :—

"The man in question, I presume, has been before a Tribunal, who have allowed his case."

Councillors Pargeter and Coker are to be congratulated on their brave, legal, and constitutional stand. Councillor Coker strikes the nail on the head when he describes the victimisation as tyranny. It is a very brave thing, in war-time, despite one's own prejudices, to weigh justly all the facts, and to record a healthy, sane, conclusion. But it is the truer patriotism.

Councillor H. Airs, Vice-Chairman, raised the question of the legality of the resolution, and the Clerk, Mr. C. G. Mainwood, said that there was grave doubt whether the Council had a right to discharge a man on the grounds of conscientious objection.

Buxton Borough Council decided the fate of Kenneth Frank Berrisford, one of its clerks, living at 10 Byron Street, Buxton.

Berrisford appeared before the Tribunal on April 23, and was ordered by the Tribunal to find work in agricutlure or the like. He made every effort, both through the Labour Exchange and otherwise, to obtain work of the kind specified by the Tribunal. No one would engage him.

The Buxton Council resolved that : (1) the work specified by the Tribunal does not come within the provisions of the Local Government Staffs (War Service) Act, 1939; (2) the engagement of this employee be terminated on June 30th. If he has not then obtained work of national importance, he be retained at a wage equivalent to the service pay of a private soldier, plus a billeting allowance.

On Thursday, May 30, the municipal discussion extended to six more Corporations in England and Wales.

By 17 votes to 6, the Cardiff Corporation Education Committee carried a recommendation that "teachers who appear before conscientious objectors' Tribunals and are exempt from full military service shall be removed from the employ of the education authority."

The Devon Education Committee carried, with only one dissentient, a resolution averring that it was "undesirable that any conscientious objector should teach in schools under the Committee's control."

By 12 votes to 3, Bilston Town Council carried a motion "that this corporation will not employ, nor continue to employ, conscientious objectors in any of its departments or services."

The Crediton Urban Council discussed the question of conscientious objectors being allowed to volunteer for work on farms during the war emergency.

The Ebbw Vale Council decided, after a stormy discussion, to appoint a sub-committee to interview its one "conchie" employee, and ask him to change his attitude towards war.

The Southgate Borough Council discussed, without conclusion, but in a spirit of bitter antagonism, the position of conscientious objectors and others holding Fascist or Communist views, who may be, at present, in their employ.

The debates of these worthy corporations were illuminating.

At Cardiff, Councillor Principal Rees urged that constitutional machinery existed for dealing with the conscientious objector problem and he objected to the local authority arrogating to itself the task of passing judgment. His protest was mild and was urged more mildly than this

summary suggests. It was swept aside with grand contempt. Alderman Sir W. R. Williams said that the conscientious objector ought not to view his dismissal as hardship. Every man should have his own opinion, but let him pay the price of his opinion. The Alderman concluded :—

"We should say to the conscientious objector: 'While this war is on, we cannot be a party to keeping you!'"

An interesting comment on the Alderman's speech, and the Cardiff Council's resolution, was to be found in a statement of fact published in *The Teachers' World*, London, for May 29 :—

"CARDIFF AND C.O.s.

"In two cases Cardiff teachers were given time off to appear before a Military Training Act Tribunal to give evidence on behalf of a conscientious objector. The facts being reported to Cardiff Education Committee, it was decided that such permission shall not be given in future."

This number was the current issue in circulation on the day the Cardiff debate occurred.

The Devon Education Committee employ 1,600 teachers. Less than 10 are known to be conscientious objectors. The agitation was over these nine heretics.

Councillor Lt.-Col. C. Marwood Tucker, who moved the resolution, said that he did not think it right that conscientious objectors should be in a position to influence children. The gallant colonel, obviously, from his professional approach, believes in arms, and children being taught the glories of militarism. This is the common passion of the militarists of all lands. It is passion which divides the peoples of all lands and manures the earth with human bodies.

Councillor G. C. Hayter Hames seconded the resolution. He stated that the teacher who was a conscientious objector was despised by parents, looked down upon by other teachers, and regarded as the outcast of his village or district. He questioned the power of a teacher being efficient under such circumstances.

Councillor Hames forgot that the first Christians were outcast. His picture of circumstances outcasts not merely the C.O. teacher but education itself. It depicts a condition impregnable to thought. We can understand this description applied to a totalitarian State, to Germany, Italy, or Russia. We cannot understand such a caricature of liberty and understanding being exhibited as a true and decent picture of democracy.

Councillor B. G. Lampard-Vachell backed up the reasoning (sic) of Councillors Tucker and Hames by speaking of "the extraordinary strong feeling" in the county against conscientious objectors.

Councillor W. Lake rebuked, very mildly, but still with some firmness, this emotional outpouring, by stating that he considered it very unfortunate that public opinion should be roused in that way. He concluded :—

"We are a free people and pride ourselves on the fact."

Councillor Sir John Shelley came in with a charming fair-play speech. He stood up for the genuine C.O., and thought that he deserved every admiration. But, of course, the genuine C.O. was not the fellow who refused to do anything. The genuine C.O. was the man who would join the R.A.M.C.

We have no doubt that Sir John Shelley wanted to be fair. But he has never faced the question. At many Tribunals, the C.O. is told he is not genuine unless he refuses to do anything. He has been told he is not wanted in the R.A.M.C. or on a mine-sweeper. He was accused, at the very same time as Sir John Shelley was speaking at the Devon Council gathering, at another Council meeting, by other loyal patriotic Municipal Councillors, of not being genuine *unless he came before the Tribunals and said he would do nothing.*

Protest against the ignorance which war develops is impossible.

In *The Teachers' World*, London, for May 29, Mr. C. R. W. Slatter, Chagford Senior School, Chagford, Devon, endeavours to protest against "the decisions of certain education committees to refuse to employ and to dismiss schoolmasters who are 'C.O.'s.'"

Mr. Slatter says :—

"Now this is absolutely contrary to normal practice as well as not being in keeping with the best British traditions.

"Political and religious views cannot influence or affect a teacher's tenure. A man cannot be dismissed legally for being a pacifist any more than he can for being a Liberal or a Roman Catholic, or Baptist, etc.

"In view of this may I ask how it is that no comment—let alone denunciation—of this illegal and unjust persecution has appeared in your journal? I should like to know that reticence does not imply approval."

The editor of *The Teachers' World* apologises in the following footnote :—

"Our correspondent is right. A genuine C.O. should neither be dismissed nor refused employment. While this is so, Mr. Slatter must make allowances for a pardonable human weakness which leads mothers and fathers of soldiers to resent the evasion of military service by others who still enjoy the freedom and privileges for which their sons are fighting. The majority of the electors would undoubtedly support the Authorities concerned. 'After all,' they would say, 'shouldn't C.O.s be prepared to sacrifice something for their convictions?'—Editor, T.W."

Which, being interpreted, means that the persecution is O.K.

The Bilston resolution was moved by Councillor A. Darbey and seconded, hastily, by Councillor R. Buxton. At least, he said: *"I hasten to second the motion."*

Councillor the Rev. L. H. Jenkins opposed the principle of the proposal, and moved an amendment, our old friend, that payment of objectors should not exceed that of men with the forces and that they should be reinstated on the same conditions as those who had served.

Councillor G. A. Jones seconded this amendment, and spoke bravely. He declared soundly :—

"Facing the scorn of the world requires greater courage than facing bullets, often from an unseen enemy."

Councillor Dr. R. Abbott spoke as boldly against the C.O. as Councillor Sir John Shelley did, at the same time, in another Council Chamber, at Devon. But his test of the genuine C.O. was different. Turn back to Shelley and then read the statement made by Abbott, to learn how the conchie-baiters agree.

Councillor Dr. R. Abbott said he rarely read of a man who had the courage to say at a Tribunal that he would do nothing. Any man who took part in A.R.P. or anything like that and said he was a conscientious objector was a self-condemned liar.

Councillor G. H. Plant declared: *"A conscientious objector is a coward."* Which is almost final, except that Councillor Plant hardly possesses the right type of mind to assess true human values and integrities.

Alderman W. Leighton, the Mayor, denounced C.O.'s for existing on food the fighting forces brought into the country. Do not financiers, stay-at-home capitalists, exempted journalists, live on such food? Is a verbal protest of patriotism sufficient payment for such services? Please answer that question, Mr. Mayor.

Councillors Jenkins, G. A. Jones and J. W. Jones voted for the amendment, and the Mayor, Aldermen H. Beach, J. T. Baker and Hughes, and Councillors Darbey, Plant, J. Roberts, J. T. Perks, Buxton, Abbott, R. Smith and J. Kirkland against. Councillor J. W. Pearson did not vote.

The Crediton Urban Council, in its antagonism to conscientious objectors, thought they ought not to be permitted to do work even of national importance; *not even if they did such work voluntarily!*

The sanity of the Council was saved by Councillor Rev. C. E. Jewell and Councillor A. G. Bicknell.

Councillor Roach, speaking the mind of the Council, as well as his own mind, said :—

"If a conscientious objector came down to my farm my men would walk out, I think we should bar conscientious objectors, I would not have them on the farm. I don't want my men walking out."

Councillor Rev. C. E. Jewell said he could not take objection to a conscientious objector, if he wanted his name placed on farm volunteer emergency list.

Councillor A. G. Bicknell shrewdly remarked that all farmers were not like Mr. Roach and himself. He added :—

"There are some farmers who would be conscientious objectors if they were called up."

At the Ebbw Vale Council meeting, Councillor W. Darbey distinguished himself by his bitter opposition to conscientious objectors, just as Councillor A. Darbey distinguished himself in the same cause and similar fashion at the same time at Bilston. The Darbeys are what the "conchies" need if Councils' staffs are to be saved!

Councillor W. Darbey asked the Clerk (Mr. R. E. Herbert) how many conscientious objectors were on the Council staff.

The Clerk—One.

Councillor T. L. Jones—And does this individual accept his war bonus?

The Accountant—Yes.

Councillor Emlyn Williams proposed that the particular individual be dismissed instantly. Councillor Williams added :—

"If we have any courage we will make a decision now and state that no conscientious objector will be employed by Ebbw Vale Council."

Councillor T. L. Jones seconded.

Councillor Aneurin Davies boldly attacked the C.O. baiters, although not a "conchie" or a pacifist himself. He said he was not going to take the rights of anyone else's conscience upon his own conscience. Anyone who believed that he was opposed to war, and did not think that he had the right to kill, was not to be judged by him.

Councillor Davies added, with telling emphasis :—

"But there are people in this district who had not worked for years until the King made his proclamation that new classes would be called up. They are now working, but they would not have returned to work had they not been in danger of being called up. I think these people are far worse than any conscientious objector."

At the Southgate Borough Council, Councillor Victor Dover asserted that the Council must not employ conscientious objectors, Fascists or Communists. He made a gracious concession to the persons he attacked, as an evidence of his democratic approach. Said Councillor Dover :—

"I am not denying the right of these people to hold such views as they possess, but it should not be at the expense of the country or the ratepayers."

Which was real nice. As though any Council or any employer of labour has any right to enquire into the private, political or religious or philosophical opinions of his employees!

Councillor C. W. F. Ridley seconded the motion. He wanted to look into the question seriously. It is the witch-hunting mentality of the Councillors Dover and Ridley that need to be looked into. A man named Ridley, the name of a martyred bishop, should learn from history and hesitate to martyr folk.

Councillor A. E. Lauder did not seem to be impressed by the orations or the facts of his fellow Councillors. But he also was in favour of getting rid of conchies, Fascists, and Communists!

Of course, the Fascist and Communist touch is a little Fifth Column decoration. We doubt the accuracy of this abuse even as applied to Fascists, for we have had no evidence advanced, and no public trial attempted. It is contrary to all principles of jurisprudence for the charges made by the Executive to be accepted without evidence. Applied universally, and not even specifically to certain persons, the charge passes even from mere abuse to public scandal. The Communists are Stalinists but even Stalinism is not just the same as Nazism and the British Government are not at war with Stalinism. The further fact emerges: that just as Stalinism is not Nazism, so conscientious objectors are not Nazis nor yet are they Stalinists. If conscientious objectors object to war in Britain, they object also in Germany, where many have been executed, and where thousands are in concentration camps.

The Mayor brought the meeting back to common sense. He had no sympathy with C.O.'s and he thought that they were mistaken. But they had their legal rights, and he doubted whether they could dismiss a man because he held pacifist views.

GEORGE LANSBURY— AND CONSCIENCE.

At the memorial service to George Lansbury, held in Westminster Abbey, there was a large congregation. The Dean of Westminster officiated, assisted by other Abbey clergy. Archdeacon F. L. Donaldson read the lessons. These included the famous I. Corinthians, 13, treating of the grandeur of charity, and placing charity of mind and understanding above the appearance of charity of works, and equally above faith and hope. A chapter that should be read and re-read by the so-called great and admittedly vulgar these days, most of all by politicians, by patriotic clerics, and by jingo newspaper writers in *all* lands. The second lesson was from *Revelation*, 21, beginning: "*And I saw a new heaven and a new earth.*" A very fitting tribute to George Lansbury.

Several M.P's. were present, representing the Government, or in their own persons. The Speaker of the House of Commons was present. Mr. Brendon Bracken, M.P.; Sir Edward Campbell, M.P.; Commander R. Fletcher, M.P; Sir Edmund Brocklebank, M.P.. were present in representative capacities. Also present were Lord Tryon; Lord Strabolgi; Lord Noel-Buxton; Sir Samuel Hoare, M.P.; Mr. Robert Gibson, M.P.; Sir Patrick Hannon, M.P.; Sir Smedley Crooke, M.P.; Dowager the Hon. Lady Barlow; Prebendary the Hon. J. G. Adderley, the Archdeacon of London; Brigadier-General Peter Winser; Sir Charles Edwards, M.P.; Mr. George Mathers, M.P.; Mr. J. R. Leslie, M.P.; Mr. William Whiteley, M.P.; Mr. R. W. Sorensen, M.P.

The Church was well represented, Labour Party organisations, and Mayors, Mayoresses, and Aldermen of several towns and boroughs throughout the country.

We mention this tremendous tribute to George Lansbury because Lansbury was a pacifist and a conscientious objector. Whilst this tribute was being paid to George Lansbury, Philip Boyle—who had imbibed Lansbury's teachings from his father, who was influenced directly by G.L.—was rotting in Maryhill Barracks, awaiting Court Martial for being a "conchie," for being loyal to Lansbury's influence.

Is this right? Would Lansbury have desired the tributes could he have seen Boyle's sufferings? In our next issue we reproduce the tribute published from our pen in the *Islington Gazette*, recalling George Lansbury's attitude during the Great War. Consider the facts stated therein, and ask yourself: Can we honour Lansbury's memory unless we respect conscience and stand by the conscientious objector?

Despite the declarations of Tribunal Judges, "conchies" have a place in the rebuilding of Europe and of the world. It is possible not to believe this. But it is not possible to disbelieve the value of conscience, and at the same time, to pretend to honour the memory and work of George Lansbury.

TO YOU!

A cross at this paragraph means that your subscription has expired. Or we may have been sending you the paper free, feeling that you were interested. This paper is produced at a loss and we have had to reduce the amount printed each month to preserve the size and quality of the paper. If you like the paper and cannot afford to pay, we will send it still meantime. But we would like a word from you anyway. The annual subscription, owing to postal changes, is now 3s. 0d. Send to *The Word*, 104 George Street, Glasgow, C.1.

"CONCHIES" DOWN UNDER.

The *Press*, Christchurch, New Zealand, in its issue for March 18 last, published a long article on the proposed National Peace and Anti-Conscription Conference, that was to be held at Wellington on Easter Sunday. The General Labourers' Union decided to send four delegates. The Press stated:—

"The conference, which has been officially banned by the Labour Party, is being convened by the Wellington Peace and Anti-Conscription Council. The president is named in a circular as W. McAra. One of the candidates for the office of national secretary of the Labour Party, opposing W. Moohan, the acting-secretary, is W. McAra. Messrs. K. Baxter and H. E. Herring (the former member for Mid-Canterbury) are named among the vice-presidents, although both appear among the nominees for the national executive of the Labour Party."

The *Press* quotes the aims of the National Peace and Anti-Conscription Conference:—

"To bring together for common action all men and women and all organised bodies who are opposed to participation by New Zealand in the war; and to this end

"To undertake immediately a mass campaign against the introduction of conscription.

"To oppose further any developments which tend to sacrifice the welfare and liberties of the people of New Zealand to the demands of the war machine."

The first item on the agenda of the conference was the presentation of a report on the war and its relation to New Zealand, conscription, civil liberties, and the standard of living.

At Melbourne, Australia, on March 8, the Rev. T. C. Rentoul, President of the Methodist Conference, ruled out of order a motion dealing with conscientious objectors to war, on the ground that it was a Federal and not a State matter. The motion requested the Australian Government to bring the law of Australia into line with the law in Britain, and make proper provision for exempting conscientious objectors. It requested the Government to interpret the present law, meantime, with the greatest moderation.

The Conference accepted the motion of the Rev. Palmer Phillips, directing the attention of the Australian Government to the following expression of Australian Methodist belief:—

"That when the occasion arises the State is justly entitled to require of all its citizens that they render assistance in the defence of its integrity and life; that from those to whom much has been given much should be required and, therefore, the poor man should not be required to give, if necessary, his life while the rich man withholds his wealth, or, at best, lends it to the State at interest. . . . Every form of service should be drawn upon, and 'property' should not be more sacrosanct than living men.

"That as an increasing number of citizens conscientiously believe that evil should not be opposed or attacked by force of arms, holding to the final ideal of the Mind of Christ, and that they therefore ought not, under any circumstances whatever, handle lethal weapons, even against an aggressor, they should not be called upon for military service, but, compatable with their conscience, they should be required, in time of war, to assist in defence in ways that would save life and minimise suffering."

The following day, Mr. Menzies, the Prime Minister, received a deputation on the subject from the following bodies:—Australian Student Christian Movement; National Union of Australian University Students; Council for Civil Liberties; Women's National League for Peace and Freedom; and Women's Christian Temperance Union. The deputation was introduced by Mr. Blackburn, M.H.R.

The Prime Minister was asked to incorporate in the Defence Act the British provision for conscientious objectors whose principles would not allow them to serve in the army even in non-combatant capacities.

Mr. Menzies said that if a man refused to serve in a non-combatant capacity because he would be releasing a man for active service, neither could he serve in a civil occupation under civil authority, because he would still be releasing a man for active service. Then if he would in no way assist in the carrying on of the war, was that the end or would he refuse to pay taxes toward the cost of the war?

Mr. Menzies agreed that the greatest test of liberty in a community was its treatment of minorities, but this problem was extraordinarily complex—almost metaphysical. A man had to ask himself how far his conscience would allow him to act in a certain way, but how far the State could recognise and allow his decisions was another matter.

Mr. Menzies promised to take the matter up with Cabinet.

DOGMAS DISCARDED.

The *Islington Gazette*, in its issue for May 21, 1940, published the following review of our pamphlets, *Dogmas Discarded*, part I. and II., pamphlets Nos. 8 and 9, "*Word*" *Library*:—

"MR. GUY ALDRED.

"Autobiography of Former Boy Preacher of Holloway.

"Many interesting references to Islington and Clerkenwell appear in 'Dogmas Discarded,' an autobiography of thought, by Mr. Guy Aldred published in two parts by the Strickland Press, Glasgow.

"In this narrative of thought evolution, the author proclaims as his creed of life the maxim, "I think, therefore I am." In Part I the author outlines his theological evolution, and in the second part he deals with Atheism, Socialism and Anarchism and d'scusscs the proletarian movement.

"A native of Clerkenwell, Mr. Aldred was born at Corporation Buildings, Farringdon Road, in 1886, and at the age of five went to the Iron Infants' School, which has long since disappeared to make way for factory buildings. His schooling was continued at the Hugh Myddelton Higher Grade School, and at the opening of the new building by the Prince of Wales (later Edward VII), he, as the youngest scholar was presented to the royal visitor—'an ironic beginning for one who was destined to become a rabid Republican in later life,' comments the author.

"The Boy Preacher.

"At the age of eight Aldred joined the Anglican Communion, but eight years later, disappointed at the inactivity of the Anglican Church, he joined an evangelist at Holloway in opening a Christian Social Mission at the Assembly Rooms, Russell Road, where he was announced as 'The Boy Preacher.' In his first sermon he defined service as social service, 'actual service,' and from such radical Christian teaching he turned to theistic missioner and then passed to Atheism.

"Political Views.

"Mr. Aldred has a good deal to say about the Peel Institute 40 years ago, and relates that for a time he was very active in connection with the Institute's social activities, worked with leading local Christians in the cause of total abstinence, and 'assisted the Nonconformist shining lights in Central Finsbury and Islington in the struggle to realise their political ambitions.' Incidentally the author declares that it was through his membership of Peel that he was converted from Toryism to Radicalism.

"His political evolution then took him to Socialism, his conversion being attributed to Huxley's influence.

"Revolt.

"In the next chapter the author tells of his anti-Parliamentarian and Socialist revolt against Labourism. In 1906 he published in the *Islington Daily Gazette* an election address to the electors of Central Finsbury, in which he spoke of 'the damnable spirit of compromise that is abroad,' and declared that he would go to Westminster 'pledged to represent the hard-thinking section of the proletariat, who know that class-consciousness spells revolution.' This address was signed by Guy A. Aldred, 'Minister of the Gospel of Social Revolt.'

"The author was unable to proceed with this intended candidature when he reached the age of 21, and in the next chapter he tells how shortly after issuing the Islington Manifesto he felt it was absurd for a revolutionary to wish to go to Parliament. In 1907 he was defining himself as an Anarchist Communist. 'Milton's principle that democracy can exist only between equals is one that must be applied always,' he observes. 'It is rarely applied. That is why sham democracy broke down and gave birth to Fascism and Nazism.'"

These two pamphlets are published at 4d. (Part I.) and 6d. (Part II.). They deal with the author's schooldays and the evolution of his thought down to 1908, when he became an Anarchist and an Anti-Parliamentarian. The two will be sent, post free, for 1/-.

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WHEN MUSSOLINI WAS A SOCIALIST

By Angelica Balabanoff.

I made my first acquaintance with Mussolini in 1906 on the occasion of my speech to the Italian Socialists immigrated to Losanna (Switzerland).

At that time he was a young man of 22 or 23 years of age and drew my attention for his aspect of extreme poverty and penury.

Even then he had an uneasy agitated appearance, like a man who suffers from some hereditary disease.

I thought to myself: "This one is some poor persecuted proletarian who may be in need of a soothing word," and I asked him who he was and whence he came.

Mussolini told me that he had fled from Italy because he did not want to serve in the army. He was in a grave pecuniary need and lived mainly by aid offered him by the masons and diggers of Losanna.

One of these masons then told me that his wife had given him some old underwear. It was in this manner that these Italian immigrants, many of whom were poor occasional workers, aided a refugee who had studied for school teacher, but had not had the capacity to continue at this profession.

Mussolini is the son of a poor worker, a blacksmith who lived in Piedappio, near Foili, in Romajna. His father was a socialist and a member of the First International. Mussolini therefore was brought up in a socialist environment.

The peasants of his village belonged to the party and Mussolini being a man of the sort that adapts himself easily to the ideas of those who surround him, he also became a member of the party.

In my first conversation with him he told me that he had a strong desire to translate "On the Morrow of the Social Revolution," by Kautsky, because he would have been able to earn thereby about 50 francs. I offered to help him and when I returned to Losanna I made a great part of the translation for him because at that time he knew very little German. He had no regular trade so he read a lot and particularly French authors like Blanguin and he thus filled his brains with the thoughts of French writers. He had always been a man of strong adaptability of thought and he possessed—besides that faculty of assimilation common to so many Italians—a nervous system of an abnormal impressionability.

Until 1900 we published in Losanna, a socialist paper which still exists, called *L'avenuire del Lavoratorie*," (The Workers' Future) to which I collaborated from time to time. Mussolini began to contribute articles to this paper many of which were on anti-clerical and anti-militaristic subjects.

His anti-clericalism was of a very primitive type. He never gave a scientific interpretation of religious problems, but he attacked the church as an institution. At this time he also published a pamphlet in which he attempted to prove the non-existence of god. It is one of the many ironies of history that the pamphlet is now forbidden in Italy by order of the Prime Minister Signor Mussolini.

A few years later, I think in 1909 or 1910, Mussolini was arrested and returned to Italy where he became the director of one of the two hundred or more socialist weekly reviews and especially the one called *The Class Struggle*.

At that time he often invited me to speak where he was and I remember having once spoken in Forli on the Paris Commune.

It was a lively meeting. The bourgeoisie of that locality were all republicans and the peasants all socialists, so the camp was divided into two opposing parties. The republicans attempted to disturb my speech with a bowling match in a wine shop close to the place where I was to speak. Mussolini was terribly agitated. I was not disturbed and spoke nevertheless. But when I had finished Mussolini informed me, trembling with emotion that a quarrel had taken place and that a socialist had stabbed a republican.

I remember well that Mussolini's agitation was due not so much to the sentiment of responsibility for this unfortunate accident as to the fear of unpleasant probable consequences for himself. When the meeting was over we went in a cab towards the station. Mussolini insisted desperately on having carabineers escort and protect us. So a part of the latter preceded us in a cab and others marched beside us. We scarcely had moved when a detonation was heard. They had shot at us but they struck the first vehicle full of carabineers. Mussolini was seized by a deadly terror and pitifully implored me not to leave the town. He did not have the heart to remain alone. No one knew what could have happened. I told him that I couldn't remain because on the morrow, being the first of May, I was engaged to speak elsewhere. But Mussolini continued to disavow me until we reached the station platform and I finally left him after which our comrades promised to protect him personally. At the socialist congress of Reggio Emilia, the radical socialists, to which Mussolini belonged, had a majority over the reformists, whose leaders were expelled from the party on Mussolini's proposal. All the other refomists then went out of the party and were replaced by official radicals including myself and Mussolini, who was elected representative for the province of Romajna.

It was on this occasion that Mussolini provoked the expulsion of Bissolati from the party because the latter went to congratulate the king for the failure of the Hemft to murder him at Alba. Some months afterwards Bacci, editor of the *Avanti*! our organ at Milan, was obliged to resign from the party. The executive of the party assembled in Rome and Mussolini was proposed for the editorship. Some objections were raised that he was too individualistic and did not observe enough the party discipline.

Before the affair was decided we had a separate encounter and at dinner Mussolini told me that he felt little disposed to accept this position so full of responsibility. But at the afternoon session he unexpectedly declared to accept, but only on one condition, that I go to Milan with him to assist him. This happened only a few minutes after we had been to dinner, together, and even during all that time, he never spoke to me about it. Evidently he meant to take me by surprise. I consented, having considered Mussolini as a weakling who was in need of help and advice, and thought it my duty as a socialist to aid him. But even though I considered him a weakling, I thought he was loyal to the party and a convinced revolutionary, and even to-day I believe that such were his sentiments at that period. In the editorial room I worked beside Mussolini several hours of the day and learned to know him intimately.

His bad humour derived from the fact that he was not in Milan willingly, alone; and was obliged to have some one with him to share the responsibility and this thing impressed me so much the stronger the more we were together.

He spoke to me of everything, and wished that I read every important article before sending it to the press. He never spoke much to the other members of the directors and was reserved with them and held them at a distance. But he let himself be influenced easily.

Once this happened on the eve of a May Day. He called me, agitated, to show me an article which he had written against a syndicalist who attacked him personally. This article had been written in such a violent form that I told him that it did not seem suitable for the *Avanti*! especially for May Day.

Mussolini, all agitated, said that it was for him a question of life or death to redeem himself with this comrade. He wanted to have his revenge now that he was in a position to do it because this man exposed himself by attacking gratuitously. Then he quickly bid me good-bye, adding that he was going to leave for Switzerland on the 1st May.

Half an hour later he phoned me from the station: "You are right. That article for the *Avanti*! does not go. Do me a favour not to let it pass."

Mussolini is physically timid.

Every night he begged me to wait until the paper came out, not to go home alone. He was afraid to go out unaccompanied. When once I asked him of what he was afraid he answered nervously: "I do not know; of myself, of my shadow, of the trees, of the dogs."

So I used to stay with him until 4 a.m., and go with him to the doorstep of his home. At first I asked myself why he always wanted me as a companion, but soon discovered that he was much ashamed of his fear and above all he did not like to confess it to any other man. One day Mussolini returned from a tour of propaganda very ill and told me that he could not bear it any longer, that for him it was ended, because he was affected of an incurable disease. And he spoke to me of himself with remarkable frankness, though in a decent manner. I advised him to go to some medical authority to be thoroughly examined. On the morrow he came very pale to the office, accompanied by a doctor. He told me that he felt nauseated to have to always smell of chloroform, that the doctor had pinked him to analyse his blood and that he fainted during the operation. I spoke to the doctor who told me he was at the head of a clinic in Milan and that he had cured several thousands of clients, but that he never came across a man who demonstrated so much physical timidity as Mussolini.

Another weakness in Mussolini, which indicates the same nervousness and lack of decisiveness, is his inability to say no.

Once, with the same kind of excitement, he told me that one of our comrades would arrive that evening and that he was the strongest man in the Socialist Party. This comrade wished that Mussolini, as directing member of the party, approve a proposition to be submitted to the executive committee. Mussolini did not approve it but did not wish for the time being to say no to this man and begged me to say it to him. This comrade came at 10.30 and discussed the thing with me till four o'clock in the morning. When he left, without my consent, Mussolini told me that he could not conceive how I had managed to resist his insistence. The day after, at Genoa, I met this comrade who cheerfully told me that he had obtained what he desired. He never had gone to see Mussolini at his address and had persuaded him to give his approval in writing.

In August of that year Mussolini who, as usual, reflected the sentiment of those by whom he was surrounded, was an ardent internationalist and anti-militarist. He had read in a socialist review that if the war had been prevented it would have been a disaster, because it would have weakened the socialist movement. So for many months after the beginning of the war, he defended this opinion, not because he conceived it himself but beccause it had been suggested to him. In that period the sentiment against intervention in the war were confined only to the proletariat. Nothwithstanding, the spirit of war began to be diffused rapidly among the middle classes and to also infect Mussolini. But he published his first declaration in favour of the union with the allies in a bourgeois paper through a friend's intervention.

This article which wanted to demonstrate that the Socialist Party was not unanimous about the war and which showed how a member of the executive was in favour of Italy fighting on the side of France, caused tremendous indignation.

The Party executive immediately organised a conference at Bologne where Mussolini was called to defend his action. On the eve of this

(*Continued Col.* 1, *page* 115.)

CONCHIES! WHAT WAS SAID IN 1917?

Because this war is supported by certain persons who were conscientious objectors during the last war; because some of these persons are to be found in the Cabinet, and others are war-recruiting provosts or mayors: it is pretended that public feeling against C.O.s is different in 1940 from what it was in 1916 or 1917. This is untrue, and falsehood helps no cause.

That it is untrue—whether the present war be different or not from the Great War in its intensity or final social consequences—references to the columns of Hansard will prove beyond question. Had the people who attacked the C.O.s in both Houses of Parliament during the Great War had their way, it would have been impossible for the C.O.s of those days to be included in the Cabinet to-day. Whether C.O.s are right or wrong, this fact should be recalled and remembered.

It should be remembered also that over-age "conchies" ought not to be eulogised if they agree to the victimisation of the "conchies" of to-day. The Press that conducts a campaign against the "conchies" of 1940 has no right to eulogise these "conchies" of 1916. To our mind, there is a lamentable absence of dignity and principle in such activity.

We reproduce from the official parliamentary reports the proposals put before both Houses of Parliament in 1917, for the victimisation, or penalising, of conscientious objectors. We take the reader to the House of Commons for Tuesday, November 20, 1917, and Wednesday, November 21; and to the House of Lords for Wednesday, November 28.

In the House of Commons the total political and municipal disfranchisement of the conscientious objectors was proposed. In the House of Lords, it was proposed to banish or deport conscientious objectors. We do not object to these motions. We object to the subjects of these motions enjoying places of honour in the State to-day, and acquiescing, either silently or noisily, in persecuting of the conscientious objector to-day. We say this conduct is unfair not only to the conscientious objector, but to the dead and to the living soldier also. Either conscientious objectors are citizens or not. If they are not citizens, sack the lot; sack the over-age conchie as well as the youth. Be fair—and not false and hypocritical. If you despise the 1940 conchies, sack the 1916 ones also. Be absolute and also resolute.

Here are the reports.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

DISFRANCHISEMENT OF C.O's.

Tuesday, November 20, 1917.

Moved by Sir George Younger. Opposed by Lord Hugh Cecil and Mr. W. Adamson.

Sir George Younger moved to include in the *Representation of the People Bill* the following clause:—

"Any person who has been exempted from military service on the ground of conscientious objection or who, having joined the forces, has been sentenced by court-martial for refusal to obey orders, and who alleged conscientious objection to military service as a reason for such refusal, shall be disqualified from being registered or voting as a Parliamentary or local government elector."

Sir George Younger—It is really a very small point which is involved in this Amendment. It is whether or not a man who has absolutely refused to fight for his country in its dire distress shall be entitled to a vote. I unhesitatingly say he should not be, and although the House on the last occasion was in favour of giving him his qualification, I trust that on this occasion a different view will prevail. There can be no doubt about it that public opinion outside is distinctly in favour of this proposal. Notwithstanding the very great leniency with which these men have been treated, they have not shown very much gratitude. We deal in this Amendment with two classes of conscientious objectors: those who have been granted exemption, and those who, having applied for exemption, or not having applied, have been taken into the Army and have refused to obey military law, have been court-martialled and have been sentenced to imprisonment. The number of these is very large. But it is not the number so much as the question of principle which is involved, and it is because of the principle that I have again brought forward my Amendment. We are now to a great extent dealing with a manufactured article. The original conscientious objector was largely honest. Now he is largely dishonest.

I can speak with considerable knowledge on the subject. I have been a member of the Central Tribunal since the inception of the Act, and it has been my painful duty in consequence to deal with many of these prisoners. I have had to interview hundreds of them, and I have had very good chances, therefore, of seeing for myself their real character. Originally, we were asked to hold a special inquiry with a view to offering any man whom we had reason to be satisfied that he honestly held his objection an alternative to punishment in the shape of sending him to a Home Office Committee, which would ask him to do only civil work in the interests of the State. At first there was general acceptance of the conditions offered by the Prime Minister. Very few—I think the number could have been counted on the fingers of one hand—among the first 800 or 900 who came before us declined to accept that condition, and those few consequently remained in their cells. But, later on, as time progressed, and as a rather pernicious organisation—the No-Conscription Fellowship—became more active, and I have always been rather surprised that the Government have allowed it to pursue its operations—we had a rapid manufacture of the conscientious objector, and the rapidity of the manufacture was due largely to a concession which the late Prime Minister agreed to in this House. The men were to allow themselves to be called up, they were to refuse to do their drill, they were court-martialled and sentenced to imprisonment, and then they were to go before the Chairman of the Central Tribunal, and, if they answered questions put to them accurately—I do not say straightforwardly—we had no excuse to do otherwise than to send them straight to the Home Office Committee, which would put them to work of national importance.

Latterly I have not myself been attending at Wormwood Scrubs. I have been excused from that duty, but those who have undertaken it have found themselves up against a very different class of objector. Men have refused absolutely, under any circumstances whatever, to accept the conditions of the inquiry or to accept an alternative form of service, and they say, quite frankly, they will accept no form of service, they will no nothing of any sort or kind for the State, and will only do what they wish to do and nothing else. There are a large number of these military prisoners—considerably over 4,000. Three thousand five hundred and forty, in Class A, have been passed out to this Committee and are doing work of one kind or another. There are 126 who are not certified as conscientious objectors and are still in prison. There are 37 who have said they will not fight in this War but would fight in any war of their own choosing. There are 142 who were not conscientious objectors, but were political and socialistic in their views; 611 absolutely and entirely refused the conditions. They would have nothing to do with the State in any shape or form except to take all the benefits it provided. Leniency to this kind of man is entirely misplaced, and if they are to get any further concessions, and if there is any likelihood whatever that they may be released because they have suffered one or more terms of imprisonment, then I say we had better strengthen our law because they will become very successful propagandists.

Many of them have been living together under extremely comfortable conditions, and after their release they have, in some cases, been able to do a great deal of harm. We have now, therefore, an organised system for the manufacture of the conscientious objector, and I do not see how we can stop it unless some different policy is adopted. I could never understand why this agitation should have been encouraged at all. But if it is to be encouraged I venture to think much mischief will result. In some respects, I frankly admit, my proposal may seem a little harsh. There are a certain number of conscientious objectors who are absolutely honest in their opinions. They are misguided people—wrong-headed but perfectly honest. There is the notorious case of Mr. Stephen Hobhouse. I think it is a great misfortune he was not entirely exempted. His character is perfectly well known. But he would not plead before the Tribunal, and in the case of a man who declines to plead the Tribunal has no power. In that case a very worthy case, the Tribunal is in no way to blame for not granting him the exemption which they are entitled to grant under the Act. Exemptions have not been lightly given, nor should they be lightly given. In the case of the Central Tribunal, not a single absolute exemption has been granted in the case of any appeals that have come to them from the local Appeal Courts. In every case a man has had to undertake work of national importance, either through the Pelham Committee or through the Home Office, and it is right that it should be so. I am sure of this: that if hon. Members had seen as many of these absolutists as I have, and had had to cross-question these men as I have, they would form the opinion that while it may be a little harsh to disfranchise certain people who are quite honest and conscientious, it is our bounden duty to disfranchise the others, and to see that if they will not perform their prime duty to the State they shall not be entitled to have any say in the Government of the State.

Wednesday, November 21, 1917.

Lord Hugh Cecil—The preliminary objection

(*Continued from page* 114.)

encounter he published an article in the "Avanti!" in which he revealed openly his change of front. He held that Italy should intervene in the war with the western powers and he was evidently anxious to engage the party on this road before the conference took place.

We went to Bologne together in November, 1914. I read the article on the train and said to Mussolini: "If you have written this you must either go and engage yourself in the army or in an insane asylum. You certainly must not expect to remain in the party."

Mussolini answered twistingly: "The whole Executive Committee will be with me."

Evidently he deceived himself, because the party was a whole unit agaist him.

I never shall forget this conference at Bologne. It was one of the worst tragic scenes that I've ever seen.

One after the other the members of the Executive Committee came on the platform and condemend Mussolini's attitude.

He remained silent, gloomy, irresolute, with a wandering look, like a man accused of a crime. Finally I spoke and said that he should reconsider his position, not because he was indispensable to the "Avanti!" but because he was on the wrong track.

Mussolini did not reply until the Executive Committee had voted unanimously to fire him from his post. I then made a motion asking to give him some money.

Then he rose and said in a rude and villainous manner: "I do not want anything. I'll throw away my pen. I don't want to write anymore. I want to return to my trade as a mason for 5 lires a day."

But the truth was that he had already received funds for a paper in which Mussolini would be free to preach war.

At this congress he gave me the impression of a man terrified by his own bad conscience.

that I make to the Amendment—and it applies to all the objectors within its compass—is that it is a very retrospective enactment, inflicting disability of which they had not notice when they incurred it. It is a very well-known maxim of legislation that the Legislature should in no circumstances inflict punishments or disabilities upon persons retrospectively without giving them notice before they commit the offence for which they are to be punished or disabled, so that they may, if they please, avoid the punishment or disability. I submit that this Amendment transgresses that.

Had it been the intention of Parliament, at the time the Military Service Act was passed, to disable any person who desired to avail himself of the Conscientious Objector Clause, Parliament should, in all honest and straightforward dealing, have said so then. They should have said that if a man availed himself of this objection he was subject to a certain disability, and then those who took it would have known where they were. But solemnly to offer by legislation a certain exemption, and then, after a small number of people have availed themselves of the exemption—have taken advantage of the position allowed them by the law—suddenly to turn round and say, "You did not know we regard with profound disapproval the very exemption we offered you. You did not know we intend to punish you for availing yourselves of the exemption we extended to you. You have done what we invited you to do." [Hon. Members: "No!"] Yes, in the case contemplated by Parliament, when a person felt a conscientious objection he was to be exempted—"For availing yourselves of the machinery we set up, we take away from you the vote without warning—and, as I say, without justice—because now public opinion is in a state of irritation, and it would be unwise to resist that public opinion any longer." Let me ask, Who are the objectors? That preliminary criticism applies to all of them, but the mass of my arguments, which I design to submit to the House, applies mainly to some.

I had not the good fortune to hear the speech of my hon. Friend and Member for Ayr Burghs (Sir G. Younger), but I read it in the Report, and, among other interesting features, it contained a very interesting analysis of conscientious objectors, describing the various groups into which they fell. That must convince the House, as everyone who has looked into this knows, that there are very different people classed together as conscientious objectors. The distinction I should perhaps make of them—of course, it is a rough distinction—is that in the case of certain conscientious objectors—I do not know whether they are the majority or not, but that does not matter—there is a seditious element woven in with their conscientious objection, and, as the Tribunals have found, it is not that they are not sincere, but it is that there is another element besides conscientious objection, namely, a seditious objection, with which I have not the very smallest sympathy; and if in any way it were possible to say in respect to those who offered to military service, not a conscientious objection, but a seditious resistance, I should be the last to deny that the State had a perfect right to punish them for that sedition. But there is professedly another category of persons who have a moral or religious objection to military service, and who confine themselves essentially to saying, "I am bound to respect, in regard to my own life, my own conscience. My own conscience tells me that to do as you would have me do would be wrong. Therefore, without any desire of sedition or rebellion, but merely because of the inherent right of every man to obey his own conscience and the higher moral law, which, according to Christianity, we are told comes before the law of the State, I must disobey, not seditiously but because I am answerable here and hereafter for how far I obey my own conscience."

Those are two very different cases, and let me say—because my right hon. Friend referred to sincere rebels with some sympathy—the case of the true conscientious objector is quite different from even the best rebel. At any rate, there are two great distinctions. A rebel is not satisfied with managing his own action; he wishes to control directly or indirectly the Government of the State. The Irish rebellion sought to overthrow the British Government in Ireland. Some rebellions we think right, and some we think wrong. The rebellion of 1688 we think right; the rebellions of 1715 and 1745 we think wrong. In my view, and in my hon. Friend's view, the rebellion that was menaced in Ulster would have been righteous, but we are all of opinion that the Sinn Fein rebellion was wrong. [Laughter.]

My hon. Friends think I am speaking facetiously, but they are profoundly mistaken. I am speaking what I believe to be the platitudes of the subject, because I am anxious to clear part of the ground. In all these cases the rebels, whether they were right, or whether they were wrong, were seeking to influence a great many people besides themselves. They were seeking to control in one way or another the government of the country. I do not think anyone who does that can complain of other people, differently minded, who oppose them, or punish them for their action. Both are acting conscientiously; both pursue the object which they believe is in the interest of the country, and if, in the extreme case, they avail themselves of force they have no right to complain of force being used against them. But that is wholly different from the conscientious objector, who claims to do nothing except to manage his own action, which he is bound to do.

There is a second distinction.

The conscientious objector does what the rebel does not. He appeals to a higher law altogether than the law of the State. The Jacobites of 1745 and the supporters of King George II. were essentially aiming at objects on the same plane, as one may say, and justified their objects by arguments of the same sort, with a different termination. Neither appealed to a different standard of morals or a different standard of expediency from the other, but it is the very essence of the conscientious objector's position that he says the State has, up to a certain point, undoubtedly authority over him, but that in this respect he is bound to obey a higher law than the law of the State—a religious law or moral law which prohibits him from obeying the law of the State.

"I only ask," he says, "leave to obey it in my own person, and because I feel the burden of it upon me. I am bound, as I conceive, to obey this higher law. I am bound, therefore, to disobey the lower law of the State, not because I am seditious or rebellious, or because I want to impose my opinions upon anyone else in the world, but because every individual is responsible here and hereafter for what he does by his own act and by his own will, whether the State commands him or whether it does not."

Mr. Stanton—Why does he not get out of the State? Let him go where he likes.

Lord H. Cecil—That is what I listened to with surprise, if I may say so with respect. . . . My right hon. Friend says the State is supreme. There is nothing beyond it. That is not a novel opinion. I might even say it is a notorious opinion. It is precisely the argument that the German Chancellor, Bethmann-Hollweg, used in the famous speech in which he spoke of the Treaty safeguarding Belgium as a scrap of paper. My memory may be inaccurate, and I may be mistaken, but I almost think he quoted the very same saying, that the safety of the State is the supreme law. If there be no other law, if the safety of the State is for the government of the State, and the citizens of the State, the last word of moral obligation, then how can we blame the German Government for many things for which we do blame them?

Take, for example, one cry which sank, and deservedly sank, into our hearts, and which roused us to passionate indignation—I mean the execution of Miss Cavell. It is not disputed that Miss Cavell was, according to the strict law of the War, guilty of a war crime. What we do say it was inhuman and iniquitous to put her to death? Because, according to a higher law, she had a strong claim to the respect and gratitude of the German Government and people who put ser to death. Precisely because there was a higher law she ought not to have suffered as she did, and precisely because we believe in that higher law we uttered the cry of indignation at her death. Are we to be told now, in the language of her murderers, that the safety of the State is the supreme law? No, Sir. We cannot make any such answer. We are Christians first and Englishmen afterwards. Christianity can never compromise with any national claim. It must have its disciples all in all, soul and body, leaving no sphere out, and to reserve to the State any supremacy is to part company with the Christian system altogether.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Bonar Law)—I should like to know exactly what the right hon. Gentleman means by his argument. Does he mean that because we say the German State does things that nobody else and no State ought to do on the grounds of necessity, that is the same thing as when the other States, notably France, America, and everybody else say, "We have a right to demand that every citizen shall give his life in the service of the State if we ask him?"

Lord Hugh Cecil—I made no such general statement. What I said was that you cannot meet the claim of the conscientious objector by simply saying that the safety of the State is the supreme law. You must accept his appeal to a higher law and argue on the basis of that higher law.

Mr. Bonar Law—Does my Noble Friend's argument mean that a man who has been before a Tribunal can demand that his conscience shall be above the decision of the Tribunal?

Lord Hugh Cecil— The point I am pressing is this, that you cannot set aside a conscientious objector merely by saying that the safety of the State is supreme, and that we will not listen to him, if he claims to serve and obey a higher law than the law of the State. You must say, "We agree with you that there is a higher law than the law of the State, but, judging you according to that higher law, you are in this way in fault." Therefore, I think it is clear that we must follow the conscientious objector on to the ground of an appeal to conscience, that is to say, an appeal to the moral law which is admitted to be superior to the law of the State.

Let me say, in passing, how very surprising the Amendment seems to me, even on what I consider to be the very unsound basis of the supremacy of the State. Let me point out that if we take the supremacy of the State as the supreme rule, and if we take military service as being such a special obligation that it ought to be made in quite a distinct way a qualification for a vote, we are at once in a perfect wood of trouble, out of which I think my hon. Friend the Member for Ayr Burghs (Sir G. Younger) will hardly be able to guide us. There is the difficulty of Ireland. The Military Service Acts have not been extended to Ireland, and yet we are to give votes to all the young men of military age in Ireland, although they have not got this disqualification of military service. If the need of the State be so supreme, if the law of its safety be so cogent, will not some people at any rate ask "How comes it then that you are exempting twenty or thirty times as many people in Ireland, because they are Irishmen, while you are not exempting merely a few in England because they are religious?"

(To be continued.)

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TORY M.P.'s WHO MUST RESIGN

CRIMINAL ANTI-SOCIALISM EXPOSED

FACTS ABOUT THE REAL FIFTH COLUMN

This article is a statement of fact.

It is written without excitement, without fear, panic, or hatred. Some of the people indicted attack conchies to-day, and cry out more and more for conscription. We expose their Nazi and Fascist alliances, and demand their compulsory retirement from public life.

Their pro-Nazi and pro-Fascist record make them incapable of rendering service to democracy at this time of crisis.

The *Daily Herald* for April 9, 1935, stated that the Anglo-German Association had been dissolved because it was not favoured by the Nazis, and because many of its members disliked Hitler's methods. The Association existed to foster friendship between Britain and Germany. The *Manchester Guardian* for October 6, 1932, stated that its Vice-Presidents included Lord Snowden, Sir Ian Hamilton, Mr. H. M. L. Fisher and Lord Jellicoe, among others. Some of the members of the Association became members of its successor, the Anglo-German Fellowship. An example is Sir Josiah Stamp, now Lord Stamp.

Lord Stamp was made a peer in 1938. He represents the Bank of England and is Chairman of the L.M.S. *He met Hitler.* This is an "honour" no Socialist or conscientious objector would have entertained, much less sought. On the contrary, the Socialist would refuse to meet Hitler.

The *Evening Standard*, London, for November 28, 1935, says:—

> "The Anglo-German Fellowship is a post-Nazi creation and more or less replaces the old Anglo-German Society of which Lord Reading was President. This has been in a state of suspended activity ever since the Nazi Revolution. Among the English members are Mr. Ernest Tennant, who is Honorary Secretary, the Marquess of Clydesdale, and several city bankers, including Mr. Samuel Guinness."

Until he succeeded to the peerage, the Marquess of Clydesdale represented East Renfrew as a Conservative.

The Annual Report, 1936-37, of the *Fellowship* described its aims:—

> "It is rightly stated that the work of the Anglo-German Fellowship is divorced from party politics; its principal purpose is to promote fellowship between the two peoples, but however much such a purpose is non-political its fulfilment must inevitably have important consequences on policy."

To the knowledge of every member of the Fellowship, this statement was false. There can be a fellowship between two democracies. There can be a fellowship between Britain and the United States, since the citizens can associate and communicate freely. Under Nazi rule, there is the State, but no social order, no citizenship, no culture, and therefore no people. This Fellowship was merely an excuse for the Nazi penetration of Britain, and every member was an enemy of democracy and guilty, consciously or not, of Anti-Patriotism. Despite its banker and Tory membership, which was so esteemed and so respectable, the Fellowship was merely the initial Fifth column.

From "Labour Appeal," New York.

BLACK OUT?

Can Capitalist Democracy survive the war against Fascism? Will it be extinguished in the struggle for victory over the Fascism that has suppressed civil liberty throughout Europe? If so, how will we enlighten the darkness? For mankind must live in light and liberty and cannot dwell forever in darkness and oppression.

The Annual Report, already quoted, claimed that the sister society in Germany entertains English members, and helps them *"to understand the movement which is refashioning life in Germany and to see the reforming forces at work in whatever sphere of public life . . ."*

Does the British worker believe—does any British soldier, any mother or wife, believe—that the Tory M.P.'s, and the financiers, who subscribed to this obvious lying, who belonged to such an organisation, *have any place in British public life to-day*? Yet they sit in Lords and Commons; denounce conchies; excuse the treatment at Euston and King's Cross of the B.E.F. heroes from France; and direct the policy of the country. Why?

The *News Review*, Vol. I., No. 2, January 23, 1936, published an interview with Elwin Wright, secretary of the Fellowship. He said:—

> "It isn't numbers that matter. We want 'Names,' otherwise how can we have any influence with the Government or the Foreign Office."

Is this not the Fifth Column at work?

In the same article, the membership of the Fellowship was described by the *News Review* as being:—

> *". . . distinguished representatives of British Big Business, who claim Hitler has an 'unanswerable case,' who plan to set up a lavishly equipped Club in London at which Nazi-ism can be preached, Ministers of National-Socialism entertained, feted."*

An "unanswerable case"—to suppress the freedom of Germany and avail himself of the democracy of Britain!

The Annual Report quoted states that the following Nazis have been guests of the fellowship:—

(1) Herr von Ribbentrop, on several occasions. He was the guest of Lord Londonderry, at his Irish seat, Mount Stewart, County Down.
(2) Field-Marshal von Blomberg.
(3) Herr von Tschammer and Osten, President of the German Sports Association.
(4) Dr. Ernst Woermann, Counsellor of the German Embassy.
(5) H.R.H. the Duke of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha.

The *Monthly Journal* of the Fellowship, August, 1938, stated that another guest of the Fellowship had been Freiherr von Hadeln, S.S. Adjutant to Herr Himmler, head of the Nazi Secret Police and of the S.S. (Black Guard, properly so-called.)

The Fellowship provided a platform in Britain for various Nazi leaders to plead their cause and to gain sympathy for the Nazi methods of total tyranny.

The Annual Report, 1936-7, reported a speech made on March 17, 1937, by Baron von der Ropp on "German Church Dispute."

The *Sunday Times*, February 28, 1937, reported an earlier speech by the same Nazi representative. He said: *"Herr Hitler has given the Church a free hand. He is a very religious man."*

The *Monthly Journal*, Nov.-Dec., 1938, reported the meeting addressed by General Tholens, deputy-chief of the German Labour Service, who came "specially from Berlin" for the purpose. General Tholens spoke, with a film, on Labour Service.

The *Monthly Journal*, August, 1938, reported the visit and address given by the Director of the Nazi Strength through Joy movement. The same issue reported the visit and entertainment of Hitler Youth Leaders. All these Nazi agents attended the London meetings of the Fellowship, were welcomed, and entertained privately. *They represented, not the German people, but the Dictatorship Government.*

Members of the Fellowship who visited Berlin were entertained not freely, by German citizens, but officially, *and officially only*, by Hitler, Goering, and other leaders of Nazidom. The head of the German Association, the sister organisation to the English Association, is the Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, who is an ardent Nazi.

The names of the members of the Anglo-German Fellowship were used in Germany to win support for the Hitler regime.

The *Daily Telegraph*, for January 31, 1938, reported that, on the anniversary of the Nazi "revolution," the *Berliner Tageblatt* published *"Messages of congratulation from Admiral Sir Barry Domville, former Director of British Naval Intelligence, and the Marquess of Londonderry."*

The *Times*, December 3, 1937, reports the statement of Von Ribbentrop, acknowledging the diplomatic help rendered to Nazi Germans by the Anglo-German Fellowship, Ribbentrop stated that "when Hitler's Reich was formed at the beginning of 1933, there was but little contact between Britain and the New Germany." But owing to "the pioneer work" of the Fellowship, Lord Halifax's then recent (1937) visit to Germany had been made possible.

What was the purpose of that visit but to entrench Hitlerism?

The *Monthly Journal*, Nov.-Dec., 1938, announced the meeting of the Fellowship at which Herr Ziegfeld spoke on "Christianity in Germany."

Here are some excerpts from the ordinary press.

The *Evening Dispatch*, Birmingham, February 1, 1939, said :—

"Lord Redesdale, father of Sir Oswald Mosley's wife and of Miss Unity Mitford, Hitler's friend, is one of three well-known British men mentioned by the German newspaper '12-Uhr Blatt' to-day as contributors to an article favouring the return of Germany's former Colonies.

"The others are described as Sir Ernest Bennett, National-Labour M.P. for Central Cardiff and a former Assistant Postmaster-General, and 'Professor' William Harbutt Dawson, of Oxford."

The *Evening Standard*, London, for February 2, 1939, said :—

"The Berlin newspaper 'Zwoelf-Uhr Blatt' to-day gives prominence to a statement by Lord Arnold urging Britain to take the initiative in settling the colonial question.

"The statements, says the newspaper, are parts of a speech by Lord Arnold in the House of Lords in February 1938, and are now published with his consent.—British United Press."

The *Times*, February 10, 1939, said :—

"Berlin, February 9.

"Sir Oswald Mosley is the latest contributor to the campaign of the '12-Uhr Blatt' for the return of former German Colonies and against the Jews."

Sir Oswald Mosley and his wife have been interned by the present Government. But Sir Oswald and Lady Mosley are no worse than the other members of this organisation.

Sir Barry Domville founded the organisation known as "The Link." Concerning this organisation, *The Observer*, London, for November 28, 1937, wrote :—

". . . Admiral Sir Barry Domville, friend of Herr Hitler, Herr von Ribbentrop, Herr Himmler, and other leaders of the New Germany . . . has set about creating friendship, personal, individual friendship . . . Hence 'The Link.' . . . Twice Sir Barry Domville has been Herr Hitler's guest. Recently he went chamois shooting for a week in company of Herr Himmler, head of the S.S. detachments."

The *Observer* proceeded to describe "The Link" as Sir Barry Domville's own creation, and to refer to him as "its founder and first chairman." It reported an interview he gave to its representative the previous day. Sir Barry Domville said :—

"Already we have nearly a thousand direct members, and branches have been formed at Birmingham, Southend, Chelsea, and Bayswater. Others are about to be formed in Belfast, Croydon, Maldon, Oxford, Aberdeen, and Cape Town. We hope to enrol Germans in London and other parts of the country. They will meet English members at social gatherings . . . *Herr Hitler himself is very keen on the movement.*"

Always remember the dictatorship in Germany and that Germans, as Germans, cannot mix democratically and freely. Admiral Sir Barry Domville was Assistant Secretary, Committee of Imperial Defence, 1912-14; Director of Naval Intelligence, 1927-30; Vice-Admiral, commanding War College, 1932-34. He retired in 1936. *No wonder Hitler entertained him.*

The Vice-Chairman of "The Link" was Professor Sir Raymond Beazley. Its Council were: Lord Redesdale; Lord Semphill; C. E. Carroll; Professor A. R. Laurie; A. E. R. Dyer; and Archibald Crawford, *all members of the Anglo-German Fellowship.*

C. E. Carroll was editor of *The Anglo-German Review*, published monthly at 6d. This paper supported Hitler's attacks on British statesmen and politicians for being the enemies of Germany. It was supported by German advertising. In May, 1938, it described Anthony Eden as *"probably the most unfortunate choice of a Foreign Secretary within living memory."* In October, 1938, it said that Winston Churchill is *"unquestionably the biggest war-monger in Europe to-day."*

In the same issue, Sir Barry Domville expressed his Nazi complex in connection with Munich. He wrote :

"There was one piece of good fortune. Parliament was not in session. The discussion of foreign affairs at such a time on party lines in the House of Commons is a grave danger to peace."

He also defined his opposition to Socialism or Communism by misrepresenting Dr. Benes thus :

"So exit Dr. Benes, High Official of the Grand Orient Lodge of Freemasonry, Patron of the 'Anti God' Congress, and outpost of Bolshevism."

Sir Barry Domville, also in the same issue, attacked Baldwin for appealing on behalf of Jewish and other refugees from Nazi terror. He wrote :

"It is not the first time Lord Baldwin has shown a lack of understanding of the mentality of other countries. His announcement that the frontier of Britain lay on the Rhine will not be forgotten abroad."

The *Anglo-German Review* built up Nazism by pretending opposition to Socialism and Communism, and thus revealed the fact that Anti-Socialism, and not Socialism, has been the enemy of Great Britain, democracy, and even the British Empire.

Professor A. P. Laurie—described as a "famous scientist, pedagogue, student of affairs" —wrote in the December 1938 issue :—

"The second difficulty was Czechoslovakia, a tumor in the heart of Europe ruled by the Communist Benes, which required a surgical operation to prevent it poisoning the life-stream of Europe."

Dr. Benes is not, and never was, a Communist. Nazism has poisoned the life-stream of Europe, as an expression of the last disease of Capitalism.

In December, 1938, *The Anglo-German Review* supports Germany's claims on Lithuania. The same issue—*and this is why we lack sympathy to-day with Sir Oswald Mosley and Captain Ramsay, M.P.*—published articles by experts, urging the suppression of liberty of speech and of the Press in Britain. Major-General Wyndham Childs wrote an article suggesting that the law of criminal libel might be used to limit attacks on dictators. This is a disgraceful suggestion.

Professor A. P. Laurie, in the April, 1938, issue, wrote on: "Where Democracy Has Failed."

The same issue discussed Hitler's plebiscite in Austria and declared: *"In face of these figures, talks of democracy become meaningless."*

In December, 1938, Professor Laurie contributed an article entitled: *"The Back of Hitler's Mind."* He wrote :—

"The whole conception of a League (of Nations) . . . was the product of the 'intellectuals' who are the curse of the United States and Britain."

At this time, Professor Laurie was seventy-seven years of age and had spent his long life in academic and intellectual surroundings. For twenty-eight years, he was Principal of the Heriot-Watt College in Edinburgh.

The *Anglo-German Review* was not content with Nazi propaganda. In its issue for November 1938, the *Review* boasted that Germany had learnt military secrets from Czechoslovakian fortifications. It says :—

"Meanwhile, Germany has learnt much from the surrendered Czechoslovak fortifications, of which some were built by French engineers with experience of the Maginot Line, and, thanks to that knowledge the Siegfried Line is likely to be the strongest in the world. . . ."

Having noted the treacherous character of "The Link," and the *Anglo-German Review*, let us consider the names of the Conservative M.P.'s who sent messages of support to the *Review* :—

Name and Constituency.

*Sir Ernest N. Bennett, Cardiff, Central; Miss Thelma Cazalet, Islington (E.); Sir Henry Page Croft, Bournemouth; *Sir John Smedley Crooke, Birmingham (Deritend); Geoffrey Hutchinson, M.C., K.C., Ilford; Thomas Magnay, Gateshead; *Sir Thomas Moore, Ayr Burghs; *Captain A. H. M. Ramsay, Midlothian and Peebles; *Sir Frank Sanderson, Bt., Ealing; Sir John S. Wardlaw-Milne, Worcester.

Those marked with a star were connected with the Anglo-German Fellowship. Sir Thomas Moore was a member of the Council of the Anglo-German Fellowship. With him were two other Conservative M.P.'s :

Name and Constituency.

Norman J. Hulbert, Stockport; Lt.-Col. Sir Assheton Pounall, Lewisham E.

The other starred M.P.'s were individual members only of the Anglo-German Fellowship. With them as individual members were the following Conservative M.P.'s :—

Name and Constituency.

Lt.-Comm. Peter G. Agnew, Cornwall, Cambourne; Lt.-Col. J. Sandeman Allen, Birkenhead, W.; Hon. William Waldorf Astor, Fulham, E.; Sir Robert B. Bird, Bt., Wolverhampton, W.; Commander Robert T. Bower, Cleveland, Yorks.; E. Clement Davies, K.C., Montgomery; Sir Robert V. Gower, K.C.V.O., O.B.E., Rochester, Gillingham; Thomas Loel E. B. Guinness, Bath; H. Cobden Haslam, Horncastle; Wing.-Comm. A. W. H. James, Northampton, Wellingborough; Maj.-Gen. Sir Alfred Knox, Wycombe; Lt.-Col. Hon. G. K. M. Mason, Croydon North; Major Ralph Raynor, Totnes, Devon; Sir Alexander Russell, Tynemouth; Stuart Russell, Darwen, Lancs.; Sir Louis Smith, Hallam, Sheffield; Major the Hon. J. J. Stourton, Salford South; Rear-Admiral Sir Murray Sueter, Hertford; Lt.-Col. Edward T. R. Wickham, Taunton, Somerset.

The speeches of Sir Thomas Moore and Sir Alfred Knox against conchies have been most jingoistic. We refer readers to Hansard reports. Yet these men built up Nazism and the Fifth Column. *Their speeches should be disregarded, and every Labour M.P. should demand their silence prior to expulsion from Parliament.*

Sir Henry Page Croft has gone to the House of Lords. There he joins the following Peers who were active members of the Anglo-German Fellowship :—

Lord Aberdare; Earl of Airlie; Lord Arnold, Member of the Council of the Fellowship; Lord Barnby, ex-Conservative M.P.; Viscount Bertie of Thame; Lord Brocket, ex-Conservative M.P.; Marquess of Carisbrooke, grandson of Queen Victoria; Lord Decies; Lord Eltisley, ex-Conservative M.P. and member of the Council of the Fellowship, father-in-law of Sir Gifford Fox, M.P.; Viscount Esher; Earl of Galloway; Earl of Glasgow, brother-in-law of Sir Thomas Inskip, M.P.; Earl of Harrowby, ex-Conservative M.P.; Lord Hollenden, Member of the Council of the Fellowship; Lord Hutchison of Montrose, Paymaster-General 1935-8, ex-Liberal-National M.P.; Marquess of Londonderry, ex-Conservative M.P., ex-Secretary of State for Air, etc.; Marquess of Lothian, Parliamentary Under-Secretary, India Office, 1931-2; Lord McGowan; Earl of Malmesbury; Viscount Massereene and Ferrard; Lord Mottistone; Lord Mount Temple, until recently President of the Fellowship—also Chairman of the Anti-Socialist Union, ex-Conservative M.P., one-time Conservative Whip, Under-Secretary of State for War, and Minister of Transport, father-in-law of A. S. Cunningham-Reid, M.P.; Viscount Nuffield; Lord Redesdale, father-in-law of Sir Oswald Mosley; Lord Sanderson; Lord Sempill; Duke of Wellington.

This list omits Lord Stamp, who was mentioned at the beginning of this exposure. Viscount Esher was not content with defending German Fascism. He rejoiced in Japanese Fascism and defended Japan's aggression in China, and complained of British criticism of Japan, in the *Times*, July 1, 1938.

Lord Mottistone made a speech in the House of Lords on October 22, 1935, on Italy. The Friends of National Spain, and the Anglo-German Fellowship might have been one organisation. They duplicated membership, and also concurred in the Japanese expedition into China.

Some Tory M.P.'s did not approve of these Fascist activities. Their names can be listed later with approval. Meantime we demand public action against those M.P.'s and public persons indicted in this article. Their activities have been completely Fifth Column Activity.

To the names listed we add the following names of M.P.'s who joined or associated themselves at some time with one or other of the three Fascist and Right Wing Anti-British organisations mentioned—organisations existing to destroy democracy and eulogising the Italian invaders of Abysinnia.

Sir Harry Brittain, who was also a member of the Anglo-German Fellowship, was Hon. President of "The Friends of Italy." This

organisation was reported in the *Observer*, May 29, 1938, to be forming an Anglo-Italian Political and Economic Council, guided and advised by Count Grandi, the Italian Ambassador.

Sir Arnold Wilson, Conservative M.P. for Hitchin, approved of the Italian conquest of Abyssinia. He wrote to the *Times*, September 24, 1935, describing a week's visit to Italy, and declared "*I had the honour to be received by Signor Mussolini.*" Wilson attacked the Franco-Soviet Alliance from the German viewpoint and supported Franco's activity in Spain. "I hope to God Franco wins in Spain," cried Wilson, "and the sooner the better." In a word, the Friends helped also to cripple the British Empire in favour of Nazi-Fascism alike in the East and the West :—

M.P.	Constituency.

Capt. Victor Cazalet, Chippenham; A. T. Lennox-Boyd, Mid. Bedfordshire; R. Grant Ferris, North St. Pancras; Sir Nairne Stewart Sandeman, Middleton, Lancs.; Alfred Denville, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Central; Viscount Wolmer, Aldershot; Lt.-Col. C. I. Kerr, Montrose; Capt. J. H. F. McEwen, Berwick; Viscount Castlereagh, County Down.

Ignore the speeches of these men; pay no heed to their appeals; remember their Fascist and Nazi speeches and associations; demand their retirement from public life.

BRITAIN, BEVIN & BAKUNIN

Ernest Bevin has been accused of being aggressively working class in office. On July 10, he addressed a weekly patriotic "big business" lunch in London, and stunned his Tory audience by declaring that the Fifth Columnists come not from the working-class but from the capitalists. Said Bevin in clear terms :—

> "There is no evidence in Norway, in Holland, in France, or in Belgium that any part of the working-class, whatever the political party may have been, operated as Fifth Columnists.
>
> **"The Fifth Columnists Came from Higher Up."**

This is true. Because it is true, the task of defeating Fascism belongs to Socialism and to the Socialists.

We must learn from Spain. We must pursue revolutionary methods to end Fascism and war. Socialist conscientious objectors—as distinct from those who are genuine but simple pacifists only—include many who would lay down their lives in the fight against Fascism, if they were sure that their Socialist allegiance was respected, and would not be exploited nor betrayed. Socialists must be allowed to form a Socialist Anti-Fascist Militia. Their scruples must build the European armies of Freedom. Only Socialist propaganda can give powerful Anti-Fascist morale to those who struggle against and under Fascist terror.

Britain's answer to Hitler and to Mussolini is social revolution throughout Fascist Europe. Answer Hitler with Liebknecht; Mussolini with Malatesta. Spread the Libertanian shadow of Bakunin across the Pyrenees. Bakunin was the pioneer of Anti-Fascist struggles and his spirit inspired the resistance of Barcelona. Let the British Government close down the most correct and perfectly absurd British Council for Cultural Relations with other countries. *There are no other countries.* The struggle against Fascism is civil war. Establish a British Council for fomenting Revolutions in Nazi-Fascist Europe. Let Britain become aggressively Libertanian and working-class. And so destroy Fascism.

Just Out—

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60 pages. Price, 6d. Postage, 2d.

12 copies, **post free, 5s. 0d.** Reduced rates, **larger quantities.**

SCOTS MARRIAGE

On Monday, July 1, the old Scots Law of Irregular Marriage was abolished except for a very doubtful and difficult preservation of a phase of the Irregular Marriage by habit and repute. This subject is dealt with very clearly in an appendix to our pamphlet, *Studies in Communism.* Wars pass but the rights of the people lost in war-time are recovered with difficulty, if at all. The assassination of the Scots Law of Marriage ought not to be accepted without protest.

It was in the House of Lords, in 1811, that the Scots Law of Irregular Marriage was first established. This was in the celebrated case of Dalrymple versus Dalrymple. This marriage was contracted by word and presence, a verbal exchange of consent. The man went to England and the woman sued in the Consistory Court. In a word, this case was decided in England and not in Scotland. Lord Stowell delivered the celebrated judgment upholding the sanctity of irregular marriage, of marriage by consent in the presence of each other. The House of Lords upheld this decision establishing the Scots Law of Irregular Marriage.

Four years after the Dalrymple decision, in the case of McAdam, the Court of Session re-affirmed the Scots Principle of Irregular Marriage. Although tried in Scotland, this case was confirmed in the House of Lords.

These cases were reviewed by one of the most distinguished Scots judges and lawyers, and a most distinguished member of the House of Lords, Viscount Dunedin, in the lecture he delivered before the David Murray Foundation Society, March 21, 1935, on the Divergencies and Convergencies of Scots and English Laws.

The Scots Marriage Law is part and parcel of the Constitution of the Scots people. Since the Act of Union of 1707, there has been a continual and constant invasion of the rights of Scotland, above all, of the habits of life and thought of the Scots people. The new law makes the invasion complete by undermining and destroying the fundamental principle of Scots morality. This is no mere national question in a narrow political sense, however, but one that concerns the whole of Britain, and for that matter, all the world. The Scots principle of marriage, defined twice and upheld by the House of Lords since the Act of Union, embodies a fundamental moral principle. The State cannot tinker with or amend this principle in any way without striking a blow at marriage as an institution and mating as a moral fact. It is not a question of geographical boundaries, nor even of theology, but rather one of the deep-rooted custom and understanding of a people: a people that has shown itself powerful, sober and practical in agriculture and industry at home and administrating and pioneering abroad: and, therefore, not a frivolous people as suggested by those who queried the morality of its marriage customs.

Actually, the Scots Marriage Law is practical, ethical and religious. It asserts the ancient Christian view that those who are married in the sight of God must be regarded as married in the eyes of man. Although modern philosophy expresses the same fact without reference to the Theism or the deity, the mental approach is substantially the same. Scots Law expresses the principle that what is marriage *de facto*, there being no legal impediment, must be marriage *de iure*. It asserts, also, what is denied by the English insistence of registration as a necessary preliminary, that the actual marriage consists of the solemn matingfor life of one man and of one woman. It can be argued with plainness and simplicity, amounting to brilliance, that Scots Marriage Law, above all other law, does recognise the solemnity and importance of mating, as marriage in its highest sense. The late famous Prince Peter Kropotkin, in his memoirs of Russia, describes how, in the Czar's time, a priest of the Greek Church adopted the very principle prescribed in the Scots Law, and declared that a colony of men and women who have been faithfully living together in the honourable relationship of husband and wife, without any State permission, were married in the sight of God and the Czar.

This brings me to the main point of my indictment of the new law.

Usually, before any amendment is made in the law of the land, and particularly as regards an issue that affects the life of the people so directly as the law of marriage, some enquiry is instituted. The number of Royal Commissions that have sat and have published volumes of evidence on this or that matter of social importance, sometimes without any resulting amendment to the existing law, attest the truth of this contention. In the present case, what has been done? Certainly a Committee was appointed. Certainly that Committee called for evidence. Can it be said that that Committee noted any evidence? Can it be said in the real sense of the term, in the strict literal and grammatical use of the words, that the Committee functioned, seriously considered evidence; duly questioned the witnesses, and actually left on record an account of these proceedings? Did the Committee enquire into the volume of learning that has been published on this matter, canvassing its every aspect? The truth is, no such record was published. The enquiry was polite, frivolous and shallow. It failed, totally, to treat with the patient consideration that was demanded, the most important question of marriage in Scotland.

Another question arises—how did this Committee come to be appointed? Was there any demand for a change in the Law of Marriage for Scotland on the part of the Scots people? Or did the demand come from England? It is my contention that the Scots people never wished any change in their law of marriage; that there was never any need for any change, since the Scots Law of Marriage is neither more nor less than an expression of the simple fact and principle of marriage. From the standpoint of commonsense and ordinary human decency and morality, it is dangerous and unwise to interfere with the Scots Law. If the demand did not come from Scotland, it must have come from Scotland's southern neighbour. But what right had England to demand that the Scots Law of Marriage should be changed to suit the vagaries of the English temperament, its foibles and weaknesses? The answer is to be found at Gretna.

It was alleged, by the English, slandering themselves, that Scotland's English neighbours unwisely plunged into marriage, or contracted bogus marriages, by taking advantage of the facilities at Gretna. This is a very old story. The first attack on the Scots Law of Marriage made in the English Parliament was in 1856, when the Brougham Act was passed requiring 21 days' residential qualification.

Although a very slight modification, even the 1856 Act was an invasion, because its spirit was quite contrary to the idea of Scots Law of Irregular Marriage. The reason given for that Act was the number of runaway English marriages at Getna. It was not asserted, or even pretended by the most bitter critic of the Scots Law, that the Scots had abused their law. But the law had to be changed to suit the convenience of the English, who could not contain themselves but were impelled by the devil within them to treat the moral code of Scotland either as so much fun or else so much menace. We were brought to this position in 1856, and we are brought to the same position more drastically today, because the demand has been more sweeping and uncompromising in its attack.

The Scots Law of Marriage operated well in Scotland. It was part and parcel of the Constitution of the Scots people. It was recognised by the Scots aristocracy and endorsed by the Law Lords of the House of Lords, by the Consistory Court, and by the Court of Session. It has been honoured and practised by the Scots peasantry, and was subscribed to by Scotland's immortal bard, Robert Burns. That moral code which expresses the genius of the thinker, the aristocracy, and the peasantry of Scotland, has been abolished to suit the vices and to please the

whims and scandalous behaviour of England's sons. Englishmen have reduced a moral code to a legal sophistry, and so Scotland's law and moral status had to be changed.

England's sons eloped to Gretna with no knowledge and with no understanding of the law of marriage. They had no sense of moral responsibility, and were imbued purely with false notions of adventure. They saw nothing but rare sport in this solemn procedure. Because they were irresponsible, the responsible conception of marriage that is defined in Scots Law, and has been affirmed repeatedly by the Court of Session and the House of Lords, had to be destroyed. The ancient Scots Law of Marriage has been put on one side, annihilated, in response to a mere English whim, and in deference to an English proclamation of its sense of vice.

It is not a principle of Scots Law that those who marry in irregular ways should have the marriage registered, and every attempt to make registration compulsory is a total negation of the fundamental principle of the Scottish Law of Marriage.

Registration was not compulsory because registration does not constitute marriage. Registration is but a convenient official way of recording a fact. Marriage is the fact, not the record of the marriage.

Because of the very exactness of Scots Law on this point, it was assumed by the English critics and deriders that Scots morality is loose. In effect, and in practical working, it was strict. The assumption, made on more than one occasion in the minor Courts of English law, that any relation between a man and a woman, or any exchange of agreement to cohabit, constitute marriage, is incorrect. The supreme morality of Scots Law and its absolute soundness were never better illustrated than in the case of Duran versus Duran, which was decided before the Second Division of the Court of Session of November 1904. The case is reported in the *Scottish Law Reporter*, Vol. XLII. pages 69-74. Most important and valuable decisions were recorded by the Lord Justice Clerk, Lord Trayner and Lord Moncrieff, Lord Young concurring. Their Lord-Kincairney. In this case it was decided that the ships upheld the decision of the Ordinary, Lord mere exchange of documents was not in itself proof of marriage in Scotland, but there must be supporting evidence of intention, and, if signed by both parties in the knowledge of its terms, and at the time of the signing one of the parties sincerely intended marriage, no mental reservation on the part of the other would prevent marriage resulting. This case brought into high relief the way in which Scots Marriage protected a person against being made a victim of fraudulent misrepresentation.

It is at this point that I wish to attack the procedure of the Committee of Enquiry. Before that Committee, suggestions were made to overcome, very simply, any alleged disadvantage said to result from lack of registration. In the Committee's Report there is no evidence of such a suggestion having been made. I am compelled to conclude, therefore, that the purpose of this Committee was not to seek to amend the Law of Scotland but to pave the way for its utter annihilation. Other evidence was submitted to this Committee as to the way in which English Courts have treated expert legal evidence establishing marriage across the border. In no case has the indignity proceeded from the Scots Law but merely from the failure of the English to understand the nature.

I have said that the new law of compulsory registration is immoral because it approaches the subject with an unclean and an unnatural mind. It is an expression of a strait conventionalism, but not of a strait morality. It is an irresponsible conventionalism divorced from the soil. It includes no understanding of life. After all, marriage is a matter for the individuals concerned. In itself, it is not the affair of the State. It becomes the affair of the State when it is necessary to refer to it as a fact, when it is necessary to record the fact.

The new Act was devised badly and ill-advisedly. There is evidence of this in the Act. For example, the clauses of the Act follow an excellent preamble. The most important thing about Acts of Parliament are to be found in the appendix contained in a schedule of the Acts which are repealed, but a preamble is no part of an Act. In the present Act, the preamble states that marriage of habit and repute is to stand. I cite as evidence of the hurried and incompetent construction of this Act: *First of all*, there is no clause in the Act that does protect definitely, and in precise terms, marriage by habit and repute. *Secondly*, since marriage by habit and repute implies non-registration of marriage, and since that implies a period during which the parties must be married by declaration and consent, how is it possible to abolish the one form of irregular marriage and retain the other? One can only do so by instituting chaos in the moral affairs of mankind in relation to the sexes. To satisfy the clauses of this Act, one must conclude that a man and woman will live together, and although they discharge all the normal relations of husband and wife, they shall be deemed unmarried. Then one day, some slight having aroused their anger, and there having been a due lapse of time, they may appear before the Court of Session and demand a Declarator of Marriage. If, unfortunately, that anger should express itself at one month and it be held that sufficient time has not elapsed to establish habit and repute, they will be deemed unmarried. If their anger is amenable to the requirements of time, and postpones its expression for the required period, then they will be married.

The new Act does not amend the Law of Scots Marriage. It ridicules marriage as an institution, and the law of mating. It has destroyed the ancient commonsense of the people and substituted a careless and irresponsible servitude of conventionalism.

THE DUKE'S VIEW

[*Recalled by the Duke's appointment as Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Bahama Islands.*]

The Duke of Windsor is once more in the news. His future is uncertain, like the fate of the world. With his abdication, he ceased from being front-page news, and Labour Leaders no longer yearned to receive his smile, handshake, and general patronage. Their Socialism was too political and too careerist to go out to a king in exile.

After three years virtual exile, the Duke returned to Britain on a fleeting visit, on September 12, 1939. He received almost as much welcome as a discharged soldier returned penniless from the wars, to a new and barren post-war world.

The abdication of Edward VIII. was very much an Edward Windsor versus Stanley Baldwin controversy. Working-class readers will be interested in another aspect of dispute between these two once public figures.

Earl Baldwin, as Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin, on August 6, 1926, broadcast to the United States of America the following message:—

> "There is no foundation for any statement as to starvation among the mining population. There is little or no indication of the presence of severe distress, even among such miners' dependents as are not receiving poor law relief in their own homes."

What inspired Baldwin's message?

Speaking at Sheffield, on June 10, 1926, A. J. Cook said:—

> "In the latest list of shareholders in the huge concern called Baldwins, Ltd. (return January 1, 1926), there is an entry which shows that the Rt. Hon. Stanley Baldwin, P.C., M.P., Astley Hall, Stourport, Worcester, owns no less than 194,526 ordinary shares and 37,591 preference shares. Baldwins, Ltd., employs over 2,000 miners."

The fact explains the speech. Statesmen are mostly mediocrities, and mediocrities think from their economic interests.

Against Baldwin's broadcast, let us set the broadcast of Edward, Prince of Wales, afterwards Edward VIII., and now Duke of Windsor. In his broadcast to the United States, on December 25, 1928, Edward gave the lie to Stanley in the following terms:—

> "You know that miners have not been in full work for the last four or five years. Almost every worker has experienced short time, fewer shifts per week, less earnings to take home, with month after month things going from bad to worse, until this Christmas there are 250,000 miners out of work. A quarter of a million miners not only with no wages, but who have had none since months. Everything gone, and nothing left to sell. Becauses the distress is concentrated in special districts, do not let us take the line of least resistance, and put out of mind what happens to be out of sight."

It is to be regretted that the Duke permitted himself to be pictured in Fascist Madrid inspecting the ruins made by the civil war. He should note that Fascism was responsible for those scars. Fascism made a toll of life and beauty in Spain.

NO FIFTH COLUMN IF—

In July, 1936, the United Socialist Movement commenced an intensive series of meetings throughout Glasgow, not in large halls, but at street corners, on behalf of the Spanish workers' struggle against Fascism. Leaflets were issued pleading the workers' cause. The series were headed *Regeneracion*, and were 19 in all. The first leaflet was issued on July 28, and declared that the Spanish struggle would assume an Anarchist and syndicalist character. *Regeneracion* was a typed-duplicate sheet of which thousands were circulated. The last leaflet was issued in October, 1936.

On September 7 a French comrade wrote from Barcelona acknowledging the receipt by the C.N.T.-F.A.I. of *Regeneracion*, and criticising No. 7, which detailed a programme of practical unity and action for the defeat by the working class in Britain of Fascism. Had this programme been embraced by the workers, Nazism and Fascism would have been smashed. Our comrade wrote on the official paper of the Secretaria of the Confederacion Regional del Trabajo de Cataluna. Part of the correspondence that followed, urging loyalty and assistance to the Spanish workers in their magnificent struggle, was published in *Regeneracion*.

On September 19, 1936, the Confederacion invited the U.S.M. "to send to Barcelona a small delegation duly mandated to represent the U.S.M. and to organise here a British Information Propaganda section, a sister-section of our French one."

On September 27, 1936, the U.S.M. was advised that comrades "on the border line" had received instructions to admit Ethel MacDonald, as representing the U.S.M., and Jenny Patrick, of the A.P.C.F., who could "join in the work against Fascism as soon as they will come." It should be explained that Comrade Patrick received a direct personal official invitation from the C.N.T., as an individual, because of her long Anarchist activity.

On October 14, the U.S.M. was informed that Ethel MacDonald was to act as Secretary of the English Propaganda and Information Section.

On October 20, with very little money, Comrades Patrick and MacDonald left Glasgow for Barcelona. The radio speeches of Ethel MacDonald were widely circulated. There is no need to refer to their text here. They called to the war against Fascism and emphasised the fatal consequences of betraying Spain to the Fascist powers. Jenny Patrick, after spending some time in Barcelona, proceeded to Madrid, when she served on the Committee of Defence, and then returned to Barcelona to witness the May Days.

Many of the Conservative M.P.s, who are today attacking conchies and denouncing the Fifth Column, were busy then applauding the Fascist legions in Spain and eulogising the Fifth Column that was betraying the cause of democracy and labour in Spain. The Fifth Column began in Spain. It betrayed Spain and so spread the war calamity that afflicts us now.

The workers should have rallied to the call of the United Socialist Movement in 1936. There would be no Fifth Column in 1940.

CONCHIES! WHAT WAS SAID IN 1917!

(Commons Report continued from Page 116, Vol. I.).

Mr. Keating—The argument is false.

Sir G. Younger—Very few are religious.

Lord Hugh Cecil—Even those few my hon. Friend does not propose to exempt . There are other persons who escape not because you have not imposed the Military Service Acts, but they are persons who are highly disobedient to the State and quite as disobedient as the conscientious objector. There is the whole body of Sinn Feiners. There are the more amiable Sinn Feiners, animated by a great desire to establish Irish nationality, and the less amiable ones who are perhaps moved by German money, but they are all to have votes. There are also the persons who have been actually convicted in the course of the rebellion; those too, I apprehend, are to have votes. There are a great many other persons. I find it difficult to read without a cynical smile my hon. Friend's Amendment, because there is such an air of absurdity in the language of it.

The second part of the Amendment reminds me that there are a great many other people who have been court-martialled besides conscientious objectors. The disqualification is there carefully limited, and it must only be for refusal to obey orders, and only if that refusal has assigned to it a conscientious cause. There are also those who have been insubordinate, and deserters, and all those who have been sentenced for various military crimes and for crimes not merely military but civil, those guilty of criminal vice of the worst and most atrocious kind—all those may have votes. All those who have been sentenced by civil Tribunals, such as pickpockets, robbers, all those concerned in fraud, acts of violence, and those animated by the most odious lusts, the names of whose offences must not pass honest lips—all those may have votes. And why not? There is, at any rate, nothing conscientious about them. They are free from the damning taint of a strong but enlightened conscience. Even if I accepted the basis of my right hon. Friend's argument, I should still feel this Amendment was a scandalous absurdity. If you are really going to disfranchise persons who, because they are disobedient to the State, are to incur this penalty, you must certainly disfranchise all those who have been disobedient by way of crime as well as those who have been disobedient by way of a conscientious objection.

Let me remind the House of some of the cases which will be included in this disfranchisement. They will include the Quakers who are working with the ambulance units abroad. How is it possible to justify setting them below all those bad people of whom I have been speaking. They have gone out and they are serving. They are even running great risks. I do not agree with the scruple which has led them to refuse military service, but who can say that they are not well and honourably employed? I want the House to fix its mind on those and other objectors of the Quaker sort. I do not mean only those who belong to the Society of Friends, but those who belong to other religious bodies, simple-minded people, perhaps, under the influence of a mistaken scruple, who say, "We are sorry that we cannot fight in the War, because the guilt of shedding blood will lie at our door." The first observation I will make about that is, that according to the common religion we believe, holding the view that they do, they are bound to act as they do. To those who in all sincerity think it is wicked to fight in war—for them it is wicked to fight in war—it ceases to be a mere delusion, and it becomes truly operative upon the conscience. As I pointed out during the Committee stage, this is a principle which we are bound to recognise, and we do recognise it in our government of other races. We do not impose on them what they foolishly and superstitiously believe to be wrong. We never require Mahomedans, or Hindus, or any other race which has a different moral standard to our own, to violate their own conscience. We do this not only on the ground of policy, but because we think it right to do it. Although some particular scruple may be superstitious, we think that to violate it is in truth wrong.

On the first point, then, of going before a higher Tribunal, we find that objectors are right, and that they are bound to obey their conscience. What, then, can we say in this case? We can only say their conscience is mistaken.

I am sure they are thoroughly and utterly mistaken, but are you going to disqualify people and punish them for being mistaken in their opinions? If you do you are surely back again to the old familiar ground of religious persecution. Certainly if I held that view, that you might disqualify for opinion, I should not begin with the conscientious objector. I should begin myself with Roman Catholics, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Methodists, and many other classes, and I am not sure that my right hon. Friend himself would escape before my disfranchisement was complete. It is to me quite as clear that the Presbyterians are mistaken on the points in which they differ with the Episcopalians as that conscientious objectors are wrong about military service. Both propositions seem to me to be perfectly plain.

That is always so in these matters. Very good people have over and over again felt bound to impose their views because they were so certain that they were right—and I do not think that they were always wrong—but the point is that we have come surely to the conclusion that it is both impolitic from the point of view of the State and also inconsistent with the best interests of religious truth to punish people for erroneous opinions.

Sir J. D. Rees—What about the War and the Army?

Lord Hugh Cecil—Perhaps if my hon. Friend will make an effort he will be able to follow a consecutive argument. I say, therefore, when we come to argue it on that ground, that we must either adopt the position of religious persecution or we must say, as I say, "Yes, you are mistaken, but I am not justified in forcing your conscience, because it is against my own conscience to do so, and therefore I give you exemption."

I thought that was the position that Parliament took up, and I am persuaded that it is the right position for Parliament to take up. We must not refuse the vote to people who are doing what they sincerely believe to be right upon moral or religious grounds merely because we think that these moral or religious grounds are mistaken. If you do not adopt that position you must disfranchise a great many people besides conscientious objectors. But, above all, I feel most strongly—and this, I confess, is why I care about the controversy apart from the strength, as it seems to me, of the case—the danger of the particular error into which my right hon. Friend for a moment slipped last night. I am most anxious that this country should maintain the proposition that there is a higher law, that we view with admiration any appeal to that higher law, and that we will not listen to the doctrine that the State's interest is to be supreme, but on the contrary that we will make our authority conform to the higher standard and keep the State within its proper function, and within its proper scope.

Belief in the State ccannot help us to bear the sufferings or control the passions of the War. It is a barren faith, as well as a degrading faith. It does but encumber us and shut out from us that higher world in which we ought to live. It is like a mist that hangs round the surface of the earth ,and beyond which the sunlight and sky of the higher life shine serene. I was taken up in an areoplane on a misty day, and all was hazy and dark below. We passed through, and there was the sun shining in strength and the sky radiant and brilliant; the mists were no more than a white carpet beneath our feet. So we ought to rise, if we are to face the dangers and difficulties of this War, above the belief in the doctrine of the State. We ought, on the contrary, to maintain that the State must conform to this higher law, and so we say as against the Germans. But shall we even retain to ourselves that self-respect which is essential in maintaining a great moral cause if we do not act up to our own principles for which we are fighting in the face of Europe if we do not say to ourselves and in our own country when people are acting conscientiously that their conscience must not be forced, and when they obey their conscience that they must not be punished and disabled for so obeying, because that is the allegiance we owe to the higher law we obey, and because so we must act as citizens of the true city of the new Jerusalem which is the mother of us all?

It is in the belief in that higher region of alleigance, which imposes upon us something more than the State can ask from us, and which gives us something that the State can never give, that we should vindicate the great cause that we have in hand. We are fighting, we sometimes say, for civilisation. I would rather say that we are fighting that civilisation may remain a Christian civilisation, and certainly, according to a Christian civilisation, it is wrong to force the conscience of the sincere. It is wrong to impose upon them a duty which they believe to be contaminating and corrupting. I hope, therefore, that this Amendment will be rejected. I hope it, first of all, because it is a retrospective law, and so contrary to all sound principles of legislation. I hope it still more because it appears to enforce the law of the State as superior to the moral law, and I am certain that if we give countenance to that way of thinking, we run the danger of becoming, as I fear that the Germans have some of them become, idolators of the State, so that it is, indeed, the abomination that maketh desolate, a blood-stained idol, the Moloch of our time.

[Mr. Adamson's speech to come. House of Lords' speeches by Lords Charmwood and Parmoor, and the Marquis of Crewe.]

EDITOR'S PERSONAL APPEAL

This was an appeal for funds to meet the expenses of the Hyde Park Proceedings and the deficit incurred on *The Word* prior to Xmas 1939. The deficit has been very heavy since that date. The total received down to March 1940 was £16 6s. 6d. The total to come was £149 6s. 9d. Our appeal was for £166 13s. 3d.

Since March we have received £60 11s. 1d. We have hesitated to acknowledge the amounts because so many comrades wished to remain anonymous. They were afraid that their names in *The Word* would lose them their employment or lead to some victimisation. With paper shortage we did not wish to publish a column of anonymous sums. We can publish a complete list if it is required; but we thought it wiser to total the sum. Anonymous acknowledgments are stupid when several comrades use the same pseudonym.

The personal appeal stands:

Sum Requested	£166	13 3
Sum Received	76	17 7
Total to come	£89	15 8

We would ask comrades who appreciate our work to raise this sum before the next issue is printed. We work under great difficulties and need all the solidarity comrades can give. In a later issue we shall detail our difficulties. If *every* reader makes a small sacrifice, this deficit can be raised.

AGAINST FASCISM

WHEN WE WARNED IN VAIN

In 1936 the United Socialist Movement produced and circulated widely 19 minographed leaflets, headed *Regeneracion*. These were produced by Ethel MacDonald, Secretary of the United Socialist Movement, who subsequently went to Barcelona, to assist the struggle against Fascism. Comrade Jane H. Patrick, of the Anti-Parliamentary Communist Movement, who was imprisoned with us in 1921, went at the same time, and subsequently proceeded to Madrid, when she served on the Committee of Defence. During their stay in Spain, both comrades witnessed the bombing of the Spanish people by the Fascist planes. This bombing was done mostly by Italian planes, although there were some German planes. It should be pointed out that the Spanish Government did practically no bombing and had very little anti-aircraft. Therefore the bombing of the Spanish cities was wanton. It was a war on the civilian population, on women and children, that could not be excused. During this period we called in vain for anti-Fascist activity in Britain.

No. 10 of the *Regeneracion* leaflets consisted of an open letter to the airman Campbell Black, who was killed subsequently in an accident. When that leaflet was issued, its circulation by our comrades at Renfrew was resented, both by the police authorities and the irresponsible well-groomed civilians who were enjoying the display. *Yet every word was true. Had the warning been attended to with the attention the subject merited, Fascism might have been arrested, and there would have been no Mediterranean question to-day?* The people who cry out against conscientious objectors, and Socialists, were guilty, at that time, by their indifference to the calls of suffering and humanity and truth, of treason to the very Empire and very Patriotism in which they claim to believe. Now their sloth has proven itself a mortal sin. We remind them of their offence by reprinting in full the leaflet then issued. The text, including errors, and advertisements of meetings, is exactly as found in the original.

REGENERACION.

No. 10. August 23, 1936. Sub: Voluntary.

HERO OR MERCENARY?

AN OPEN LETTER TO CAMPBELL BLACK.

WHY YOU MUST BE BOYCOTTED.

Sir,—I am informed that on Sunday you will be seen performing numerous airflights at Renfrew. Although the conquest of the air is abused to further the murder of man rather than used to promote the advance of civilization, I should have made no comment on Sunday's performance had the circumstances been normal. When war has ended, as one day it will, air travel will be a boon to humanity, making, as it does, a mock of distance, and uniting the ends of the earth. You have played a great part in this matter of developing air travel, and as a result you enjoy status and popularity. Living as you do, under the capitalist system, you were compelled to commercialise your heroism. Even commercialism should have its limits. The fatal need for money, which assails us all, and turns saints into sinners, and makes blackguards of the best of men, ought not to become such a lust as to turn heroes into gentlemen adventurers, which is but a polite description of banditism. Yet, Sir, you have committed this crime. Hence this open letter.

I am inviting the common people of Glasgow to boycott the Renfrew display because of your association with it. I am asking you to consider the enormity of your offence—an offence, which, if committed in the future, according to the recent declaration of the British Government, will be visited with heavy penalties.

In the *News of the World* for August 9th last—again for money—you told the story of your employment on July 28th last by the Marchese Rivas de Lingares, Spanish Fascist leader. In other words, you assisted in the war on the properly elected and properly constituted Spanish Government. You rendered able and efficient assistance for purely mercenary motives. Your ethics became the ethics of the bootlegger. You assisted the agents of Mussolini and of Hitler, the employers of Moorish troops against the liberties of the Spanish people. You received money from the persons responsible for the murder wall of Badajoz. For money, you proved yourself an enemy of the common people of Spain, an enemy of humanity, a menace to the peace of Europe and the world. Actually, the money that rests in your bank, or that has been spent in purchasing your creature comforts since your Spanish flight, is the price of accessory to murder. It is stained with blood. Your hands, Sir, though you never fired a shot, are

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Regeneracion!!

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AN OPEN LETTER TO CAMPBELL BLACK.

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United Socialist Movement Leaflet Against Fascism.
Issued August 1936. Title and opening sentences.
Reproduction is a little smaller than the original typed leaflet.

Concluding portion same leaflet.

I call for the boycott of your air display in the best interests of mankind. Every worker, every man, woman and child from now on should boycott you. By your own conduct you have excommunicated yourself from the society of right thinking humans. You are an outlaw of greed.

FRANCO FLIES MOORS ACROSS THE MEDITERRANEAN AT THE RATE OF ONE PLANE EVERY QUARTER HOUR. THEIR PURPOSE IS TO MURDER SPANISH CHRISTIANS AND DEMOCRATS.

GERMANY AND ITALY SUPPLIES FRANCO WITH PLANES.

THE SPANISH PEOPLE DEFEND DEMOCRACY WITH THEIR LIVES AGAINST FOREIGN FASCIST BOMBERS AND BLACK TROOPS.

YOU FLY ACROSS SPAIN FROM HEADQUARTERS TO HEADQUARTERS OF THE REBELS CONVEYING FRANCO'S HENCHMEN AND ADDING TO FRANCO'S PLANES. YOU MAKE A MOCK OF THE BRITISH PRETENCE OF NEUTRALITY. YOUR CONDUCT IS TREASON.

YOUR FRIENDS AWAIT THE FALL OF MADRID AND THE COLLAPSE OF THE WORKERS' MILITIA IN BARCELONA.

A FRIEND OF DEMOCRACY AND A FOE TO FASCISM,

I am,

RELENTLESSY YOURS,

Guy A. Aldred

.....

Friends who sympathise with this leaflet are asked to get in touch with the publisher, G. Aldred, 145, Queen St., C.1. Funds are needed urgently in order to carry on this work in defence of Spain against Fascism.

Send your donation to our 2,000 Shillings Fund now.

.....

Issued by Guy A. Aldred on behalf of the United Socialist Movement,
71 Stirling Road, Glasgow, C.4.

.....

now crimson. In your sleep, did conscience operate, you would hear the cries of women and children and hear the steady tramp of the weary feet of the heroic men and women of Spain who are defending their liberty, your liberty, and my liberty. You can be excused from ignorance, but you can never again be the fit associate of those who love democracy and respect human liberty. You exhibition should be boycotted.

What have you done?

You have identified yourself with the Italian and German attacks on Spanish liberties. The Spanish Fascist insurgents were aided by Italy and Germany. If Fascism triumphs in Spain it will be with this aid, and the price to be paid will be the concession of Spanish Morocco to Italy and the Canary or Balaeric Islands to Germany. Do you know what this means? It means not merely the coming triumph of Fascism in Britain, but it means war for the Mediterranean, war for the defence of the British Empire. It means the bloodletting of the British people.

By serving the Marchese Rivas de Lingares, by flying from Bouget to Burgos, from Burgos to Lisbon, and from Lisbon to Burgos; by selling the rebels your machine, you have warred on a friendly government, a government whose Ambassador is received at the Court of St. James; and you have prepared the way for war on your country. For if your Fascist friends and employers win in Spain, the stragetic value of Gibraltar is lost to the British Empire, and there must result war for the mastery of the Mediterranean. You have done this not from any motive of idealism but from your lust for comfort and your desire for gold.

You served in the war of 1914-18, in the R.N.A.S. and R.A.F. You have served the king, when Prince of Wales, personally as airman. You wish to rank as a patriot and an upholder of the British Empire. Certainly, you do not wish it to be said, you have brought bloodshed on your race. Yet this is what you have done. You have menaced Europe and you have menaced Britain with war. You have behaved not only as an enemy to Spain, not merely treasonably against a weak but friendly government, but you have menaced your own home land. For money you have acted traitorously, more traitorously than a man who traffics in State secrets.

I acquit you of understanding in the matter. But no one can acquit you of responsibility.

I call for the boycott of your air display in the best interests of mankind. Every worker, every man, woman and child from now on should boycott you. By your own conduct you have excommunicated yourself from the society of right thinking humans. You are an outlaw of greed.

Franco flies Moors across the Mediterranean at the rate of one plane every quarter hour. Their purpose is to murder Spanish Christians and Democrats.

Germany and Italy supplies Franco with planes.

The Spanish people defend democracy with their lives against foreign Fascist bombers and black troops.

You fly across Spain from headquarters to headquarters of the Rebels conveying Franco's henchmen and adding to Franco's planes. You make a mock of the British pretence of neutrality. Your conduct is treason.

Your friends await the fall of Madrid and the collapse of the Workers' Militia in Barcelona.

A friend of Democracy and a foe to Fascism,

I am,

Relentlessly Yours,

GUY A. ALDRED.

Friends who sympathise with this leaflet are asked to get in touch with the publisher, G. Aldred, 145 Queen Street, C.1. Funds are needed urgently in order to carry on this work in defence of Spain against Fascism.

Send your donation to our 2,000 Shilling Fund now.

Issued by Guy A. Aldred on behalf of the United Socialist Movement, 71 Stirling Road, Glasgow, C.4.

IMPERIALISM IN THE ORIENT

BUDDHISM, FASCISM, AND WAR

By SIR W. W. STRICKLAND, Bt., B.A.

[In 1934, Sir Walter Strickland wrote two essays on the subject of Buddhism and War. One was entitled: *Buddhism's Message of Sanity To The Western World.* The other was less friendly to Buddhism and was inspired by opposition to declarations made in favour of Fascism by Japanese Imperialism. We consider the second essay to be the wiser and more useful of the two, as being based on fact, and less dictated by an idealistic regard for metaphysic. We publish this severely critical essay below, and will issue the other essay, in all fairness, later.—Ed.]

"It is all folly."—*Dean Swift.*

"The gift of truth is above all other gifts."—*Buddhist Proverb.*

"I do not believe in labels, and therefore profess myself neither Buddhist nor Freethinker, but in the case of two so kindred cults, any misrepresentation of the one by the other, however slight, is regrettable."—Author, writing from Genoa, September 9, 1920, in the *Freethinker*, October 3, 1920.

Orthodox defenders of Buddhism imprudently, and impudently, maintain that Buddhism was spread in the extreme orient, without provoking conflict: that the teaching of Gautama the Buddha, is without metaphysic, and that its world-concept anticipated the conclusions of modern science.

This claim is far too extreme. It resembles the claims made on behalf of Christianity by orthodox Christian apologists. Buddhist philosophy is far too serene to merit such a degrading comparison.

Most Europeans may be disqualified from grasping the spirit and culture of Buddhism. I claim to have some knowledge of Buddhist culture and tradition. I have some knowledge of classical Chinese, the language into which all the sutras and the important documents were translated. Prominent Chinese, Korean, and Japanese Buddhists have defined Buddhism in Chinese essays.

Like Christianity, the Buddhism that has flourished historically is a mockery of the original teaching and discipleship of Gautama. Buddhism misrepresents Buddha, even as Christianity misrepresents Christ. The Buddhism that spread in the extreme Orient spread by provoking conflicts and promoting reaction everywhere.

In its own Motherland, India, true Buddhism was annihilated completely, and mercilessly by the Brahminists, the conservers of the old reactionary faith of the Hindustani people. Today there is no trace of Buddhism in India. No Buddhist influence is traceable except in Ceylon. There, many of the true Buddhist traditions and ethics survive. From Ceylon, Buddhism addresses its message of sanity to the Western World. That message I would consider before concluding this essay.

In China, Mahayana Buddhism flourished and attained its zenith. It sustained a long continued and bloody strife against Taoism, the popular faith of the Chinese folk. But it never secured a decisive victory. In Japan, Buddhism became almost, the national and official religion. But it provoked one of the most terrible civil wars in history of mankind. It may not be a matter for regret that the civil struggle effected the downfall of many aristocratic clans and passed into oblivion the faith of their ancestors. The facts are sufficient to warrant the statement that the diffusion of the accepted Buddhist faith has been as sanguinary as Christianity and Mohamedanism.

In Japan, when Baron Hayashi was War Minister, the War Office, at Tokyo, published a pamphlet, entitled: "The Principle of the National Defence and Its Intensification." This pamphlet created a great sensation both at home and broad. The opening sentence is a classic declaration of militarism. *"War is the father of every creation and the mother of all civilisations.'*

Such a statement was an ultimatum from the military to the public. It was a way of informing the public that it did not exist as a civilian entity, that it had no real right of thought or conclusion of judgment, either collectively or individual. The military mind views the mass of the people as so much man-power, so much cattle, to live or to die, as the military masters of the world, the priests of the God of war, decide.

Baron Hayashi's pamphlet calls for earnest consideration by the people of Britain and the United States, because it is directed against the English-speaking nations in particular, and because it embodies the dangerous platitude with which all militarists inaugurate wars. The great menace of war-preparation is that it evolves a huge tyranny which makes insecurity inevitable, and through insecurity, commands the complete sacrifice of humanity. One warmonger could persuade the world to a sacrifice of total destruction. His weapons are fear and suspicion, allied to profits, which are sought through fear. War is based on man's sense of insecurity, his fear that he cannot live well long enough. From this fear he dedicates himself to death.

The war extolled by Baron Hayashi was not to be the usual and common war popular with Western civilization. Baron Hayashi possessed an extraordinary capacity for correct thinking, and so was incapable of recognising that there has never been, in the history of the world, a war that was usual and common. Every war in which man has killed his fellow-man, has been a special war, different from all other wars, absolutely uncommon and unusual. Were it not for this illusion, brave men would never fight them, and kind men would never kill their neighbours. If wars were vulgar, they would not be fought. People go to war wearing blinkers placed on them by governments, systems, and financial interests. If they could get rid of the blinkers, they would shy at the wars. The problem of war is the fact that the knave, the fool and the ignoramus make war; the men of thought and feeling are trapped, and know not how to react. Once wars are declared, it is difficult not to participate; for, without battle, reaction might destroy progress. With battle, reaction perpetuates its nightmare of illusion.

Baron Hayashi defined the Japanese concept of usual and common war as practised by the Western democracies. This kind of war brought only:—

> "the merciless slaughter, mutual hatred and incessant conquest and aggression. Such wars are the necessary consequence of government based on might and malicious struggle, which has no chance ever to penetrate into our nation and State, . . . whose mission is to break down and to tame all the malicious struggles and the tyrannies, and to assimiliate them with the gentle forbearance which characterises our life, in order to make the other nations go the broad and smooth road the Empire is following. The responsibility to be borne by the imperial army and navy is to accomplish that mission and nothing other."

Which is sheer military humbug and merely the enunciation of the political platitudes employed by all war mongers, East or West. It is a pity that youth is reared for destruction to serve such unholy nonsense as is expressed by the Japanese War Lord.

Having enunciated his platitudes, and soothed thought to slumber, Baron Hayashi proceeds to his imperial war demands on the body of Japanese youth. For the accomplishment of Japan's *peculiar and unusual mission*, and the execution of its responsibility as a nation guarding the way to world peace, as evidenced by its seizure of Korea and its greedy eyes on China, it is natural to expect the Japanese people to

support national defence, without a murmur, to the full extent of the military demands made upon them. There has to be complete submission to a full exploitation of their every energy and no complaints under threats of prosecution and execution for treason. For this, Japanese Militarism was not to blame. The fault rested with Western Christian civilization. Hayashi explains, pitifully, the sad case of the Japanese Government:—

"Even in peace time, a sharp and fierce war already exists on such lines as those of economics, culture, and thought by all the countries of the world, menacing us to be kicked out to the position of a failure, if we neglect the synthetical control of every energy in our possession for that purpose. . . . The victory and defeat of the war to come is depending solely upon a good or bad organisation of the national defence, to say in another word, a modern war is the war of the organising abilities."

War is the only way! War, forced on poor, innocent, Japanese capitalism! This explains why Japan needs defensive powers disproportionate to her economic capacities—the old jingo alarmist, empire-spreading argument. Japan is surrounded by countries possessed with malicious ambitions and unjust ideas. America maintains and builds a great navy merely to offend and to threaten Japan, and not because Japan threatens the United States. Not because of mutual capitalist fears. The United States maintains a great navy, merely that her Western voice might be heard in the far Eastern problem, and that she might maintain her to-Japan-so-unjust policy of the open door in China, with its equality of chance for Britain and America. The English-speaking domination of the Eastern World!

Japan, said Hayashi, must overcome the Anglo-American desire to overpower her. To do this Japan had to overpower China. Japan needed a sufficiently strong navy to cope with any Power, and any combination of Powers, which threatened to disturb the peace of the Far East. Grandly ignoring China, and its vast population, Japan spoke imperially and declared that the maintenance of peace in the East was the sole responsibility of Japan!

The Japanese Statesman turned from the Western English-speaking maritime powers to Soviet Russia as a military menace.

Russia's gigantic red army, he declared, was organised for the sake of communising and sovietising the world. I cannot conceive of Communism being willed upon a people from above, and I cannot imagine a genuine Soviet system that does not spring from industrial democracy. I cannot vision armies menacing the world into Freedom, and my faith in Soviet Russia as an International agency of the proletarian revolution has been shocked by reality. Soviet Russia is just a national dictatorial power that has arisen out of post-war chaos. To my mind, its diplomacy is more dangerous and insidious than its militarism. Recognition of this commonplace would not aid the military schemes that ferment in the power-diseased brain of the honourable Baron Hayashi. He paints her as a menacing military power that he might impose capitalist-militarism on the proletariat of Japan. He concludes from Russia's scheming, that Japan needs a strong army to defeat Russia's malicious designs in the Orient!

Having paralysed the Japanese reader with fear, Hayashi piles on the agony by discovering an Eastern enemy. China's treacherous moves must be watched constantly. Japan must develop her espionage service. China adopts against Japan her traditional policy of cunning, the policy of allying herself with the remoter Western democracies to crush her Eastern and nearer neighbour. China wilfully and maliciously misunderstands Japan's sincere and disinterested will to ensure peace in the Far East. China's policy is one of disentegration and decadence for the Orient. So says Japan, whilst abandoning all the traditions of Eastern culture and fashioning her Empire building on Western standards.

Hayashi builds up the case for Japan as the land of liberty! She is to deliver the coloured races from the tyrannical yoke of the white races. Holland, Britain, and America must go. Their trade must leave the Orient. Japanese goods must replace Western goods. Liberty—and Trade! But especially trade! What a splendid slogan for war and sacrifice! The slogan of security through arms!

The pamphlet indicts and challenges the British and Dutch peoples on the ground of morality, and asserts:—

"If the British and Dutch Imperialists continue their unjust and immoral struggles to the last, it would become in certain circumstances inevitable for us to rise with arms in hand against injustices and for justice."

How simple! Just like that! Japan is to invade China and seize the Dutch East Indies and make Pacific warfare on the United States, after having martyred Japanese Socialists and Anarchists and Anti-Militarists, for justice and freedom and morality!

Hayashi falls back upon Buddhist phraseology to prove that Japan's aim is one of Altruism. He uses the word "Mahayana," which means Altruistic, and declares:—

"Our force of arms is a Mahayana sword, to be drawn only for Justice and against injustice; and has nothing to do with the Hina-Yana (egotistic) sabres of the other countries, which are founded upon the tyrannical rules and the principle of the dominance of the strongest over the weakest."

I do not say that the rule of the West is not that of the Hinayana sabre. In my *Black Spot in the East*, I have stressed this fact. In my travels, time and again, I have recounted evidence of the fact. But I will not accuse the West in order to placate falsely the Westernised East. It may sound strange to those who read Baron Hayashi seriously, but it is none the less true, as everyone who has visited and lived in Japan *really* must know that the social conditions prevailing in this unique Mahayana land of the rising sun are atrocious and abound in injustice.

(To be concluded.)

WAR: EQUAL MIX-UPS

The *Glasgow Evening News*, in its issue for June 8 last, devotes two paragraphs of its "Round The Town" feature to C.O.s and the Peace question. The first paragraph is headed "C.O.'s FRIEND," and eulogises Tom Kerr, who was a "conchie" in the great war, and identifies himself with the "conchie" of to-day. It says:

"A Glasgow Bailie who has appeared more than once at Conscientious Objection Tribunals as the 'friend' of young men appearing before the bench is Tom Kerr.

"Lean-faced and spectacled, with a humorous twinkle in his eyes and a smile playing round the corners of a grim mouth, Bailie Kerr is one of the most intellectual-looking men in the City Chambers.

"In debates, he scores with sarcasm. His pronouncements from the Magistrates' Bench in the past have gained him headlines.

"Now he finds himself in a different position. He is speaking for the 'man in the dock.'

"Bailie Kerr is a wiry, athletic type, fond of long hikes and cycle runs.

"He also conducts a Socialist Choir, and is generally a great enthusiast for the arts."

This description is worth while preserving as a cameo of Glasgow civic life.

The paragraph immediately following is headed "PEACE MIX UP," and comes to grips, without mentioning the paper, with *The Word* and its editor thus:—

"Pacifism makes strange bed-fellows. In one and the same issue of a newspaper in which he gives conscientious objectors the news (and hints) about appearing before Tribunals, the Glasgow Anarchist, Guy Aldred, compliments a Roman Catholic 'conchie' on his stand, and congratulates the Protestant leader, Alexander Ratcliffe, for espousing the pacifist cause.

"Aldred himself is the author of several books which 'expose' the 'superstitions' of both Catholics and Protestants.

"Ratcliffe is noted for his outspoken attacks on the Papacy. He has organised several demonstrations in the city against what he thinks are wrong religious tendencies.

"Recently he has attacked Lord Provost Dollan for 'inconsistency.'

"'Pat" didn't approve of the last war, but heartily supports the nation in this one."

Pacifism makes no stranger bed-fellow than war-time patriotism. Witness the present Cabinet and Dollan's present associates. The *Evening News* objects to our eulogy of Boyle, for being a Catholic objector, and of Ratcliffe, for being a Protestant opponent of war. This might make argument if the apologists for war did not include Catholics, Protestants, Jews, Atheists, Tories, Liberals, and Socialists. Since this common alliance against Fascism does not cause our contemporary to make comment, why should a common alliance against war itself excite comment?

We praise Philip Boyle because he is loyal to his ideal, and brave, modest, unassuming. We praise Ratcliffe because his pen is fearless. Is that wrong?

The charge against Dollan is not his inconsistency, but the fact that, if the conchie is a coward, he avoided the draft as a conchie when he was of military age, and now that he is over military age he is photographed in the centre of troops, and is all for militarism. In due course, he will receive a title. This looks very much like having the best of both ages. In the House of Commons references are made to present-day C.O.'s with contempt, whereas his name is mentioned in war connections, with respect. It is a strange situation and surely warrants comment. At least, it is a militarist mix-up that equals any pacifist mix-up.

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M. P.s' HONOUR

EVACUATION AND EXIT PERMITS

From the House of Commons' Official Report, Oral Answers, for Thursday, July 11 last, we excerpt the following item :—

EXIT PERMITS (MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT).

38. Mrs. Tate asked the Home Secretary the names of Members of the House of Commons to whom exit permits have been granted within the last three months; and for what Government missions such permits were granted?

Sir J. Anderson—It is not possible to ascertain from the records of the Permit Office without undue labour what cases may have been dealt with in the last three months; but if, as I understand, my hon. Friend has in mind the cases of the hon. Members for St. Marylebone (Captain Cunningham-Reid), Blackpool (Mr. Roland Robinson), and Chatham (Captain Plugge), I may say that the hon. Member for St. Marylebone was granted an exit permit at the request of the Children's Overseas Reception Board, and the other two hon. Members were granted permits for business purposes.

Mrs. Tate—Does my right. hon. Friend consider that it is a suitable selection on the part of the Children's Overseas Reception Board to choose as their representative a Member of this House whose Division record is under 5 per cent., whose association has passed a vote of censure upon him, and who also happens to be on the Reserve of Officers, and with regard to the other two Members, was their business of a national character?

This report does not show that Mrs. Tate was shouted down for raising this intriguing question of vital importance. According to the *Sunday Dispatch*, for July 14, this is what happened :—

" 'With regard to the other two members,' continued Mrs. Tate . . . But at this point a number of shocked M.P.s, feeling apparently that it was more important to guard the reputations of fellow-members than thrash out in the open a situation that has caused uneasiness among the public, shouted 'Order, order,' and were successful in stifling Mrs. Tate's further criticisms."

The *Sunday Dispatch* denounces those alarmed M.P.'s as "opponents of Free Speech and as enemies of democracy." Our contemporary adds :—

"Mrs. Tate's questions and criticisms were of great importance, and they should not be smothered by the shouts of Parliamentary Yes-men, who were elected to guard the country's interests and preserve the liberties of free speech."

Mrs. Tate informed the *Dispatch* that, if she had been allowed to finish her supplementary question, she would have said :—

"If members apply for an exit permit except for Government business they should be forced to apply for the Chiltern Hundreds, for they in no wise represent the people.

"Moreover, unless they return to their country in its hour of need they should be called upon to forfeit their nationality."

Mrs. Tate supports this statement in a powerful article, in which she denounces the way in which parliamentary candidates buy their way into their seats, and concludes: *"We cannot afford bad politicians over here."*

Is it not equally wrong that the children of Ministers should be evacuated, whilst the children of the poor remain behind? We wish harm to no children. But we would think that it ought to be a point of honour for the children of those in office to be evacuated last.

The *Sunday Express* for July 14, beneath a big heading, informs us :—

"Among British children evacuees reaching New York yesterday in the United States liner George Washington was the son of Mr. Duff Cooper, Minister of Information, says British United Press.

"Asked if he thought Britain would win the war, the boy replied: 'I am convinced she most absolutely will.'

"Other children in the ship were Jeremy, the 14-year-old son of Mr. Ronald Tree, M.P., Parliamentary Private Secretary to Mr. Duff Cooper. Viscount Bayham, a grandson of the Marquess of Camden, and the two daughters of Lord Louis Montbatten."

It is a difficult problem, and we can understand family affection; but if Mr. Duff Cooper felt like this about his son, and his parliamentary secretary felt like that also about his son, then both ought to have resigned their positions. To our mind that is the path of strict and simple honour. *The children of the unfortunate should come before the children of the fortunate.*

PHILIP BOYLE

PHILIP BOYLE

Philip Boyle was court-martialled for the second time at Maryhill Barracks on Monday, July 15. He was defended by Mr. Gordon Stott, the Edinburgh Advocate and member of the Labour Party. In Parliament, James Maxton and Campbell Stephen have worked hard to make the War Office realise that Boyle is completely genuine. The following question will have been asked (on Tuesday, July 16) by Campbell Stephen before this paper appears in print :—

"109. Mr. Stephen—To ask the Secretary of State for War if he is aware that complaints were made to the War Office regarding the treatment at Maryhill Barracks, Glasgow, of a conscientious objector, Mr. Philip Boyle, 246 Todd Street, Glasgow, who complains that he was forcibly dressed in a military uniform and was assaulted in his cell by military police, and was afterwards sentenced to 28 days' imprisonment for refusal to obey orders; and whether he will have enquiry made into the charges of assault committed against this young man, and take steps to have this case for exemption as a conscientious objector to military service re-submitted to a tribunal for consideration."

This question was asked. We reproduce the reply and supplementary questions :—

Mr. Eden: This man's claim as a conscientious objector was, I understand, dismissed by both the local and appellate tribunals. Nevertheless, he failed to report for military duty and had to be arrested by the civil police. On arrival at his unit, he refused to put on uniform, and was subsequently tried by court-martial for refusing to obey an order. He was sentenced to 112 days' detention of which 84 days were remitted. A court of inquiry has been held to investigate the complaints that have been made, and the evidence is that no force was used and no injury inflicted, and that the soldier made no complaint. His father was given the opportunity of calling witnesses of the alleged assault, but did not do so. Section 13 of the National Service (Armed Forces) Act, 1939, defines the circumstances in which this man could apply to have his case re-submitted to the appellate tribunal.

Mr. Stephen: Can the right hon. Gentleman say when the inquiry was held?

Mr. Eden: I cannot without notice, but my hon. Friend the Financial Secretary, at my special request, went carefully through all the evidence, and that is the information given to me.

Mr. Stephen: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that I have a letter from the father and a letter from one of the other prisoners stating that they were willing to give evidence?

Mr. Eden: If the hon. Gentleman has letters of that kind, I should be very glad to see them.

Mr. Maxton: Is the Minister aware that this matter is common knowledge in Glasgow and that the facts are accepted by a large section of the community? Is he further aware that the Glasgow Trades Council has specifically protested against this case, which is the only conscientious objector case about which they have felt it necessary to protest, and will he have these things in mind when he is looking into the matter?

Mr. Eden. It is precisely because of that that the inquiry was held. I was very anxious that the matter should be cleared up, but if there is any fresh evidence, I shall, of course, be glad to consider it.

We saw Boyle at Maryhill Barracks and was in constant daily touch with his father. There is no doubt that he was treated badly. We do not believe that either the officer commanding or the adjutant were responsible directly for such treatment. When Mr. Boyle asked for his son to be allowed to resume civvies, the adjutant agreed instantly.

Boyle was sentenced to 98 days' imprisonment, without hard labour, in Barlinnie (Civil) Prison by his Second Court Martial. The adjutant has reported the sentence to the War Office. Boyle will be taken from Barlinnie to have his case heard the Appellate Tribunal at Edinburgh.

ESSAYS IN REVOLT.

Guy Aldred's nine pamphlets in "The Word" Library have been collected and bound in one volume under the title *"Essays In Revolt."* The volumes are limited to a small number. Cloth binding, red, gold-lettered. Price 7/6. Post Free, 8/3.

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OUR LETTER-BOX

Dear Mr. Aldred,—I shall be glad to have a copy of the July WORD this week.

Judging by the number of arrests in Hyde Park it would appear that freedom of speech is over pro tem excepting for those who have nothing to say of any consequence whatever.

Yours faithfullly,
JOHN D. SMYTH.

London, S.W.1., July 10.

Dear Sir,—Will you kindly send me Guy Aldred's booklets, as per list, for which I enclose postal order? Please give the author every good wish from far away New Zealand, from a member of his own open air group upon Clapham Common, London, away back in 1914-15. Well do I remember his battles with Galloway, the little man in the top hat—a bootmaker or shop-owner, I am not sure which.

Anyway, a warm well-wish to G. A., and thanks in anticipation for the literature. We do need such literature here in New Zealand.

Yours sincerely,
JAMES B. TURNER.

Dunedin, N.E.1., N.Z.

Dear Guy,—Have just come across THE WORD. I must say that it is the goods and the real Aldred. You may remember me at Dyce in 1916, but I knew you long before that. It is a treat to know that you are active still. To read your tit-bits in THE WORD is to enjoy a breath of pure air in these days of insanity. Carry on, comrade, and may good luck attend you. Thank heaven that there are a few of us who can hold fast to Socialism. All the best, Guy! Fraternal Greetings.

BERT BREWER.

Northwood, Mdx., 8/7/40.

Dear Friends,—I have enjoyed and appreciated the writings of Guy A. Aldred, and wish to maintain contact with all such efforts to keep alive the spirit of reason and humanity in the present Dark Age.

Yours,
GEORGE WILLIAMS.

Manchester, 15/7/40.

Dear Comrade,—I remember you as a C.O. in the last war, though I did not meet you "inside" when I graduated at Scrubs and Pentonville. Still earlier, I remember that in 1904, when I was living at the Browning Settlement, Walworth, I went one evening to a meeting of the South London Ethical Society at which, sponsored by Harry Snell, you appeared as a recent convert. Recently I have been in contact with your son, Annesley Aldred, in connection with the present C.O. movement, in which I am assisting, as treasurer of the Hornsey Joint Advisory Bureau, and in other ways locally.

With all good wishes, yours sincerely,
CECIL E. CALFORD.

London, N.10, July 10, 1940.

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A cross at this paragraph means that your subscription has expired. Or we may have been sending you the paper free, feeling that you were interested. This paper is produced at a loss and we have had to reduce the amount printed each month to preserve the size and quality of the paper. If you like the paper and cannot afford to pay, we will send it still meantime. But we would like a word from you anyway. The annual subscription, owing to postal changes, is now 3s. 0d. Send to *The Word*, 104 George Street, Glasgow, C.1.

Sir Arnold Wilson, M.P., mentioned in the first article, is presumed to have died in action. He repented his Mussolini and Hitler worship and decided that Fascism had to be fought to a finish. He refused, in his own words, *"to shelter behind* the ramparts of the bodies of millions of young men." At the age of 55, he qualified for air-gunner. He never returned from a flight over "enemy territory" made early in June.

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CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS

The question of conscientious objectors has been discussed in "Letters to the Editor" in papers published in every part of the British Empire. Many of these are anonymous. Most of them bitterly criticise and denounce the "conchie" for being a coward. Some see the other side of the story. We select mainly the defence apologies, because that side is not considered so well.

The *Sydney Morning Herald* is the leading newspaper in Australia in prestige. The following letter appeared in its columns for April 9 :—

Sir,—At the sixth annual country convention of the U.A.P., a motion recommending that no exemption from military training be given to "so-called conscientious objectors" was carried without debate. One wonders what is the logical outcome of the trend of mind shown here. A significant implication is most obvious in the use of the words "so-called." Does the U.A.P. consider there are no genuine objectors? Does this party think conscience is dead? Of course, there are those who seek a refuge for their cowardice by playing the role of "conscientious objectors," but even "patriotism" can be the refuge of cowards. Let us credit other people with honesty, even if their views differ violently from ours.

If we are to be caught up in this "totalitarian" tendency and individuals are to be deprived of their rights as such, then we must ask, what are we fighting for? We tell ourselves we are fighting against Nazism for the preservation of democracy. What is democracy? Does it not place foremost the rights of the individual as a member of the community, and hold religious convictions sacred?

Yours, etc.,
B. C. ARCHBOLD.

Glen Innes, April 6.

The *Midland Daily Telegraph* is the only paper published daily in Coventry. A Miss Sheringham suggested that conscientious objectors were unwilling to combat the disease called "Hitlerism." The appended letter was published in the *Telegraph* for May 27 :—

Sir,—Miss Sheringham draws a parallel between combatting fire or disease and war, but a very little thought will reveal the weakness in this analogy. A doctor does not kill the victims of disease in an epidemic, but attacks the disease itself which is causing the suffering.

Miss Sheringham has surely stated a very good case for "C.O's." War, the cause of wars, is the disease they are fighting for the good of mankind.—

Yours faithfully,
EILEEN DAVY.

5 The Riddings, Coventry.

From the *Bolton Evening News*, May 25 :—

Sir,—The greatest glory of the English Constitution is its respect for individual conscience: and the elasticity of the English system has reaped its reward in, for instance, the opportunity to use Mr. Herbert Morrison's genius for organization as Minister of Supply in 1940. The rigid regime of Russia, Germany and France would have blotted him out when he was making pacifist speeches exactly like those of the conscientious objector of to-day.

Mr. Morison's sincerity was not then, nor is it to-day, in question. And surely, in a democratic country, the respect accorded the opinions of our legislators should be extended to the opinions of those for whom they legislate. Hence the Tribunals. —Yours, etc.,

SAMUEL WALSH.

16 Mornington-rd., Bolton.

From the same paper, but date lost :—

Sir,—Critics of conscientious objectors do not seem to realize that pacifists are as passionately devoted as they are themselves to the ideals of freedom, democracy and justice. They only differ in that they do not believe that these good things can be created or defended by evil means (for surely only a Hitler or Mussolini would deny that war is evil). . .

If the constructive ideas of pacifists and similar people had been put into practice before the war, this war might never have happened, so you cannot blame them for refusing to help in this ghastly work of destruction. Or, at least, let us put our much-vaunted ideals that we are fighting for abroad into practice at home by allowing them the right to express their opinions without abuse and misrepresentation.—Yours, etc.,

E. M. CRITCHLEY.

24 Berne-av., Horwich.

From the *News Chronicle*, London, May 30 :—

It is often urged by those who are not conscientious objectors that C.O.s should not be paid more than a soldier's wages. This is good as far as it goes, and I am sure no true C.O. will object. But it is unfair that those who are in reserved occupations should be permitted to continue their work at normal and in many cases increased rates of pay.—

H. F. TAYLOR.

Surrey.

From the *Bristol Evening World*, May 31 :—

Conscientious objectors are for the most part those who have a sincere and deep objection to war as a policy, and who have held these long before hostilities began. Their sincerity is judged by Tribunals; the judges are men of integrity and insight.

Conscientious objectors who have been given exemption are willing to be imprisoned or even shot for their convictions, rather than take part in war; but they are also willing to do any work which their conscience will allow them, and this work is for the most part essential to the country.

To "make it as uncomfortable for them as possible" is to forget that it is freedom of thought and speech that Britain is fighting for, and for which she is honoured—the right of individuals to their own convictions, whether they are the same as our own or not. Intolerance and persecution are part of the regime we stand against.

MARGARET BONHAM.

Cotham.

From the *Nottingham Evening News*, May 23. It is unfortunate that the letter is anonymous :—

GETTING EXEMPTION.

A good deal has been said about conscientious objectors. These young men do at least come into the open and say they are unwilling to fight. Yet the Government is allowing boys who have served seven years' apprenticeship in armament works to be taken and trained to fight and at the same time is sending fit young men into training centres to fill their places after being at the trade for only a few weeks. A number of the young men have gone into these centres with the sole object of getting exemption from the armed forces.

PATRIOTIC.

Nottingham.

The *Oxford Times* is read in nearly every house in Oxfordshire. It has devoted tremendous space to the discussion of conscientious objectors, especially from the pen of Councillor Yeatman, who attacks C.O.s bitterly. From the issue of May 24, we select a letter that proves that C.O.s are not cowards :—

Sir,—May I inform Councillor Yeatmen that I volunteered for and served in H.M. Forces for four years during the last war, and at the end of that time I resolved never to participate in or support another war. During the passage of time nothing has happened to shake my resolve, and the carnage and slaughter now taking place only deepens my conviction that war is an utterly futile way of settling international disputes.—I am, etc.

P. M. GILLIANS.

Bletchingdon, Oxford. May 19, 1940.

The *Cambridgeshire Times* has published tremendous correspondence on the C.O. question. We select these letters from the issue for May 10 :—

Sir,—Your correspondents seem to have overlooked the fact that teaching is a reserved occupation and that were the C.O. teachers to lie low they would most probably escape this attempt at ostracism. All credit is due to them for the fact that they have come out openly and fearlessly with their convictions. . . .—Yours, etc.,

LEONARD BUSH.

13 St. Mark's-street, Peterborough,
May 4, 1940.

Sir,—I have always been loth to enter the arena of newspaper controversy. But, faced with the correspondence and agitation of the last few weeks, which has, I understand, culminated in the decision of the Education Committee to dismiss conscientious objectors, I feel that my rule must be broken. . . .

There are certain important issues raised by the recent decision which call for the careful consideration of all members of a democratic community.

In the first place, the decision of a legally constituted Tribunal has been over-ruled and repudiated. The Tribunal, charged with proving the sincerity of the objector, registered these men as conscientious objectors, providing that they continued their work of teaching. The refusal of a responsible public authority to abide by that decision is in my judgment a serious challenge to its authority and to the authority and express wish of the Government responsible for its appointment. The action is really a veiled request for dictatorship of conscience similar to that existing in the totalitarian states.

Secondly, has the Committee given any thought to the future of the men concerned? Surely it is better for them to be engaged in useful work for which they are specially equipped rather than to waste their lives in unemployment.

Thirdly, if one of the reasons given for the dismissal is the harmful effect their teaching may have upon the children, what of those who hold similar views but are protected by their reserved age? . . .

I have no desire to minimise the sacrifices of those who have willingly responded to the call for service, sacrifices affecting both the combatants and their friends, but I am concerned that the rights of conscience, when considered sincere by a responsible Tribunal, should be upheld by others. This is our duty as members of a country which has always upheld the right to freedom of opinion.

Yours, etc.,
LESLIE A. STRINGER.

16 Ash-grove, March, May 8, 1940.

The *Torquay Times*, May 10, published a lengthy letter, under the heading "NO WAR WITH REAL C.O.s." The essence of the letter reads :—

I have long wondered why a minister of the Gospel did not make a contribution on the subject, so I was very pleased to see the letter from the Rev. A. Cutts in your issue of the 26th ult. I would like to say I support his plea for a little less criticism on your part of the *genuine* C.O. I admit that many so-called C.O.s need indeed to be exposed for their professions of belief are ridiculous. There are, however, some *real* C.O.s, and while quite allowing that they *should* be required to do *something*, I would like to say that I think they should be treated with tolerance and even respect, for they are only standing up for their faith.

If there were more *real* C.O.s in England and elsewhere, the world would not be at war. In case anyone should misunderstand me, let me say I am *not* a "political pacifist" or a "Stop the War" crank; I am sure that as a nation we were bound to go to war.

My definition of a *real* C.O. is a human being who, having been born again by the Spirit of God, cannot for a second contemplate causing the death of any other human soul for whom the Lord Jesus Christ went to Calvary.

(Miss) MAMIE L. WANLESS.

Detling, 42 Quinta Road, Torquay.

The Northamptonshire *Evening Telegraph* for June 1 published the following letter :—

BUSMAN C.O. SAYS HE WAS GIVEN NOTICE.

Sir,—I should esteem it a favour if you would print this letter concerning a paragraph under the heading "Left," in last Saturday's *Evening Telegraph*, in which it was stated that an employee at the Kettering depot of the United Counties Omnibus Co., who was a conscientious objector, had left the employment of the company and that no pressure was brought to bear on him. I, the undersigned, was the person referred to, and I wish to say that the only pressure brought to bear on me was that I was given notice to leave and that notice expired on the 28th May, 1940.

F. CHEETHAM.

Desborough.

The following letter from the Bishop of Nottingham was published in the *Nottingham Guardian*, on Tuesday, June 25 :—

Sir,—I have recently been away from Nottingham owing to indisposition. Hence my ignorance as to how matters exactly stand in regard to the reported decision of the City Council that all conscientious objectors are to be dismissed from the Council's employment. If the report is true, I wish to raise my voice in protest. Such action seems to me to mean that we are being infected by the very spirit of intolerance and persecution against which we are fighting.—I am, sir, &c.,

NEVILLE S. TALBOT, Bishop.

Nottingham, June 24th.

The Bishop's protest was endorsed in two letters published in the *Northampton Guardian* on June 29 :—

Sir,—May I say how glad many people are that Bishop Talbot has protested against the reported decision of the Nottingham City Council to dismiss all conscientious objectors. Surely Mr. Neville Chamberlain did not intend that conscientious objectors should be hounded out of their jobs and persecuted for their convictions. After a man has had the courage to face a Tribunal and has been declared genuine, that decision should be allowed to stand. No newly-formed bunch of local dictators should be allowed to make such a travesty of justice.—I am, sir, &c.,

CONSTANCE BARRITT.

Nottingham, June 28.

Sir,—I too, in common with Bishop Talbot, wish to raise my voice in protest in regard to the reported decision of the City Council that all conscientious objectors are to be dismissed from the Council's employment. It is said that imitation is the sincerest form of flattery. It seems to me that we are in danger of imitating some of the methods of the Totalitarian States.—I am, sir, &c.,

ROSE E. FISK.

DOGMAS DISCARDED.

These two pamphlets are published at 4d. (Part I.) and 6d. (Part II.). They deal with the author's schooldays and the evolution of his thought down to 1908, when he became an Anarchist and an Anti-Parliamentarian. The two will be sent, post free, for 1/-.

BACK FROM THE JAWS

WHEN THE HEROES RETURN—WHAT?

Accommodation & Reception, London Railway Termini

House of Commons Debate Reveal a Public Scandal That Demands Immediate Remedy

Leading articles in the capitalist press have denounced the conchie and applauded Tommy Atkins. We have been told of the rights of the soldier. Meanwhile, the soldier, according to the facts now made known in a House of Commons debate, has been denied even decent human consideration after reaching London from the horrors of France. We indict this treatment. We indict the capitalist press that upholds the system under which the soldier has been victimised as a pauper and a vagrant after returning from the jaws of death and from a nerve-wrecking sojourn in hell. *We claim that these men should have received preferential treatment under the conditions, above every civilian.* Let M.P.'s tell the actual story of what happened to the heroes of B.E.F. when they reached Blighty. End the abuse of the conchie and concentrate on the common rights of humanity.

It is a grave pity that every worker does not read Hansard. This is very true of the issue for Wednesday, June 26. We ask our readers to consult the Official Report, House of Commons, for this date, in their library, or to obtain a copy from His Majesty's Stationery Office, at one of their five addresses in the United Kingdom. Read fully columns 535 to 566 inclusive, and then consider how the capitalist order welcomes back to Blighty the heroes of Dunkirk and of the second French evacuation.

At 7.50 p.m. Mr. W. W. Boulton, Sheffield, Central, moved: "*That this house do now adjourn.*" On this motion, Mr. Robertson (Streatham) initiated the discussion on Accommodation, London Railway Termini. We want our readers to follow the exposure as it was revealed in the course of M.P.'s speeches.

Mr. Robertson (Streatham)—Yesterday I asked my right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for War the following Question:

> "Whether he is satisfied with the welfare arrangements for soldiers in Euston, King's Cross, St. Pancras and Liverpool Street stations?"

My hon. Friend the Financial Secretary to the War Office replied:

> "Adequate provision of rest rooms, washing and lavatory facilities and food canteens at King's Cross station will be available almost immediately. At Euston, St. Pancras and Liverpool Street stations progress is necessarily slow owing to the congested nature of the stations, but accommodation is available in the neighbourhood and efforts are being made to improve accommodation in the stations themselves." [OFFICIAL REPORT, 25th June, 1940; col. 285, Vol. 362.]

After 10 months of war I regret that I am unable to accept that answer as satisfactory. In addition to the interest which all hon. Members take in the welfare of our troops I have a special interest, because I have the honour to represent the Association of Scottish Societies, 92 in number, who requested me to look into the conditions at the northern stations particularly. To my very great regret I found that there is a total lack of rest accommodation for the thousands of soldiers, sailors and airmen who pass through those great stations by day and by night, and that catering facilities are either absent or hopelessly inadequate. I found that if a soldier wishes to wash himself he has to pay 3d.—if he can get a basin to wash himself in—and that if he wishes to shave himself while washing he is taxed another 4d. for that. If he wishes to use the W.C. he pays a penny. I take the view that the emoluments of a fighting man are inadequate to meet those imposts, which may be quite satisfactory for the civilian population.

I tried to get this matter adjusted without raising it on the Floor of the House. I did not rush in to put down a Question, I spent a month with the Ministers concerned attempting to get things put right, and I am sorry to say that I am still just about where I was when I started. I want to make it clear that this matter affects every hon. Member. Every constituency is represented at those great stations every day. It has been a distressing thing to me to see men lying on trolleys by night, and to hear from Metropolitan policemen, military policemen, railway transport officers and voluntary workers connected with the Y.M.C.A., the Salvation Army and the Church Army of the conditions that prevail, in those stations—for instance of 70 men lying on the linoleum on the floor of the waiting room at King's Cross. Men arrive at 2 o'clock or thereabouts in the morning, and because there is no accommodation available for them they have to try to sleep under those miserable conditions until such time as the morning trains to their destinations start running.

My attention was directed to this matter by officials at the stations who learned that I was interested in the welfare of the troops and hoped that I could do something. To particularise. Take Euston Station. There there is no rest-room accommodation at all for the troops. There is a small canteen operated by the Y.M.C.A. at the extremity of the station. Frequently the entrance to it is cluttered up with mail bags, and in the darkness it must be exceedingly difficult for any soldier or sailor to find it, and I am amazed that they do find it. At King's Cross conditions are similar. My hon. Friend the Financial Secretary to the War Office, when I spoke to him about the matter, was good enough to take steps to try to meet the needs of the case. He did not get the room which was required but he did get another one, and I, through the associations with which I am connected, found a considerable part of the money to have it fitted with shower-baths, washhand basins, wire beds in tiers where men could rest by day or night and easy chairs in which those who had only an hour or two to wait could sit.

In this connection I wish to make it clear that a trooper is in quite a different position from a civilian. We are masters of our own destiny. We can catch trains to suit our convenience. We can go to the station 15 or 20 minutes before time, or one minute before, and catch the train. We do not need the same facilities as soldiers and sailors, but the railway companies do acknowledge that facilities are required, and provide for the civilians waiting-room accommodation and some catering accommodation. My hon. Friend got a room for us, and I met the Salvation Army authorities and the builders, and we hoped to get to work immediately; but we found we were tenants for a day. The building belonged to the Post Office, or was built for the Post Office, and even though we had spent £500 on it, as we contemplated, it might still have been taken away from us. I submit that my hon. Friend was fobbed off by the railway companies. They gave him not the permanent accommodation which they could have given, but something which they probably knew the Post Office would demand within a day or two.

At St. Pancras Station there is no accommodation at all on the station. Here, again, troops sleep on the floor of a small waiting-room. There is a little hut outside the station, but all that the soldier arriving is confronted with as he marches out of the station are announcements, in letters two feet high, "Cafe Bar." To his left front and to his right front he sees them, but there is nothing to tell him that there is a little Salvation Army hut where he can get food at cost price and within the limits of his meagre resources. The result is that the soldiers go into the more expensive places, whose prices they can ill afford. I found also on farther investigation that the welfare organisations—the Y.M.C.A. at Euston and at Liverpool Street, the Salvation Army at King's Cross and St. Pancras, and the Church Army at Paddington—had for months been trying to put their case before the railway companies and the Welfare Department of the War Office, but without success. They have been thwarted, frustrated, obstructed, and nothing has happened. To show that I am not exaggerating, which is the last thing I wish to do, I should like to read this letter from the Metropolitan Secretary of the National Council of Young Men's Christian Associations. It is dated 10th June and refers to Liverpool Street Station:

> "The use of this station by troops during the night has steadily increased over the last few months, and our canteen, which is open day and night, has often been filled with men who have to wait from four to six hours for a train. Some weeks ago the position reached a climax when our workers counted 40 men sleeping on the platforms and trolleys, in addition to those who packed the floor of our canteen. We applied for the use of a room and were given one of the empty offices. We placed mattresses and blankets therein for 25 men and employed a man to look after the place. To our great surprise we received an official communication from the railway company stating that they proposed to charge us £65 per annum for the use of this room. We have not, of course, agreed to this."

I have inspected that room. It is a kind of "Black Hole of Culcutta." There is room for about 15 men to sleep on the floor, on palliasses. The atmosphere is appalling. There is no proper ventilation, in fact, the ventilation is so bad that the paid caretaker has had to give up the job. Many soldiers have felt so suffocated in that room that they have gone out on to the platforms in the hot weather and walked about rather than lie in that room. I submit that by such arrangements we are paying only lip-service to the problem and not dealing with it as it should be dealt with. Here is another letter from a police constable, whose name I will not give, referring to King's Cross:

> "Catering arrangements appear to be very satisfactory, but many more beds such as those already available are very urgently needed. For the past two weeks about 250 troops have been on the station every night between midnight and 5.30 a.m. This means that a large number of troops still hang about the platforms for several hours and sleep in the waiting rooms. One can imagine the appalling conditions that would be prevailing but for your timely intervention."

That is at King's Cross, where there are very primitive and temporary arrangements pending the spending of £500 upon more adequate accommodation. I find that there is a welfare department at the War Office, presided over by a director who was recently a Member of this House, but has been ennobled. Here is a pamphlet published by him. It is headed:

"A Problem of the New Army."

What I have told you, Mr. Speaker, is not a problem but a necessity. The pamphlet begins, "New welfare scheme," and goes on with another chapter about the menace of boredom. I am speaking about the boredom of the man who cannot get a wash. The pamphlet goes on to describe "What welfare means in practice." At the end, there is an advisory council of 100 names. That council has been called together once, I believe, to hear a report from the director of what the voluntary organisations had done. The voluntary organisations—that is the Salvation Army, the Church Army, and the Y.M.C.A.—were called together to be told what they had done. My belief is that the welfare has been talked about and not done, and I have no other belief.

Now for the railway companies. They have some responsibility. These soldiers, sailors and airmen have all been paid for by the State, and I feel that the railway companies cannot shuffle off their responsibilities in this matter, as they have undoubtedly done at King's Cross, to places outside the station and not within the station

(*Continued, Column* 3, *Page* 12.)

MOSLEY IN BRIXTON

His Imprisonment Described

By MATT KAVANAGH

[* Our old comrade, Matt Kavanagh, who has been active against Capitalism and Fascism for so many years in various parts of England, was arrested in June. Below he describes his experiences and gives his impression of the Fascist menace.—Ed.]

Comrades have read, no doubt, of my little adventure with the authorities. They wish to hear my account of what happened—the story of an anarchist interned among the Fascists. This is a story that upsets many of our usual conceptions of the class struggle and how it operates. For the Anarchist was released, his poverty notwithstanding; and the Fascists are interned still, despite their wealth. And yet Capitalism continues!

I was arrested on a warrant issued by the Home Office. I was described as a person holding views hostile to the State. I could make no answer to this charge from one point-of-view, for I am guilty, most certainly, of holding such views. For over 40 years I have not believed in the State. This means, also, that I do not believe in Fascism, which is the most absolute and most complete expression of Statism and Authority. I do not believe in Capitalist Democracy because it too often betrays democracy in the interests of capitalism and militarism. But I certainly believe in democracy and I am definitely opposed to Fascism. Have I not been opposed to Hitler and Mussolini all the time that the democratic statesmen and politicians were paying tributes to these gangsters in authority?

I was detained, with 3 Socialist comrades and 6 local Fascists, for 12 hours in the Police Station. We were conveyed in an army wagon, under a military escort, to Chelmsford Prison. This place impressed me as being the last word in organised Sadism, and I consider that an enquiry should be demanded by Maxton and others into the methods of provocation and of bullying employed by the officials. After all, no matter what charges might be advanced against us, none had been made. We were even less than untried prisoners and we were entitled to be treated as citizens, and to receive the rights that belong to people who are innocent of crime. That is the first principle of democracy; and if these paid prison officials do not understand this elemental truth, someone in authority should instruct them. In a democracy, innocent men have no right to be bullied, and even guilty ones should be treated with understanding and according to rules of justice and decency. Chelmsford Prison should be overhauled.

After a night and a day at Chelmsford, we were taken to Brixton Prison. Here we were treated decently and allowed to enjoy all the privileges accorded to political prisoners. Conditions in Brixton are as good as they can be in prison to-day.

There are 250 Fascists, I believe, in Brixton, such as Mosley and his general staff. I do not know how much outside influence they possess. It is true they are not charged with any specific offence, but I think that there can be no doubt as to their general attitude. If we put aside the vital issue of Socialism against Capitalism, and view this war as a struggle against Fascism, then Mosley and his supporters cannot complain justly against their internment. Since my experience in Brixton I can write and speak with authority on this aspect of the war: *the Fascists in Brixton Prison make no secret as to the nature of their plans: they count on Hitler having an easy victory; they expect an invasion to come and to be successful; and they expect Hitler to proceed immediately to Brixton, and to release Mosley and his crew. They definitely expect Hitler to set up a puppet-government, like the one established in France, and that Sir Oswald Mosley will become the British Fuehrer.*

I would not slander any man or men who are prisoners. I would not side willingly with any conventional political attack on someone who, for the time being, was in a position of political outlawry. My word can be relied upon in this matter therefore. However Mosley and his satellites reached their present political attitude; no matter what positions they have enjoyed in the services or the diplomatic service; no matter what their status as members of the British ruling class; no matter what they have said about defending Britain in their speeches or publications; the interned Fascists all hope for a Hitler victory, and all expect to be placed in a key position if that victory is realised. They are all confident of seizing power, as confident as any body of men can be. From what little I could learn during my sojourn in Brixton, the Fascists are well organised and have their roots in all departments of the State. I am sure that they are making no idle boasts. They know what they want and they know how they are going to get it.

Many of us, in our mistaken Socialist and Anarchist disdain of the absurd, have treated Mosley and his supporters too lightly. We have looked on them as mere playboys. I left Brixton Prison thoroughly changed in my outlook and very sober in my reactions. I felt that the danger of a Fascist State was very real and very near. The Fascists do not believe in patriotism nor yet in capitalist democracy. They believe in Hitler and a very definite Anti-patriotic struggle for power. Their belief is in Power. The spineless, chaotic Labour movement, that offered no resistance to Fascism in Germany, Austria, and France would offer no resistance in Britain. Labour Parliamentarians are mere puppets of the capitalist class.

It is a mistake to regard Mosley as a poseur. He is a real leader. In Brixton Prison he takes no advantage of his wealth. He could have a prisoner to clean his cell for 5/- a week, but he cleans it himself. He could have his food sent into him from outside, but he lives on the prison diet, and fares no better than the poorest of his followers in the prison. He maintains a strict discipline over them, and this they obey. It requires no imagination to understand how the Fascists would act once they got in power. It is clear that, despite the virtuous serenity with which Mosley disciplines himself, that Socialists and Anarchists can have nothing in common with the imprisoned Fascists.

I regard the People's Party as the other wing of the Fascists, although they deny being Fascists. The leaders in Brixton are John Becket and Ben Greene. There is no love lost between these two factions and I do not know what the exact differences are. The amazing thing to me was the fact that they all seem well supplied with funds, whatever its source. I would estimate that 75 per cent. of the Brixton internees were definitely Fascists and definitely supporters of Hitler and his policy.

There were only 3 Anarchists in Brixton Prison: Lamb; Lall, the Indian comrade, who speaks in Hyde Park; and myself. There was only one I.L. Per, my comrade Park, who was arrested the same day as I was, at Southend-on-Sea. There were a few I.R.A. men, who are suspected of Fascist associations.

After 8 days' detention the 4 of us mentioned above were released. We were given warrants to take us home. No explanation was given and no undertaking as to future conduct was asked. The Governor, who saw us out, did not seem to know why we had been arrested; nor yet, why we were being released. We were not asked to give any undertaking not to hold views hostile to the State or to refrain from propaganda.

It is announced in the press that Captain Ramsay is in the prison hospital. During my sojourn at Brixton he looked very fit. I believe that he has appealed against his internment and has been turned down. Life in Brixton is irksome, but it may prove to be also useful political resting, during a period of crisis, if you have money. Eighty per cent. of the Fascist internees have money. Sir Barry Domville draws a pension of £1.200 a year. He has all his meals sent in. With him are his son, Compton Domville, and his secretary. He certainly cleans his own cell. Major Davidson Houston was formerly a King's Messenger and draws retired pay from the War Office. Captain Ramsay is a wealthy man, and now draws £600 a year for not sitting in Parliament for the duration.

MATT KAVANAGH
Comrade Matt Kavanagh was an intimate associate of Malatesta, who knew Bakunin better than most Anarchists of his generation.

These people all feel that they are members of the ruling class. If circumstances arose under which they were released, they might easily direct their attention to civil war, Fascism versus Anti-Fascism; especially if a Labour Government were established. We would face either Social Revolution or Social Reaction.

If Fascism is deemed the enemy by our ruling class, then our release was right and only our internment wrong. We, Anarchists, can make no compromise with Fascism. We were fighting Fascism when our present patriotic democrats were building up the claims of Fascism as the bulwark against Socialism. We were fighting Fascism when we were being slandered as bomb-throwers and the enemies of society. We remember Spain and the struggle against Fascism in Barcelona. We were opposed to Fascism then when our present democrats were compromising with the Fascist dictators and ignoring the Fascist outrages which destroyed the liberties of the Spanish people. We are against Fascism still and are opposed to those social conditions that breed Fascism, militarism, and war. We will fight against Fascism, but we insist on establishing a Free Society; inaugurating a social order that knows no more economic misery or distress. Fascism must be destroyed, but war and want must end for ever.

(*Continued from Page* 11.)

BACK FROM THE JAWS

precincts, at Euston to places where one would not have looked, and at St. Pancras, providing no place at all. Every effort is made to force the troops into the catering establishments of the companies or of their licensees. I am sorry to say it, but I have the feeling very deep in my mind, and it is shared by railway transport officers and other voluntary officers whom I have met, that the railway companies have deliberately frustrated this welfare movement because of the loss of revenue to themselves in selling things and the loss of revenue to their tenants in selling cigarettes, tobacco and chocolate.

(To be concluded.)

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Liberty! Equality!! Fraternity!!!

THE WORD

To Rouse The People, To Combat Fascism, and To Speed Commonweal.

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IN THE DOCK

The Editor's Trials

In May, 1929, we announced our intention to collect and to publish our various trials. A generation has arisen to whom this record of struggle and agitation is unknown. In the February issue of this journal, our tribute to the memory of the late Sir Walter Strickland compelled us to refer to the 1909 trial. This opened at the Law Courts, London, before the Judge in Chambers; proceeded to the Bow Street Police Court; and ended with conviction and sentence at the Old Bailey.

"No man is bad enough to be sent to a place like this," George Lansbury told a visitor when he was confined for a very short period in Brixton Prison. After that, he became a Cabinet Minister in a Labour Government, but no serious change was made in the prison conditions.

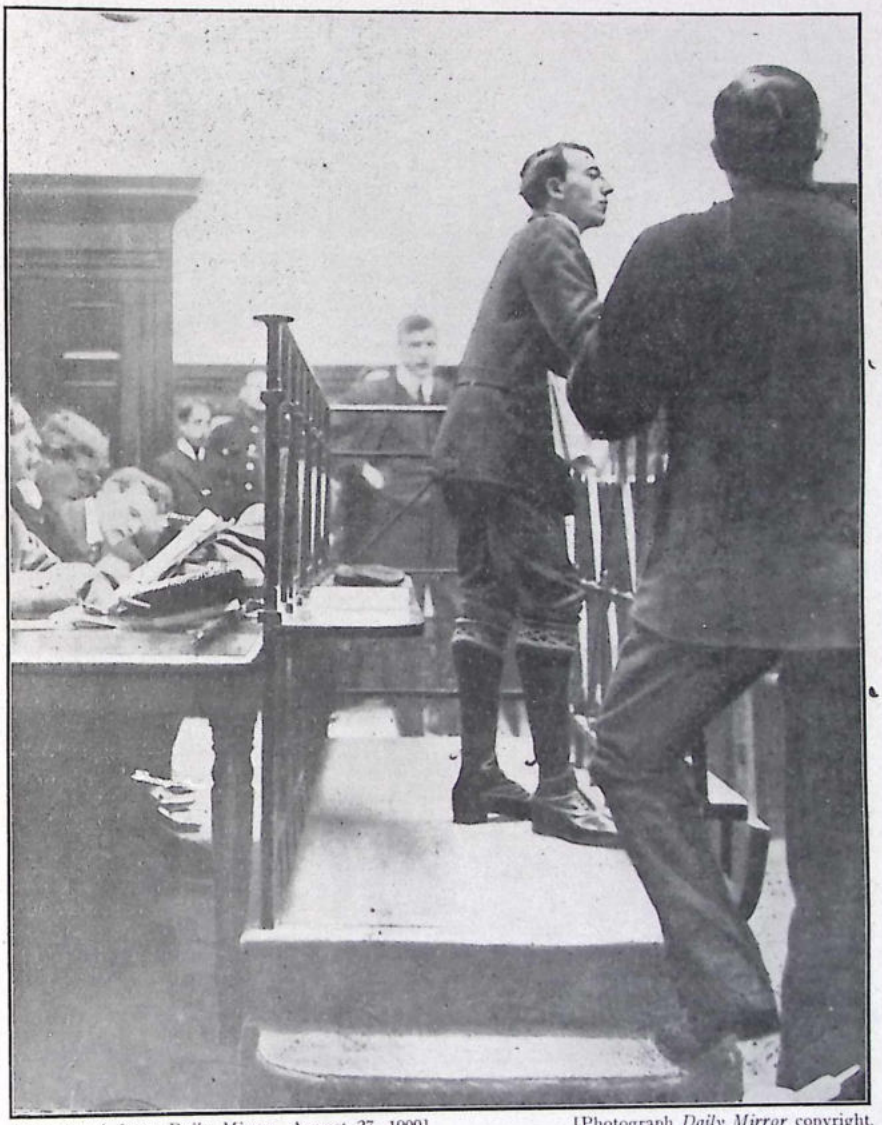
Lansbury's conditions were better than those of the average prisoner. It was like those enjoyed by Oswald Mosley and Captain Ramsay to-day. We have enjoyed those conditions. We have been imprisoned in the First Division in Brixton and experienced Civil Imprisonment in Barlinnie. But we have suffered military detention in Devizes, and endured hard labour conditions in Wandsworth, Wormwood Scrubbs, Winchester. We have been on remand, an unconvicted prisoner, denied bail, at Brixton and at Duke Street. Also, in the Old Calton Prison, Edinburgh. These experiences, and the weary business of facing police court proceedings on innumerable occasions at Central Police Court, Glasgow, and Marlborough Street and West London Police Courts, have come to us because of our belief in the need for Freedom of Speech and Press, and the need to play one's part in the class struggle.

The *Daily Mail* description of our appearance in the Bow Street dock in 1909 has been reproduced. We now publish the photograph taken and published by the *Daily Mirror* at that time. We reproduce, also, in addition, to the summarised report from the ordinary press, of the criminal proceedings, the legal report of the Old Bailey trial, that appeared in *The Justice of Peace*, for February 12, 1910. We understand that a similar report, often cited, appears in *Cox's Criminal Trials*. That report we have not seen.

The later trials will be published as space and time permits.

I.—1909 SEDITION TRIAL.

Guy Alfred Aldred, aged 22, 35 Stanlake Road, Shepherds Bush, was charged on a warrant before Mr. Curtis Bennett, at the Bow Street Police Court, on Thursday, August 26, 1909, with writing, printing, and publishing "a certain scandalous and seditious libel" in the *Indian Sociologist* for August, 1909. The defendant conducted his own case throughout, whilst A. H. Bodkin appeared for the Treasury.



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GUY A. ALDRED in the Dock at Bow Street Police Court, London, Thursday, August 26, 1909.

In opening the case for the prosecution, Bodkin stated that the prosecution was one that had been commenced by the Attorney-General for an offence of a public character and of a serious and important nature. It was committed deliberately by the defendant after warning, and not committed by him merely as a printer, but committed by him as a printer and as a writer of some of the seditious matter contained in the publication. The defendant was connected with the Bakunin Press. He held Anarchistic views, as appeared from the issue of August, 1909, in respect of which this prosecution had been undertaken, and he was a person who was known as the associate of Anarchists in London. The *Indian Sociologist* was a paper which appeared to have reached its fifth volume. It was described as an organ of freedom, and of political, social, and religious reform. It was edited by Krishnavarma from Paris, and was published for the express purpose of advocating what was called Indian independence, and in furtherance of the Indian Nationalist movement. It was patent, as far as the pages of the paper were relevant to the case, that there was preached, doubtless from the pen of Krishnavarma, to a large extent, doctrines intended to bring about the absolute subversion of the Government of His Majesty in the Empire of India, and advocating and urging those upon whom appeals of that sort would be likely to have an effect to take all means to throw off what was called the alien yoke, means including open rising, violence, murder, and assassination. In May, June, and July, 1909, the paper was printed by Arthur Fletcher Horsley of Manor Park, who was arrested, tried, and sentenced on the very same day as Dhingra was sentenced. Prominence was given to the trial and to the remarks of the Lord Chief Justice in passing sentence, and thus any person who after that date did what Horsley had done had the most ample and open warning that this sort of printing and publication of seditious matter could not be regarded as otherwise than committing a very serious breach of law.

In July, a prominent Indian official was murdered in London by the man Dhingra, and it was borne in on the minds of all thinking people that the promulgation of seditious matter sometimes led to very terrible consequences. In spite of the awful occurrence in July, the prisoner, in the August number of this paper, put himself forward as the advocate of a Free Press. About August 20, this issue came to the knowledge of the police, and copies were applied for and obtained. It bore the name and address of the prisoner as printer and publisher. As soon as its contents had been sensed by the authorities, they decided to act promptly. It was thought quite possible that, under the Newspaper Libel Act, this paper might fall within the definition of a newspaper, and on Wednesday, August 25, Mr. Justice Hamilton, sitting in Chambers, granted leave to serve a summons on the defendant, calling upon him to show cause why he should not be prosecuted for libel as the editor and person responsible for what had appeared. The defendant appeared before the Judge in Chambers, and failed to show cause, Mr. Justice Hamilton making an order sanctioning the prosecution. A warrant was immediately applied for and executed, and at the defendant's premises 396 copies of the paper were seized.

The publication's contents on many pages were redolent of sedition. The accepted definition of sedition was the publication verbally, or in a document, of any matter intended to, or calculated to bring into hatred or contempt, or excite disaffection against the person of His Majesty, the Government, or the Constitution of the Kingdom, or the administration of justice, or to excite His Majesty's subjects to attempt, otherwise than by lawful means, to alter any matter that was by law established, or to raise discontent or disaffection among His Majesty's subjects, or to promote feelings of ill-will or hostility between different classes. There could be no doubt that a serious attempt had been made to raise discontent and disaffection among His Majesty's subjects.

Counsel then proceeded to call evidence of arrest. Chief Inspector McCarthy, of New Scotland Yard, then confirmed the statements of the Counsel bearing on what the prisoner had stated, etc., when arrested, adding that when asked where the *Indian Sociologist* was printed, the prisoner replied: "I must not give other people away," and refused to give any information on this score.

At this stage the case was remanded until Saturday, August 28, when Chief Inspector McCarthy, of the special branch, New Scotland Yard, was recalled. He said it was part of his duty to keep observation on and attend meetings of Anarchists in London. He had known Aldred for about 2½ years, and had seen him at such meetings, and had heard him speak at them. Defendant held the views of a philosophical rather than violent Anarchist, and his remarks were of a theoretical rather than violent kind. The witness had never heard him advocate violence. Defendant had never suggested that it was necessary for any individual members of the meetings he addressed to indulge in any form of assassination, but had said that it was necessary the people should be educated, and subsequently there would take place what the defendant termed "the social revolution." The defendant advocated what was called a general strike—anarchy through industrial conditions. Everybody would lay down their tasks and do nothing until the millenium arrives. So that by revolution, as expressed by the defendant, he had always understood some future occurrence which would take place after definite education, and not necessarily a violent uprising. When the witness arrested Aldred, the latter produced certain post cards and letters he had received from Shyamaji Krishnavarma dated from his address in Paris. In a letter of July 30, was the phrase:—I approve of your idea of reprinting portion of the prosecuted numbers of my paper and the reprinted portions with any remarks you may make thereon may be circulated along with the *Indian Sociologist* without mention that it is a supplement."

A police officer, named William Sauge, of the C.I.D. Special Branch, stated that he called at the accused's house on Saturday, August 21, and failed to secure a copy of the *Indian Sociologist*. He represented himself as a private person interested in the movement. Acting under the instructions of Chief Inspector McCarthy, he then wrote, on Sunday, the 22nd, the following letter to the defendant at his Shepherd's Bush address:—"As I notice that you have taken charge of the publication of the *Indian Sociologist*, I should feel glad if you would kindly forward me four copies of the same, and oblige, your faithfully, Thomas W. Hudson." He enclosed six penny stamps, and received the four copies as requested. He did not think that, if it was true that the publication was of a seditious character, he was inciting the defendant to commit a deed against the law of the land by writing a letter in a false name after he had failed to secure a copy by falsely representing himself to be a friendly inquirer. He could not give any opinion as to whether it was a crime to incite a person to distribute a seditious paper, or what was called a seditious paper. He had not given a second thought to what it meant to incite a person to commit a crime.

The prisoner here scornfully indicated that his cross-examination of this witness was at an end by sharply turning to the magistrate with a sarcastic: "I think that will do, your worship."

Detective-Sergeant Brust stated that he wrote for a dozen copies of the *Indian Sociologist* for "himself and a few friends" on August 24, and received them by post the following day.

Detective-Sergeant McLaughlin said that he had kept the defendant under observation for some months past. He had known him as an Anarchist. He had heard him address meetings dealing with general political affairs, but not on the subject of India. He had heard him treat of imperial affairs, however, although not of India directly. He had never heard him suggest political assassination or violence of any immediate kind at these meetings. So far as the witness had observed, the defendant had always acted straightly and uprightly, and had not sought to evade observation.

This concluded the case for the prosecution.

Accused then made the following

SPEECH FOR THE DEFENCE.

"In the first place, I wish to plead 'Not Guilty' to all counts in this indictment. In the second place, I desire, if I may, to point out, so far as the evidence already adduced is concerned, and also the opening remarks for the Treasury, that the prosecution is one of malice, conspiracy, and calculated misdirection; and I object to an immediate committal to the sessions on the ground that such committal would be one of indecent haste, likely to make for a non-securement of justice. So far as the question of malice and conspiracy is concerned, I will pass that, but for the moment, to return to it immediately. So far as the question of calculated misdirection is concerned, I will direct the Court's attention to what Mr. Bodkin, for the Treasury, described as the accepted definition of sedition. That definition reads as follows:—'Sedition is the publication verbally or in a document of any matter intended to, or calculated to bring into hatred or contempt or excite dissatisfaction against the person of His Majesty, the Government, or the Constitution of the Kingdom, or the administration of justice, or to excite His Majesty's subjects to attempt, otherwise than by lawful means, to alter any matter that was by law established, or to raise discontent among His Majesty's subjects, or to promote feelings of ill-will or hostility among different classes.' Like so many other definitions of sedition, or, for that matter, of any subject, which seem at first to be thorough and correct, when submitted to a little analysis, this definition is seen to be particularly void of meaning, and to be one that is likely not only to lead to the apprehension of any person who is known as an anarchist, but for that matter, also to any person who ventured to justify the decapitation of King Charles I. Were it to be defined as an offence against His Majesty's person only, it might lead to an entire abrogation of the present constitution, inasmuch as that constitution is the outcome of the middle-class uprising of Cromwell against absolute monarchism, which resulted in the setting up of the Revolution dynasty of William and Mary. In so far, therefore, as this definition described sedition as being an endeavour calculated to bring into contempt, etc., it may lead to political embarrassment and misapprehension on the part of the loyal and faithful subjects of the realm, since, should the King desire—which I don't *for a moment* suggest—to usurp the functions of the Commons, sedition would be the condition in which both the King's supporters and the supporters of the Commons would find themselves, according to the point of the view. For the rest, I do not think——"

Mr. Curtis Bennett, the magistrate, who frequently interposed during the speech for the defence, now said: "You must try to put it rather short. This is really showing no defence. I cannot allow you to go on for ever in this strain. What is your defence to this charge?" The magistrate followed up this remark by moving from his seat to exchange some remarks with Mr. Bodkin. The defendant waited calmly throughout this interruption, and when the magistrate had resumed his seat, after laughing and chatting with Bodkin, he proceeded to resume the thread of his discourse as though no interruption had taken place:

"——that anything is likely to create such disaffection as the sense of non-sacredness of one's private letters. Now, in this case, while it has been admitted by the police that my character is quite good, and that I am upright, the authorities have caused to be sent to me certain private letters which afterwards formed the basis of the prosecution. This, I suggest, is more likely to cause serious incitement to anti-constitutional methods by people who do not view things in the same philosophic way as myself than any activity of mine. Were the individuals who did this not agents for the police, and was their action aimed at the overthrow of some established authority, it would, legally as well as morally, be described as a conspiracy. The fact that I am only an ordinary subject of these realms should secure to me the same justice as if I was an established authority. If this be so, the fact that I am a victim of this conspiracy does not make the incitement——"

The magistrate again intervened by saying this was not to the point, the prisoner replying: "By thus dealing with this definition and the question of a conspiracy, I shall get directly to the point of the charge." This comment the magistrate over-ruled, by saying that the defendant was wilfully wandering from the point of the charge. The latter now somewhat tartly replied: "Well, if I am beating about the bush, you have only yourself to blame for allowing Mr. Bodkin to lose himself and the court in the woods. I am only following him." On the magistrate again interposing, the accused, amid some "hear, hears," from the well of the court, said: "Very well, I have secured my object. In that case I reserve my defence." He was then committed for trial at the Central Criminal Court, bail being allowed in £100 himself and two sureties in £50 each, or one in £100.

The sureties were not forthcoming until Friday, September 3, when the defendant was released from Brixton Gaol, where he had spent the interval.

The case came on for trial at the Central Criminal Court on Friday, September 10, before Mr. Justice Coleridge. Two days prior to this, in charging the Grand Jury to bring in a true bill against the accused, the Recorder of London, Sir Forrest Fulton stated that both Krishnavarma and the defendant had been guilty of writing and publishing "a great deal of dangerous and pestilential matter."

When the trial came on before Mr. Justice Coleridge, the prosecution was represented by Sir William Robson (the Attorney-General), his Junior Counsel (A. H. Bodkin), and an array of other counsel. The accused here, as at the Bow Street Police Court, conducted his own defence.

In reporting the case at the time, the *Daily Express* stated that he was "boyish and defiant throughout," that he followed the case with keen interest, and "delivered a Hyde Park oration from the dock." The *Globe* stated that he was perfectly calm and self-possessed, but defiant. The entire capitalist Press commented on his youthful appearance.

In opening the case for the prosecution the Attorney-General was careful not to repeat his junior counsel's definition of sedition which formed so prominent a portion of the case for the prosecution before the Bow Street magistrate. This omission was quite noticeable. His speech otherwise proceeded along much the same lines as those along which Bodkin's police court effort had developed. He stated that the defendant wrote offering help and sympathy to a man who was avowedly defending murder of the worst kind, and who had brought down upon himself the reprobation of all decent persons in

every civilised community. It might be said that Krishnavarma and the defendant—as the men who had advanced and expounded such a creed—were not only responsible for the death of the victim who happened to be slain by Dhingra, but also for the death of the murderer whose life was taken in obedience to the necessary law.

The Attorney-General then proceeded to cite quotations from the defendant's contributions to the columns of the *Indian Sociologist*. Defendant had contributed a column of *Passing Reflections* above the initials "G. A. A.," and seven columns of closely-printed matter, headed "Sedition," under his full name. In the passages thus quoted, defendant declared the existence of the Government to be "a conspiracy against the liberty of the people," or, in other words, "a matter of high treason." He declared that "Prosecution for sedition was anti-constitutional"; stated that, "according to all the laws of jurisprudence, India, in its relations with England, was in *a state of nature*"; avowed "that the British Government glories in its association with the Czar, the cowardly murderer of many, whilst executing Dhingra, the political assassin of one"; eulogised Krishnavarma as being "a modern incarnation of the much-abused Marat," possessed, as such, of "the same political insight, same uncompromising proclivities and thoroughness"; but confessed that, in his opinion, the workers had nothing to gain as an International oppressed class from identifying themselves with the cause of Indian Nationalism. He remarked, however, that it was the duty of the English military rank and file to refuse to bear arms equally against the Indians, the Egyptians, and the class from which they (the military) were recruited at home. The defendant also wrote :—

> "The question at issue is not the views of any particular person. It is the matter of the unlicensed liberty of speech and writing. If we would not be hanged separately by police repression we must hang together in opposition to political tyranny."

> "Without the assistance of the British workers the tyrants who exploit them could not extend their dominions beyond the seas."

> "Beccaria has denounced as barbarous the formal pageantry attendant on the public murder of individuals by Governments. He sees in these cruel formalities of justice, a cloak to tyranny, a secret language, a solemn veil, intending to conceal the sword by which we are sacrificed to the insatiable idol of despotism. In the execution of Dhingra that cloak will be publicly worn, that secret language spoken, that solemn veil employed to conceal the sword of Imperialism by which we are sacrificed to the insatiable idol of modern despotism, whose ministers are Cromer, Curzon, Morley & Co. Murder—which they would represent to us as an horrible crime, when the murdered is a Government flunkey—we see practised by them without repugnance or remorse when the murdered is a working man, a Nationalist patriot, an Egyptian fellaheen, or a half-starved victim of despotic society's blood-lust. It was so at Featherstone and Dershawai; it has often been so at Newgate: and it was so with Robert Emmett, the Paris communards, and the Chicago martyrs. Who is more reprehensible than the murderers of these martyrs? The police spies who threw the bomb at Chicago; the *ad hoc* tribunal which murdered innocent Egyptians at Densbawai; the Asquith who assumed full responsibility for the murder of workers at Featherstone; the assassins of Robert Emmett? Yet these murderers have not been executed! Why then should Dhingra be executed? Because he is not a time-serving executioner, but a Nationalist patriot who, though his ideals are not their ideals, is worthy of the admiration of those workers at home, who have as little to gain from the lick-splittling crew of Imperialistic blood-sucking, capitalist parasites at home as what the Nationalists have in India."

These passages, the Attorney-General urged, proved the serious nature of the seditious incitement of which the defendant had been guilty, especially when one remembered the excitable temperament of the Indian population to whom it was addressed.

The case for the prosecution was now brought to a conclusion by a repetition of the evidence that has already been recorded as having been given during the police court proceedings.

The defendant declined to call witnesses or to go into the witness-box himself. But he remarked that he wished to address a short speech to the jury for the defence.

This speech lasted fifty minutes, and included, of course, a good deal of matter of but transient value. Its most important passage was the following :—

> "I have no apology to make either for my attitude towards Krishnavarma, or for what I have written with reference to the Indian question. I claim the absolute freedom of the Press, the absolute right to publish what I like, when I like, where I like. The only condition on which I can secure that right as a proletarian thinker is that I shall secure it for the Indian Nationalist Patriot, Krishnavarma. I can only do that by maintaining, at the price of my own liberty, the freedom of the Indian Nationalist Press, even where I may not agree with its principles. Krishnavarma has been denounced by the Attorney-General as 'a criminal resident in Paris.' Apparently that gentleman means he does not stay in London to risk being transported to India. Sir William Robson knows that if Krishnavarma is a 'criminal' he can be extradited. Why is his extradition not applied for? Because the Attorney-General is repeating in this prejudiced Court in safety that which he would not dare to express as an ordinary citizen in Paris. Gentlemen of the jury, I do not wish to be harsh with the prosecution, but, if you condemn Krishnavarma for not coming to London, you cannot acquit the Attorney-General for not going to Paris."

The Attorney-General now replied for the prosecution, after which the judge addressed his summing up to the jury, who returned a verdict of "Guilty" without retiring. The following colloquy now ensued between the judge and the defendant :—

Justice Coleridge: "Have you anything to say?"

Guy Aldred: "Nothing, my Lord, except that I desire no mitigation of sentence."

J. C. (mildly surprised): "Is that all? Have you nothing else to say?"

G. A.: "Nothing, except that I do not advocate political assassination."

J. C. (passing sentence): "Guy Alfred Aldred, you are young, vain, and foolish; you little know that others regard your statements far more seriously than they deserve. The sentence of this Court is twelve months' imprisonment in the First Division."

G. A. (smiling): "Thank you, my Lord!"

The defendant then left for the cells below, prior to departing for Brixton Prison, where he served his sentence. Before leaving for Brixton, however, he was allowed to see his comrade and companion, Rose Witcop.

The authorities at Brixton treated him with every consideration. He was released from gaol on Saturday, July 2, 1910. It may be mentioned that Mr. Justice Coleridge passed the highest possible sentence that the law permitted.

CENTRAL CRIMINAL COURT.

September 10, 1909.

(Before COLERIDGE, J.)

REX *v.* ALDRED.

[*The Justice of The Peace* Report, February 12, 1910, Vol. LXXIV. A similar report appears in Cox.]

Criminal law—Seditious libel—Attempting to alienate the allegiance of the Indian native liege subjects of the King—Publication of document calculated to stir up discontent and unrest among his Majesty's liege subjects—Definition.

A. was indicted for printing and publishing a seditious libel, in the form of a newspaper attempting to stir up and excite discontent and unrest among his Majesty's liege subjects, and to alienate the allegiance of the Indian native liege subjects of the King, and to cause it to be believed that it was justifiable and commendable to resort to political assassination with a view to liberate India from the government of the King.

Held, *that whoever by language either written or spoken incites or encourages others to use physical force or violence in some public matter connected with the State, is guilty of publishing a seditious libel.*

The accused may not plead the truth of the statements that he makes as a defence to the charge, nor may he plead the innocence of his motive.

If the accused publishes the libel, there is no distinction in law between what he writes in it and what any other person writes in it.

The defendant was indicted at the Central Criminal Court for printing and publishing a seditious libel.

The indictment recited that, before the commission of the offence charged, one Shyamaji Krishnavarma, was proprietor and editor of a certain publication called *The Indian Sociologist*, an organ for advocating the independence of India by subverting the government of the King in his Indian empire; that certain previous parts of the said publication contained passages applauding the conduct of certain Indian native subjects of the King who had recently been tried, convicted and executed for murders, commited by them in India and advocating political assassination as justifiable and commendable; that immediately following the publication in England of the July part of the said *Indian Sociologist* (printed in June) containing the aforesaid passages to wit, on July 1, 1909, one Madan Lal Dhingra, being an Indian native subject of the King, murdered one Sir William Hutt Curzon Wyllie in London, and was tried, convicted and executed for the said murder; and that one Arthur Fletcher Horsley was tried for and pleaded guilty to printing and publishing a certain seditious libel contained in the said July part of the said *Indian Sociologist*—and charged the defendant with printing and publishing a seditious libel in the month of August, 1909, contriving and intending to stir up and excite discontent and unrest among his Majesty's liege subjects, and to alienate the allegiance of the Indian native liege subjects of the King, and to cause it to be believed that it was justifiable and commendable to resort to political assassination with a view to liberate India from the government of the King; and set out certain passages of the alleged libel (specifying the innuendoes they were said to contain) applauding the conduct of the said Madan Lal Dhingra in murdering the said Sir William Hutt Curzon Wyllie, and repeating the aforesaid portions of the July part of the *Indian Sociologist*.

The Attorney-General (Sir William Robson, K.C.) Bodkin, Rowlatt and Graham-Campbell, appeared for the prosecution.

It was proved in evidence that the defendant's connection with the *Indian Sociologist* commenced with the publication of the August number. On the conviction of the late printer, Horsley, for publishing a seditious libel, the defendant communicated with Krishnavarma, the editor and proprietor of the paper, residing in Paris, and volunteered to continue the printing of the paper. And he actually printed the August number, and sold copies to (inter alia) detectives who were acting on instructions from the Criminal Investigation Department. That issue contained articles by Krishnavarma advocating the principle that "political assassination is no murder," and proclaiming Dhingra "a martyr in the cause of Indian independence"; it also contained a violent article by the defendant, justifying the methods of Indian "Nationalists."

At the close of the case for the prosecution, the defendant addressed the jury from the dock, denying that he had ever advocated political assassination or described Dhingra as a hero, and saying that he had printed the *Indian Sociologist* because he claimed the right of a free press.

Coleridge J., in the course of his summing up to the jury said: It is not necessary for me in this case to give you a full accurate and comprehensive definition of all that could come under the head of seditious libel, because the prosecution have practically limited their case to one form of seditious libel, and that is, that in a publication for which the defendant was responsible, he used language implying that it was lawful and commendable to employ physical force in any manner or form whatsoever against the government of our Lord the King or towards and against the British liege subjects of our Lord the King; and the case has all turned upon that form or species of seditious libel. Nothing is clearer than the law on this head, namely that whoever by language either written or spoken incites or encourages others to use physical force or violence in some public matter connected with the State, is guilty of publishing a seditious libel. The word "sedition" in its ordinary natural signification denotes a tumult, an insurrection, a popular commotion, or an uproar; it implies violence and lawlessness in some form; but the man who is accused may not plead the truth of the statements that he makes as a defence to the charge nor may he plead the innocence of his motive; that is not a defence to the charge. The

THE "CONCHIE" HERESY HUNT

In the June and July *Word*, we instanced twenty Municipal Corporations that had decided to dispense immediately with the services of conscientious objector employees. This policy of victimisation was supported by working-class organisations, that did not see that they were upholding the policy of a reduced standard of living. If the soldier is worse off than the industrial worker, his status ought to be improved. We dealt also with dismissals brought about in other cases by work-mates striking and a co-operative attack on the "conchie" employees. The present article collects more records of conchie-baiting.

Conscientious objector employees have been sacked, receiving one month's pay in lieu of notice by the County, Town, City, or Urban District Councils of Gillingham, Worthing, Middlesbrough, Horncastle, Worcester, Cambridgeshire, Watford, Bebington, Hull, Bullingdon, Southport, Blackpool, Caterham and Warlingham (Surrey), Friern Barnet, Wolverhampton, East Ham, Brighton, Plymouth, Rugby, West Bromwich, Burnley, Ilford, Stoke-on-Trent, Bradfield, Dudley, Torquay, Birmingham, Chiswick.

Some of the discussion that preceded the motion for dismissal being passed is noted in the present summary. The date is given in each paragraph.

Bradfield, May 15. Decision announced by the Chairman, Brig.-General R. C. Lukin. He said that if the Council's one objector employee was allowed to remain in the Council's employ, it would cause considerable discontent among the other clerks who were being called-up.

West Bromwich, June 5. Councillor J. J. Grant said conscientious objectors were a luxury they could no longer afford.

Gillingham, June 3. The Council decided to discharge its employees, two conscientious objectors, and to pay them one month's salary in lieu of notice. One man was an accountancy assistant, Borough Treasurer's Department, and the other a junior clerk, Health Department.

"They have been tried and found wanting," said the Deputy Mayor, Alderman J. J. Knight.

Bullingdon, Southport, Blackpool, July 3. In the first case, rates clerk and evacuation clerk affected. Tribunal had exempted each conditionally upon remaining in present occupation. Southport decision was carried by 28 votes to 9. Alderman Sir Ernest Hadfield said that the resolution penalised the genuine C.O. Blackpool applied its decision, taken previously, to a schoolteacher, who objected to taking human life, but was willing to serve in the R.A.M.C. at home or abroad.

Blackpool's Deputy Mayor, Councillor Jacob Parkinson said there was no difference between one C.O. and another. He added :—

"If a person is registered as a C.O. his services ought to be dispensed with."

Councillor Hill protested against the decision. He said that if the school-teacher were dismissed from the employ of the Corporation, and subsequently served his country in the ranks of the Royal Army Medical Corps, he would have no claim to being taken back into Corporation employment after the war, even though he had served on the field of battle.

Plymouth, June 17. Voting was 52 to 1. Alderman Churchward was one of 15 who abstained from voting. But he defended the conscientious objector in his speech and was interrupted a great deal. He had scores of friends who were pacifists and conscientious objectors, and he respected them because they had made great sacrifices. The Government had set up tribunals to see if the C.O. was valid, and he was afraid that the Council was setting itself up to judge the man again. He described as a "blue pencil lie" the statement that conscientious objector teachers engaged in subversive teaching, and thought that the Council ought to have something more worthy to do at a time of emergency than heresy-hunting.

There had been a previous discussion at Plymouth, by the Education Committee, on June 7, when it was decided to dismiss all conscientious objector teachers, unless they were willing to undertake non-combatant service. The Chairman said that he had suspended from teaching, pending a decision by the Council, a member of the teaching staff of the Devonport High School for Boys, who was a conscientious objector. It turned out that the Chairman had suppressed a letter, addressed to the Council in defence of the teacher.

Councillor V. Pedlar declared that, as the teacher had not been guilty of any moral lapse or misconduct in connection with school work, the Chairman had no right to suspend him. Councillor H. L. Spear denounced the suspension as high-handed. Councillor A. L. Strachan stated that the action had perturbed the school staff. Alderman Oke said that a serious injustice had been inflicted. The Chairman excused himself by saying that Plymouth was a service town and the dismissal of a conchie school-teacher was a "good and urgent course." Alderman J. W. A. Campbell said that there was no evidence of pernicious doctrines being taught, and it was wrong to assume it. Conscientious objection was not criminal; the law allowed it and there was a proper Court to decide whether it was valid or not. Alderman Campbell added :—

"Unless we are anarchists, we must accept that legal system. I have no use for false objectors, but I have the greatest respect for those who are genuine. There are many who shelter behind objection, and it is difficult to find out who are genuine.

"We ought not to make things more difficult for them. They are worth more than those who have not the pluck to say they are objectors."

Councillor Lt.-Col. N. J. P. Revington was appalled by Ald. Campbell. With great naiveness, he asked and explained :—

"Would they tolerate it in Germany? I believe in everyone having a conscience, but those who are objecting are doing it from blue funk. I cannot see where genuineness comes in and I cannot draw the line."

Alderman H. G. Mason said they had not yet reached the form of Nazi-ism where they could not hold their own opinions. He added :—

"This teacher told the Tribunal he was prepared to take up non-combatant work, and it has been stated Tribunals consider teachers' capacity as of greater use to the country in their own profession. Even in wartime we should not stifle rights and endorse a Nazi system when the menace is so close upon us."

Rev. J. H. McDonald (head master of Beaconfield College) said he had refused to appoint C.O.s to his staff and the governors had taken the unusual course of appointing a woman because the other applicants were C.O.s.

Wolverhampton, June 10. Councillor Guy said that there was a nest of conscientious objectors in the treasurer's department and some of those officers had been sent round to pay members of the A.R.P. personnel. Councillor G. Williams said that if the war is worth fighting for, it is worth fighting to preserve the privilege of freedom of action in this country.

Alderman Alan Davies proposed that dismissal should not apply to the man whose conscientious objections are to combatant duties only. The alderman suggested that everybody should be put on soldiers' pay.

Councillor Beach declared very pertinently, and with some heat, that men who went into a factory to evade service were bigger cowards than conscientious objectors.

Alderman T. A. Henn pointed out that the resolution cut right across the principle for which we are fighting—the liberty of personal conviction.

Friern Barnet, June 27. Decision affected one man, the junior accountancy assistant in the Treasurer's Department.

Dudley, July 16. Reversed June decision in favour of conscientious objectors, by a large majority. Strong views, pro and con, were expressed in the debate. Alderman Molyneux feared that the opposition to conscientious objectors was so much playing to the gallery, and served to hide the failure of others to assist the country.

All the hullabaloo was about one man who had carried out the law and everything else imposed upon him. He was in the Housing Department, some officials of which had said they did not like doing voluntary service in the A.R.P. so long as there was a conscientious objector on the staff. The man was prepared to do A.R.P. work and he was exempt by the Tribunal so long as he had carried on with that work.

Councillor Bennett said the recommendation was "tainted with Hitlerism" and was opposed to the law on the subject.

Caterham and Warlingham (Surrey), June 6. Three members of the Auxiliary Fire Service affected. Decision followed long debate on a letter signed by 39 members of the A.F.S.

Hull, July 4. Alderman Shepherd stated that it was nauseating for a serving man to know that a conscientious objector could sleep in a comfortable bed and receive a good wage and be free from injury at the end of hostilities.

The Alderman should be careful. He will find himself attacking statemen and financiers, and preaching the class war if he continues to find arguments like this against conscience.

Torquay, May 16. Councillor Narracott denounced "conchies" in these words :—

"We know how Hitler is working through his Fifth Column. I would not trust these men. The time has come for us to put our house in order."

Councillor F. March made an excellent attack on last war C.O. who is now a pro-war Councillor, etc. He stated that there was a lot of beating of the big drum. Local Tribunals were set up during the last war, at which thousands of men evaded national service.

He added : "I believe there are some members of this Council who appeared before Tribunals, and who evaded national service. Now they have the audacity to get up and speak like this."

Cambridgeshire, June 14. Councillor Mrs. Pease defended the position of objector teachers, and said she would rather run the risk of her children being corrupted by a conscientious objector or a Nazi or a Communist, than have them taught by people who were only too anxious to agree with the majority. The names of those who voted for civic liberty, against the majority, were Ald. Stubbs, Councillors Mrs. Carter, Hardman, Darlington, Matthews, Mrs. Parsons, Mrs. Pease, Mrs. Pirie, Mrs. Rackham.

Councillor D. R. Hardman said that he was ashamed of being a member of the Council. It was such things as the waste of petrol shown by the cars on Newmarket Heath on Derby Day they should condemn, not conscience.

Councillor Mrs. Rackham—answering Councillors Gordon Frost and Miles Burkitt—said it was a good thing for children to understand that they lived in a country which had the courage to grant exemption to conscientious objectors.

Horncastle, May 17. The Clerk of the Council said that he could say that for people who had brothers serving and had to work alongside conscientious objectors, it was a pretty sickening business.

Councillor T. H. Morris : "They all ought to be out against the wall; shoot the whole lot of them."

We would like to know what constitutional right the Clerk of a Council has for intervening in the Council's decision.

East Ham, June 11. Decision was reached following protests that Mr. J. A. Smith, L.D.S., R.C.S., of 109 Chapel Road, Forest Gate, aged 26, who was recently appointed as a dental surgeon at £500, had registered as an objector

Mr. Smith was appointed school dentist, and had to divide his time between the School Medical, Public Health, and Public Assistance Services. His duties covered Harts Sanatorium, Aldersbrook Children's Home, Maternity and Child Welfare Department, and schools. Smith

was first appointed by the Council on a part-time basis on July 12, 1938. He was appointed to carry out the wider range of duties before he registered as a C.O.

Facts overlooked by those who forced the conscience issue in East Ham and secured Smith's dismissal were :—

(1) He had been employed in a similar capacity previously under another Council authority. Consequently his appointment was merely a transfer and not war-time appointment.

(2) Dental surgery is a reserved occupation. Had he not registered as a C.O. it would not have affected his appointment.

(3) He could have obtained a commission in the Army Dental Corps, where his financial prospects would have been equally as healthy as in his East Ham appointment. Thus he could have been engaged upon the same work if he joined the Forces without being subjected to the criticism of being a C.O.

Smith simply refused to shelter behind his work reservation.

These facts counted for nothing with the ignorant people who attacked him.

A letter was addressed to the Chairman of the East Ham Education Committee, and published in the *Stratford Express* for June 7. This was written by C. J. Biggs, of 139 Capel Road, and signed by him and by the following persons who styled themselves "Rent and Rate Payers of Capel Road": George Hope, George Copory, B. E. Smith, F. E. Maddox, G. Day, G. A. Etheridge

After complaining at Smith receiving £500 per year, the letter said :—

"While I, as a householder who will shortly be in the Army, leaving my wife and child with an allowance of 29s. per week, from which the rent and rates are to be paid, and as he draws his salary from the rates, I and the like of me will not only have to bear the burden but will also man the guns to protect such as he."

The *Stratford Express* for June 14 also published a letter from Arthur A. Neale, of 18 Leigh Road, East Ham, who described himself as Air-Raid Warden, late Royal Artillery. The essential passages from the amazing letter written by this man read as follows :—

"In my estimation, this disgusting appointment is a downright insult to the intelligence and public spirit of East Ham's ratepayers, and we cannot submit to this degredation lying down.

"After the marvellous show of British grit by our boys at Dunkirk, affairs like this are absolutely vile, and it is time the East Ham Council toed the line with most others and dispensed with the services of all their C.Os."

Burnley, June 3. Councillor Oakes said that the Council had no right to dismiss a man for going before a Tribunal. He might not be accepted as a C.O., or he might even change his mind, and prove himself a good soldier. Yet he would be dismissed.

Councillor H. Hudson said that it was no use electing representatives to Parliament to enact legislation and then to undermine that legislation as a local authority. They could not say they were upholding the law if they took away the right of an individual under the law. The Council was taking a page out of Hitler's book and denying freedom and a man's right to his conscience.

Councillor Cobb said :—

"A man who registers as a conscientious objector has no right to citizen status. A man who refuses to pick up a rifle in defence of his home, his womenfolk and his children, has not the status of a rat. A rat will turn round and fight when it is in a corner."

Councillor Massey said that a man who registered as a conscientious objector was not a coward. He might go before a Tribunal with a view to volunteering for non-combatant service. In this event he would be in just as much danger as a man carrying a rifle. He disagreed that anyone who stood up for his principles should be called a dirty rat. They could not tell him that anyone serving with the R.A.M.C., the Royal Naval Sick Berth Reserve or the Mercantile Marine was a coward.

Councillor Whatmough said he would not be a party to a heresy hunt for a man who had the courage to stand by his convictions. The enemies of the people of this country were to be found in high places and not in the ranks of conscientious objectors or among the working classes. They were in seats of power at the present time. The conscientious objector had been straight and they knew where he stood. It was the person hiding under the cloak of patriotism who was stabbing the country in the back at the present time. The Council would be wise to pay more attention to that aspect rather than persecute these other people.

Councillor Green said that if Councillor Whatmough moved among the weavers and knew the attitude of those who had to go and those who had objected to go, he might think differently. Why should some stay at home while others were doing their duty? Councillor Whatmough had a perverted view of the position.

To our mind, Councillor Green's statement of the weavers' position does not put them in a very good light. If they go to war only under compulsion, and not from principle, and then resent only the fact that others resist, their attitude is without worth and utterly contemptible. Councillor Green's argument was on a very low moral plane indeed.

A FASCIST CARDINAL

Cardinal Hinsley ranks with the Tory M.P. Fascists. He was an enemy of the Spanish workers in their struggle against Fascism, and to-day he is an opponent of the Conscientious Objector, and an ardent militarist and warmonger. If the Catholic Church had not upheld the Fascist and Nazi invasion of Spain, there would be no war in defence of civilization against the attack of Fascism and Nazism to-day. The Catholic Church has added to its crimes. The Spanish workers were defending world-peace, world progress and the advance of civilization.

The *Universe*, for May 17, 1940, announced that a delegation, consisting of Major-General Sir Walter Maxwell Scott and Fr. Alphonso de Zuleta on Wednesday, May 15, 1940, left for Spain with gifts for Cardinal Goma from the Catholics of England to aid the restoration of churches destroyed in the civil war.

Bishops throughout Britain collected sacred vessels and vestments, and the offerings include 70 complete sets of Mass vestments, 14 copes, 12 humeral veils, 27 albs, 77 stoles, six altar frontals, 90 chalices, patens and ciboria and a good collection of altar linen.

Two special gifts were carried by the delegation. One was a crucifix picked up by a Maltese sailor from a dump on the docks at Barcelona. The other was a 5-ft. tall 17th century crucifix of Spanish manufacture. It was a personal gift from Cardinal Hinsley to Cardinal Goma, Archbishop of Toledo and Primate of Spain.

In a statement to Spanish Fascist newspaper correspondents in London, Cardinal Hinsley said :

"We Catholics of England and Wales stood by our brethren in Spain throughout the fiery trials of 1936 and onwards, a trial inflicted on them by foreign agents, of violence and of falsehoods.

"Whatever we could do or say to support and assist the martyred land we did and said with our whole hearts. For Catholic hearts, which are truly Catholic, ever beat in unison and when one member of Christ's Mystical Body suffers all the members suffer in sympathy.

"The Bishops' Committee for Spanish Relief sent their ambulances to Spain to succour the sick and wounded. We sent also our assistance to the victims of the cruel war—the homeless, the hungry, the helpless women and children.

"We pray earnestly that Spain now as in centuries past may prove during the crucial dangers which face us, the great bulwark of Christian civilisation.

"The civil war swept away the ruinous ideas of a philosophy of life that never was Spanish but imported from Eastern barbarism. Eternal Spain, the Spain of Cardinal Ximenez, of St. John of the Cross, of St. Teresa of Avila and of countless saints and heroes has triumphed over the powers of evil. *Arriba España!*"

Every word in this statement breathes ignorance and falsehood. The Catholics of England and Wales in 1936 upheld the foreign invasion of Spain and the bombing of Madrid and Barcelona, the murder of innocent women and children, by the conscripts of Hitler and Mussolini. They helped to martyr Spain, with the Pope's blessing, and the Cardinals' unctious, hypocritical prayers for the triumph of Fascism in the name of God!

The Fascist-Catholics swept away no philosophy but racked, as in the days of the Inquisition, poor human bodies. The Fascists destroyed cities and employed Mohammedan Moors to murder Catholic Christians. The "Eternal Spain" of Hinsley's dream is a nightmare that must be swept away by twentieth-century thought in the interest of human sanitation.

Many Catholic C.O.'s have asked us for advice as to their legal status during this war-crisis. We have advised as wisely and as conscientiously as we could, for we believe in the right and power of individual conscience. When we consider the sacrifice this war is demanding from humanity, and when we consider how the martyrdom of Spain was but the prelude to this martyrdom of the world, it makes us angry to think that men and women possessing conscientious approaches can dare to remain Catholics. All this rubbish Cardinal Hinsley sent to Spain represented the power of Medieval darkness, and the curse of human thought. Cardinal Hinsley stands for ignorance, suffering, bodily illhealth, and mental enslavement. He is entitled to no honour nor respect. And he sponsored and aided the war of darkness on Spain when the Spanish cities were defending the Freedom of Europe.

To my Catholic C.O. comrades we say : Look around! See the war the Catholic Church has promoted. If you believe in conscience, and the power of the inward, spiritual life, leave that Church for ever. Let the Cardinals rot with the past. Let the dead bury its dead. And you, as men of conscience, declare war on the Church that has massacred and martyred; for power has allied itself with Nazism and Fascism. Leave Catholicism, Fascism, Nazism, and come into the open, allied to Commonweal and Freedom.

WILL HAYDEN'S EXEMPTION

Under the heading, "Mr. Will Hayden Before The Tribunal," the *Islington Gazette* for Tuesday, July 30 last, published the following report :

"'I refuse, directly or indirectly, to kill, mutilate, or starve my fellow man, his wife and children with whom I have no quarrel and whose interests are identical with mine,' stated Will Hayden, the well-known Islington pacifist, when he appeared before the London Tribunal for Conscientious Objectors.

"He was one of a number of cases who had refused to register in the prescribed manner.

"He stated that he was an employee of the Co-operative Movement, and that since 1926 he had been active in various peace movements including the League of Nations Union, the Independent Labour Party and the Peace Pledge Union, 'writing, speaking and organising on their behalf.'

In answer to a tribunal member's assertion that Britain was not fighting the German people but a terrible spiritual menace, Mr. Hayden said that in his view 'Hitlerism is not something peculiar to Germany. It is to be found all over the world. As I live in England I feel it my duty to oppose it here.'

TO APPEAL.

"Another tribunal member claimed that conscientious objectors were not tolerated in Germany.

"In reply, Mr. Hayden said that he understood there were several thousand objectors in Nazi concentration camps. 'In my opinion,' said Mr. Hayden, 'the stand made by the C.O.'s in the last war is largely responsible for my being privileged to stand here this morning.'

"The chairman (Judge Hargreaves) announced that the tribunal was satisfied as to Mr. Hayden's conscientious objection to war and were of the opinion that he deserved exemption from both combatant and non-combatant service conditional upon his taking up full-time A.R.P. or agriculture.

"Mr. Hayden signified his decision to appeal against the conditions of exemption."

Commenting upon the case, *The Tribunal*, August, says : *"Hayden made a complete political case."*

Hayden is a well-known writer to the North London Press and a frequent contributor to the columns of the *Islington Gazette* in defence of Socialism and Anti-Militarism.

IMPERIALISM IN THE ORIENT

BUDDHISM, FASCISM, AND WAR

By SIR W. W. STRICKLAND, Bt., B.A.

(*Concluded from page* 8)

Anticipating objection on this score, Baron Hayashi plunged boldly into the fray and defends National Socialism, Fascism; urges the Corporate State, with the end of liberty of thought and speeches; and rattles out apologies for this bastard Socialism of the Sabre. Here is Hayashi's vision of Nippon reformed and glorified and dominating the Orient:—

"It must be recognised that the present economic system has much contributed to the economic development of our country. If it is viewed, however, from the standpoint of the State totalism and the national defence, there remains a large room to be reformed and a need of re-adjustment. (1) The present system is developed on the basis of individualism and, consequently, is apt on the one side to abandon the economic activities to the private interests and individual caprices, which are not necessarily in accordance with the interests of the State and the peoples in general. (2) As a result of the unlimited free competition, it brings forth an exclusivism and the ideas of class antagonism. (3) It is to be regretted that the stability of the people's life is unattainable under it, as it produces an accumulation of the wealth in the hand of a few and incurs an impoverishment of the masses, the unemployment and the withering of the medium and small industrialists and agriculturists. (4) Owing to an insufficiency of the State power of control, the present system is inconvenient to make an unitary management to mobilise all the national capacities for the full exploitation of the national resources, the development of the industry and for lending impetus to the export trade. It also places an extreme limit on the State budget, making impossible the realisation of an indispensable improvement in the national defence."

This is indeed Socialism of the Sabre—an unique perfection unto and for death! Socialism of the Corporate State! Mahayana Militarism! The standard of living of the people must be improved, so that they might die gloriously.

Says Hayashi:—

"The maintainence and advancement of the people's standard of living in parallel with the completion of the national defence, which demands a large expenditure, is to be the first matter to be fully considered, asking at once a reorganisation of the economic system of the society.

"If a class antagonism is brought forth in conseqence of the fact that a minority of the nation monopolises all the economic interests and enjoys an unearned income in the face of the distress and misery the majority is suffering, it is the grave matter which cannot be overlooked easily from the standpoint of the State policy and the national defences. For the sake of wiping out its existence, it is demanded of all the people equally the abandonment of the self-seeking and individualistic economic ideas and the awakening to the totalistic-ones founded upon morality, thus making the people to march on to establish an economic system best fitted to the realisation of the ideals of the Empire."

And so we have the Corporate State. Peasants and fishermen are told that their distress and miseries are due to the conflict between the city and the village. The remedy is not socialism but totalitarianism. Thus:—

"In addition to the social political palliatives, there is a need of the radical remedies to bring about a readjustment of the economic system, which shall be founded upon a national totalism that means a common prosperity and an inter-dependence of the city and the village."

And then come further definitions of the totalitarian remedy:—

"The firm grasp by the people of the ideals of our national foundation and the missions of the Empire. The awakening to the grave responsibility of the Empire in the present situations to give the light of a resurrection to the world, in eradicating the universal pains brought forth by the erroneous conceptions of the Life and the State or by the false and mistaken philosophies, religions and arts, and the cultivation of a resolute will to fully execute that responsibility. The people should be penetrated thoroughly with the spirit of loyalty and patriotism and should live in a spirit to sacrifice oneself for the growth and development of the State. They should be unified in a spirit of the united front to stamp out all the ideas of internationalism, individualism and liberalism from the country. It must be pointed out here that all the Powers at present are fighting with the best skill of propaganda works to propagate the anti-State thoughts, to make other peoples conspire against their own States, to cause an alienation between the military and the public and to inspire a dislike of the international struggles and the defeatism, in the purpose of getting a final victory through a thought strategem.

"To establish a strong and firm State and moral idea which is unmovable in any way by the radical and disturbing thoughts which are rampant in and about the Empire. To cultivate a sublime spirit of self-sacrifice for the State and the totality and eradicate the radical ideas of internationalism, egoism and individualism which disregard the existence of the State, dislike the necessary controls of the State and act against the interests of the State."

In the eyes of Baron Hayaski, in the eyes of the Socialists of the Sabre, Buddha becomes the Corporate State glorified. Communism, Anarchism, Socialism, Pacifism, proletarian struggle, belong to the categories of individualism and unwholesome internationalism, opposed to the sanguinary glory of totalitarism or totalism.

The natural revolt in Britain against Christian cannibalism and superstitution, the truine god, the immaculate conception, and all the accumulated rubbish of Christian worship, has produced many admirers of the Oriental mood of life, its civilization, cultures, and faith. As this essay shows, their admiration is founded upon pure inventions. For one thing, contrary to Kipling's reasonings, East and West have met and the West, unfortunately, has conquered. The Orient is no more. It has added its superstitions to those of the West but it has surrendered its pacific wisdom to the martial ignorance of the West. Buddhism has gone down before Christian Militarism and Capitalist Utilitarianism. Buddhism has proved itself to be no guaranty against the cruelty, inhumanity, and brutality of the ruling-class.

I have made a life-study of Buddhism and am friendly to Buddhism. I was reared in the Christian faith and have rejected its absurdities and obscenities. My word may be taken as that of one who would not write down Buddhism willingly. And I am compelled to admit that Buddhism in power has behaved with all the licence of the marauding Christian crusader. Jenghis-Khan and his Mongolian horsemen of the thirteenth century were Buddhists. One need not enlarge on their crimes. Tibet and Mongolia are Buddhist countries and endure the most abominable and terrible exploitation. Even Mussolini and Hitler could not excel the Buddhist criminals of power who rule these lands.

The political and military systems of Japan are not based on Buddhism but shielded by the philosophy, and even the superstition, of Buddhism. It has been argued that Buddhism leads to Socialism as some urged that Christianity leads to Socialism. Buddhism has been welcomed by the ruling class only in so far as it does not lead to Socialism and does not quarrel with existing social conditions. In practice, Buddhism has proven itself the healthiest religion in the world—for the ruling class. It teaches resignation to Karma and preaches an unreal individual deliverance, which, for all practical usage, comes very near to the impotence of the Christian's heaven. Of course, the defenders of Buddhism declare that the famous and immortal Emperor Asoka is the typical Buddhist ruler. By contrasting Asoka against Charlemagne and Napoleon, the case for Buddhist philosophy is established. The citation of Asoka, as the typical Buddhist ruler, is paralleled by citing Marcus Aurelius as the typical Roman Emperor. Even a schoolboy realises how absurd that would be. The glory of Napoleon fades into a mean nothingness before the greatness of Asoka, and the Corsican Conqueror of the French is seen at his true level, rightly portrayed as a gangster robed with Imperial splendour. What the Buddhist apologists forget is that there must have been hundreds of Buddhist Emperors or Kings, who flourished some before, and others after Asoka, whose conduct as rulers would make the ex-Kaiser seem a magnificent ruler of genius, and the executed Tsar, a saint of democracy, by comparison and contrast. If we collect the records of the Buddhist Emperors, and so arrive by a process of induction at our conclusion, we shall find it demonstrated amply that Buddhism in power knows no Socialism except the Socailism of the Sabre: the Socialism of the National or Corporate State, and not the Socialism of the proletarian struggle. Buddhism in Japan has favoured the growth of Fascism.

There is a sound historical reason why Japanese Fascism allies itself to Mussolini and Hitler, especially Hitler. There are geographical, economic, and political reasons also, but these merge into the historical. The Japanese State, as we know it, was constituted after the Bismarckian system of Prussia, which made supreme the power of military and the executive bureaucracy over the pretended voice and decisions of parliament. The shambles of 1914, and the military failure in Siberia, threatened to restore the power of parliament and democracy. The military organised the Manchurian incident and utilised it to its full extent, to recover their waning influence. Under the guise of "Mahayana National Defence," the armed forces of Japan were expanded, the supremacy of the military caste established, and friendliness towards Hitler expressed. As to the people at large, the great mass of the workers and peasants, they found themselves in a state of incessant uneasiness as to their security of living. Their movement of protest had been reduced to a low ebb. As in the Occident, so also in the Orient, Socialism had been reduced to impotence. Buddhism did nothing to revive the consciousness of the people because that would have been contrary to the law of Karma.

Buddhism teaches the peasant or the worker that he can never avoid or obviate the realisation of his Karma, unless he accepts Buddhism, recognises the Four Truths revealed by it, and lives up to the Eight Right Paths advocated to earn Nirvana, the position undisturbed by Karma. Buddhism asserts that Brahminism recognised Karma until Buddha came and showed the means of deliverance from Karma once for all, Nirvana. The peasant or worker must not negate Karma, must not objectively battle against his fate. He must accept Karma objectively and rise above it, subjectively. Let Karma remain Karma and let militarism take its toll of humanity, but let the worker within himself, and within himself only, rise above Karma. Thus Buddhism reconciles itself to Fascism, poverty, world war, national insecurities that breed war as they are bred by war, and Empire building on the basis of poverty and exploitation.

There is no hope for people unless there is some idea of change. Buddhism is changeless. In Buddhism there is no change, no knowledge, no call to scientific research: no idea of evolution, no Mendellian theory, no Copernician theory, not even the Newtonian theory of Gravitation. Buddhism may be and is serene. It is a wisdom of conduct in times of crisis and despair. But Buddhism is as powerless and worthless in the realm of science, as much at war with the spirit of research that is science, as Christianty is. Guatama and the Mahayana Buddhists moralised deductively and knew nothing of the inductive method, which is the fundamental method of modern experimental science.

Someone has said that Buddhism anticipated the atomic theory; but Buddhism conceived of atoms speculatively and metaphysically by the dialetic method. Buddhism may have a moral wisdom, but it cannot pretend to a scientific method or approach.

The true strength of Buddhism is to be found in its cardinal superstition, the doctrine of transmigration by Karma, the doctrine conceived by Brahminism, long before the appearance of

Gautama, and inherited and developed by the Buddhists. The doctrine of Karma teaches the immortality of the soul and its incessant transmigration. The present lot of the peasant is due to his behaviour in his previous life, and his future lot depends upon his conduct in his present life. The incessant and invisible circulation of Karma will have the peasant or worker reborn finally a king. This superstition of fatal individualistic optimism does not make for democracy or Socialism or economic revolt. It induces subserviency of minds, resignation to oppression, obedience to every demand of the State, and, finally, the mind that upholds Fascism, War, and Oppression. Buddhism is no whit superior to Christianity. The establishment of a commonweal, the democratic happiness of the people of the world, requires the spread of Atheistic understanding and the abandonment of all superstition. Human character can be developed and social happiness can be salvaged only by and through the spread of knowledge and rational understanding.

AMBULANCE AND A.R.P.

On May 9, conscientious objectors were banned from the air raid wardens' service in the Pontefract area. J. B. Coltam, chief warden, was cheered by South Kirby wardens, when he announced :—

"I have definitely stated that no conscientious objectors will be allowed to join the wardens' service in this area, where a large percentage of the personnel are ex-Servicemen.

"Such recruits would be an insult to the service and tend to make the wardens' badge looked upon as a substitute for a white feather."

Friday, May 17, Amersham A.R.P. personnel threatened resignation if a registered conscientious objector was allowed to join their ranks. The man concerned was Michael H. Middleton, of the Meadows, Stanley-hill, Amersham, who is a scenery designer at Buckinghamshire's only theatre, the Playhouse, Amersham. He was registered on condition that he joined the A.R.P. services.

Voluntary first-aid workers in Hoole objected to having a conscientious objector thrust upon them by the decree of the C.O. Tribunal. The matter has been taken up with the A.R.P. Committee of the Urban District Council. This was revealed at the Council's meeting on Monday, May 20, at which Councillor Ward Jones, the vice-chairman, presided.

Frampton Cotterell residents do not believe in the employment on war services of conscientious objectors.

On June 17, a specially convened parish meeting passed a resolution which the clerk was instructed to send to Sodbury Rural Council, requesting that all conscientious objectors resident in Frampton Cotterell or in any other of the 26 parishes in the Sodbury rural area be prohibited from holding any paid or unpaid office in connection with A.R.P. work, or any other position of a national character connected with war work which may be under the control of the council. It was added that, if any conscientious objectors at the present time hold any such position, it is requested that they shall be dismissed immediately. The meeting was very largely attended.

London Conscientious Objectors' Appeal Tribunal was told on Thursday, June 20, that an objector could not join the St. John Ambulance Brigade, because the Brigade in his district of Huddersfield had banned C.O.'s.

In our next issue we shall give accounts of pacifists and "conchies" who have been killed or wounded while on duty at first-aid posts. Their cry has been : *"Tend others first."*

ESSAYS IN REVOLT.

Guy Aldred's nine pamphlets in "The Word" Library have been collected and bound in one volume under the title *"Essays In Revolt."* The volumes are limited to a small number. Cloth binding, red, gold-lettered. Price 7/6. Post Free, 8/3.

This volume makes a handsome present.

WALTER STRICKLAND'S WANDERINGS

HIS DEFENCE OF THE UNDERDOG—IN EUROPE AND THE EAST

[The following article from our pen appeared in *The Malton Messenger*, for July 1, 8, and 15, 1939. We have preserved the cross-captions that appeared in our contemporary.—ED.]

Walter Strickland seems to have left Cambridge some time before 1888. Between 1888 and 1889 he wrote a number of poems at Richmond, York and at Redcar, "amid all the beauties of the Cleveland and Middlesbrough district." Outstanding among these poems was a bitter attack on an "English Hanging Judge," noted for his religious orthodoxy, who sentenced a youth of seventeen to death for murder, and read him a lecture whilst passing sentence. Although roused to bitter opposition by the sentence, Strickland knew this to be according to law, and denounced the judge, not for pronouncing the sentence, but for prolonging the agony of its passing by dressing its pronouncement with a great deal of sentimental moralising. Strickland accused the judge of rejoicing in sadism and declared that persons who punished others were often in the same criminal category as the persons they punished.

This sentence turned Strickland's thoughts to the question of capital punishment, of which he became a bitter enemy. Two years later, at Milan, at a time when he had decided to reside permanently in Italy, he wrote in E. Anglian dialect a vigorous pamphlet "Down with the Hangman." The pamphlet pretended to be an interesting interview with the public hangman, and was indeed a powerful attack upon the hangman and on the sensational Press. To show his opposition to the Judge who had passed the sentence, Strickland took as the motto of the essay the quotation "They that are in honour have no understanding, but are like unto the beasts that perish." This pamphlet was published five years later and largely popularised throughout the country by Robert Forder, the famous Freethought publisher, who had his publishing premises at Stonecutter Street, London.

This fact is interesting as tending to show that before leaving England, after his Cambridge days, Sir Walter Strickland was intimate with the leading figures in the Freethought movement. He had come under the influence of Charles Bradlaugh and was closely associated with many of the leading personalities of the Radical and Freethought movement that was then stirring London and the provinces. Darwin's thought exercised a great influence over him from this time on and he seems to have adopted as his motto the statement of the famous pioneer of evolution, "There was a time when I believed man to be a being destined to high aims and high purposes; now I should be sorry to think there was in man anything but the mere breath of his body."

THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM.

There is a suggestion of pessimism in this motto, but it would not be safe to conclude that Strickland's attitude towards life became cynical. On the contrary he developed everywhere a lively interest in the struggle for freedom and the emancipation of the human understanding. For a short time his mind reverted repeatedly to this subject of capital punishment and he wrote studies at various places throughout Europe, in criminal psychology. The keynote of his reflections in this matter is to be found in the quotation that he made from "The Owlet," showing that the difference between sentence and acquittal is often one of luck and not of criminal intention.

ACQUITTED:

"Sharp flew my dagger winged with hate,
Straight to his heart—the eye-glassed toff.
A pack of cards there turned the point,
So I'm let off."

CONDEMNED:

"My knife struck murder, friend, but Fate
Smiled more perverse—here, take this ring;
Mine was too 'pi' to carry cards,
So I'm to swing."

Strickland visited Italy in 1889, but returned to London the following year. Before returning to England he seems to have visited Bohemia and to have developed a respect for the Czechs which he retained throughout his life. On his return home he was asked by one of his uncles whether the Czechs were not Hungarians. This caused him to protest against what he considered to be an expression of English ignorance, namely that whatever was not German in Austria must of necessity be Hun. He pointed out that Hungary was hedged in by a ringed fence of Slav nationalties; and that all these Slav races, with their great prolificness had infiltrated into Hungary and modified profoundly the Hungarian race. This visit probably decided the great folklore translations to which he afterwards devoted a large portion of his life. Immediately he spent some time at Hampstead, where he wrote a number of poems, and published with them some other poems he had written at Spalding in 1886 and 1887. These poems were very slight and poked fun at the English sentimental style of verse.

THE MILAN STRIKE OF 1898.

Strickland resided in Italy from 1890 to 1900. By this is meant that he made Italy his residence and centre, travelling from there through all parts of Europe, but always returning to Italy. He spent considerable time in Switzerland, Austria, Bavaria and the Slav countries, studying the Slav languages and dialects and slowly translating Erben's collection of Panslavonic Folk Stories.

Strickland was fourteen years old when Karel J. Erben first published his Panslavonic Reading Book at Prague. Thirty years later Strickland began its study and publication in English, comparing it with Bernoni's collection of Venetian Fairy Stories and also with the Fairy Stories and Folklore of Lapland. These studies represent a marvellous work of scholarship and they are only made possible by the extent of European travelling into which Strickland plunged after his Cambridge days. It must not be supposed, however, that he was merely concerned with scholarship.

During his residence in Italy, Strickland was never actually molested by "Italy's not admirable carabineri," as he termed the Italian Police. But he was advised politely to leave the country following upon the Milan strike of 1898. The massacre of Milan occurred on May 7, 1898, when the troops were called out and murdered a number of strikers, incidentally murdering a number of very young boys. This roused Strickland to fury and he wrote and widely circulated, in Italian and in English, both in Italy and in England, a poem entitled "On the massacre of Milano." In this poem he gives a vivid description of calm returning to the city after the strike, all human protests stifled, the only noise being that of owls, as he says in the night: "Hooting loud in delight at the odour of blood."

He describes the condition of the city after it has been made to quake by the canon's roar:

"Here, splintered with shrapnel, a pile of street boys
Piled up in rags—like their own broken toys."

(To be Concluded.)

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MOCK TRIBUNALS LEGAL

Important Glasgow Decision—Defence Regulations Case

On Wednesday, July 31, Frank Leech, James Kennedy, Frank Dorans, and Edward Shaw were arrested, under Sheriff's warrant, and charged with contravening E.P.A. Defence Regulations No. 39 A (1) b and 90 (1) a.

Leech was charged that, between June 8 and July20, in premises occupied by the Anarchist Federation at 127 George Street, Glasgow, he publicly displayed in a window facing the street an advertisement in the following terms :—

"Conscientious objectors and those about to register, meet here every Wednesday at 8 p.m. Call for free advice any time. Assert your right to freedom."

The charge alleged that this was an invitation and incitement to persons who had become, or might become, liable under the National Services Armed Forces Act, 1939, to be called up for service to attend a meeting in the premises, where advice and guidance were given concerning methods of procuring exemption from combatant military service. This, the charge continued, Leech did preparatory to an endeavour being made at these meetings by the three other accused and others unknown to incite persons attending the meetings to evade the duties and liabilities which they might become liable to perform or discharge by virtue of said Act, contrary to the Defence (General) Regulations, 1939.

The charge against Shaw, Kennedy, and Dorans was that on various occasions between the dates mentioned, and at the meetings referred to, which were attended by persons liable, or who might become liable, to be called up for service, they did mock Conscientious Objectors' Tribunals, and by advice and guidance concerning procedure at official Conscientious Objectors' Tribunals and the most effective methods for procuring exemption thereat, endeavour to incite those persons to evade any duties or liabilities they were or might become, liable to discharge.

The case was called in the Sheriff Summary Court, at 11 a.m., the following morning, Thursday, August 1. Trial was fixed for Thursday, September 4.

Sheriff Robertson presided and asked if the accused were represented legally.

Mr. John M'Sparran, a Glasgow solicitor, explained that he was deputising for the agent for the poor, and should have been representing the accused, but, he remarked amid some laughter, "I have a conscientious objection to representing them."

We cannot understand how any question of being represented by the poor agent arose. Defence, in political trials, ought not to be left to the uncertain aptitude and ability of agents for the poor. One of the defendants was quite able to employ legal defence, if required. In any case, whether one agreed with the conduct of the defendants or not, where folk are accused of political offences and cannot afford lawyers, the movement should supply legal defence. When possible, political accused should defend themselves.

The result of the trial made Mr. M'Sparran's remarks more tricky than wise. He ought to have had no conscientious objection to defending, in such a case. Solicitors are not called upon to agree with their clients. Agents for the poor are appointed—to defend the poor when accused. Mr. M'Sparran's remarks were an offence against the ethics and etiquette of his profession.

After appearing before the Sheriff, the defendants were released without bail. Subsequently, by notice served upon them, the prosecution advanced the hearing to Tuesday, August 20.

Evidence was given by two police officers, describing their visits, in plain clothes, to the mock tribunals held in the back-shop at 127 George Street. This was a small shop, outside which was a sign, "Anarchist Federation."

Constable John McHardy described how he was instructed on June 8 to take certain observations of the premises occupied by the Anarchist Federation. He observed that the persons who entered were men, most of whom were of military age—between 20 and 35 years of age.

On June 19, in plain-clothes, he entered the premises, and went into a rear or inner room. A man Duff was speaking. There were about 12 to 15 working class people in the room, three-quarters of them of military age.

James Kennedy was chairman and the man Duff related his experiences as a conscientious objector in the last war.

Questions were asked and then an announcement was made that there would be meetings for C.O's every Wednesday evening.

Kennedy said there would be a mock tribunal the following Wednesday.

Witness attended the mock tribunal and described what happened.

Duff gave an invitation to members of the audience to come forward for a mock trial.. A man then took a chair at a table at which Edward Shaw, Kennedy, and Duff were sitting. A mock trial was held then after the fashion of a Conscientious Objectors' Tribunal.

Duff asked the man in the chair various questions, such as would he take shelter in an air raid, would he assist any person wounded in an air raid, would he assist a soldier in uniform if he was wounded.

Questions were then put by Kennedy and Shaw. The man in the chair was then told whether the reasons he had given for objecting to military service would be accepted by the tribunal.

After that another young man, who said he was a printer's labourer, came forward. His objections were on political grounds.

"He was told that he was too cheeky and that he had to respect the tribunal, otherwise his case would fail," said the policeman.

Witness was cross-examined by each of the four accused. He admitted that the meetings were open to the public.

SHERIFF WELLWOOD JOHNSTON: *Did you see anything in the nature of people who were not conscientious objectors being urged to pretend to be conscientious objectors?*

WITNESS :-*No.*

SHERIFF : *Did you notice any sort of attempt to advise people to profess opinions, which they did not really hold, in order to evade service?*

WITNESS : *No.*

Constable M'Hardy said he made another visit to the premises the following week. Kennedy was in the chair and Dorans was also there. They asked for people to come forward as conscientious objectors.

A man of about 28 years of age, who gave his name as James M'Fadyen and said he was a coach painter, stepped up and said he objected on humanitarian grounds.

Kennedy and Dorans questioned him and the man was advised what to say in reply to certain questions.

Sheriff Wellwood Johnston put the same question, as to incitement, to the other police-officer, and received substantially the same reply.

The trial was adjourned till Thursday, August 22.

The first witness at the resumed hearing was Alexander M'Donald. He stated that he was brought into contact with the Anarchist Federation at the outbreak of the war.

Answering the Assistant Procurator-Fiscal (Mr. Robert M'Donald), witness said that to his knowledge the object of the Anarchist Federation was to give young men who had registered as conscientious objectors advice as to their legal status. The organisation had no political significance.

The Fiscal.—Were they in favour of the prosecution of the war, or were they against it?—They were against the prosecution of the war.

Witness added that if young men affected by the war made an appearance in the premises mock tribunals wereheld to give them advice. His business in the premises was connected with the sale of literature.

Witness said that on an average three or four persons attended the mock tribunals. There may have been more young men in the place, but they did not go forward.

The Fiscal.—If there were 20 persons in the place and none went forward, did the mock tribunal still go on?—On one occasion it did.

Who took the part of the conscientious objector?—I think it was Kennedy.

Witness added that some young men came forward on moral grounds, but as they were not capable of giving moral reasons they were instructed accordingly.

When asked what was the attitude of the "tribunal" to political reasons, he replied that unless a person was capable of putting forward political grounds in a good way he had no chance of exemption.

Leech cross-examined this witness, and asked questions about a gramophone record, taken away by the police when they raided the premises. Leech asked the witness if he knew what was on the record.

"Workers' songs, including 'The Internationale," replied M'Donald. "The police made me play it and danced up and down the shop."

Evidence for the defence was given by two men, one of whom was described as a free-lance journalist. The latter witness said that on one occasion he attended a mock tribunal in the premises of the Anarchist Federation, and afterwards he wrote two articles on the "tribunal" which appeared in the press.

In reply to a question by Leech, witness said that he did not hear anyone at the mock tribunal urging young men not to join His Majesty's Forces.

None of the four accused went into the witness- box. The Sheriff advised them that it was not necessary and that it was unwise sometimes for defendants to do so.

The Assistant Procurator-Fiscal summed up for the prosecution, and argued that the defendants were moved by an oblique political motive. They did not advise or counsel individually any who might seek advice but convened public meetings, which was not actually advising at all, within the meaning of the Act.

Sheriff Wellwood Johnston intimated that he did not propose to hear the four accused.

Finding the accused not guilty, he gave a most important ruling, which ought to be reproduced verbatim in the Labour press of the country, as an important statement of the right of civic liberty during the present period of menanced freedom.

The Sheriff stated :—

"In order to succeed in this case, the Crown must establish that an endeavour was made to incite persons to evade their duties or liabilities under the National Service (Armed Forces) Act.

"According to the dictionary, to 'incite" means 'to rouse or stir up, to move to action, to spur or urge on.' It is not easy, or perhaps it is not possible, to imagine incitement without some sort of direct exhortation, and in the present case direct exhortation to evade duties was not only not proved but disproved."

However this prosecution arose, it has served a most useful purpose. Sheriff Wellwood Johnston commands respect for the patient and careful way in which he presided over the hearing, and for the manner in which he directed himself. His decision betrays a regard for the first principles of jurisprudence, that is an example to judges and statesmen in times of crisis. It is easy to be a judge but not so simple to be a jurist. Yet when the bench does not respect jurisprudence, corruption is beginning to condemn virtue to the scaffold. We thank Sheriff Wellwood Johnston for his decison and his example.

The police officers ought to be commended for speaking the simple truth in answer to questions. It is clear that they carried out their duties, whatever one may think of such duties, with courtesy and understanding. In the Court, they assisted justice by not manufacturing evidence. They spoke directly to what they heard and observed and attached no trimmings. Truth is a social asset as well as an individual virtue. It is pleasant to record a trial where no false witness is borne.

We sympathise with the Assistant Procurator-

Fiscal. The case should never have been brought. We cannot understand how he examined his evidence before going into Court. He had honest witnesses, yet failed to understand their evidence, and to sense its import. He attempted a dangerous limitation of what liberties are left to us. He might have succeeded but for the clear legal analysis of the Sheriff.

It is to be hoped thatsuch a case will not again disturb the Courts in Scotland. The result is good however: mock tribunals have been declared legal.

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CHISWICK COUNCILLOR'S PROTEST

Councillor W. E. Davies, of the Chiswick Town Council, writing from Mortimer, near Reading, on Friday, July 5, to the Town Clerk, protested against the Council's decision to give conscientious objector employees leave of absence without pay. He had been absent from the meetings owing to ill-health, and threatened to resign entirely, as a protest.

Essential passages in his letter read :—

"I have heard with considerable regret of the decision taken by the Borough Council last week in regard to conscientious objectors.

"I have never met any members of the Corporation staff with convictions of this kind, but it would appear that the practical effect of the Council's decision is as follows :—

"(1) To punish two existing objectors by taking away their livelihood before they have the slightest chance of commencing the alternative work ordered by their tribunals (in one of the cases the tribunal actually seems to have desired the man to stay where he was).

"(2) That coercion is being used towards future age groups by letting the staff know that immediately any of them exercise their plain legal right to register as conscientious objectors their position with the Council is forfeit for the duration of the war. Any such men would probably be family men and the purpose is obvious, and I do not know if the Council realises that, even if an employee happens to be medically unfit for service but yet ventures to register his honest views, he is to be penalised forthwith for such honesty.

"I am sorry I cannot remain a member of an authority behaving in what to me is an utterly mean and cowardly manner. Every decent instinct seems thereby to be outraged, to say nothing of the violence done to one's most elementary obligations as a Christian disciple. It is certain that our Corporation can only impede the cause of liberty and freedom by wilfully flouting legislation which seeks to pay proper regard thereto.

"Reluctantly, therefore, I submit my resignation to the Council and propose to post a copy of this letter to the local Press in explanation to my friends in the borough. That the Council's decision should be that of civilians, who are themselves for the most part unaffected by military demands, renders the same the more inexplicable. . . .

"I had hoped to keep on with my Council work in spite of all difficulties, but there are some things in which even involuntary acquiescence is a betrayal of principle, and with a final expression of my sincere appreciation of many courtesies shown to me by electors, colleagues, and Council officers alike, I have now, sadly, to make the break.

"Yours very truly,
(Signed) "WALTER E. DAVIES."

The letter was read at the Council Meeting and accepted without comment.

TROTSKY'S MURDER

The *Daily Mirror*, for Friday, August 24, 1940, devoted its editorial to the assasination of Trotsky. Our contemporary wrote :—

"All revolutions devour their own children. None has ever shown such a fierce appetite in that cannibalistic form of fodder as the Russian revolution, of which the murdered Trotsky was one of the chief organisers.

"This needs saying, since the Stalinites, who call themselves Communists to-day, have long received and obeyed their orders to deny or defame the early services of Leon Trotsky to the 'cause.'

"Glance at one or two of the Stalinite 'histories' of post-war Russia. You will find hardly a mention of Trotsky!

'The organiser of the Red Armies, the Carnot of the Russian uprising, the negotiator of the peace with a then triumphant Germany, the international Communist, for whom Russian nationalism was nothing compared with the true gospel of "workers of the world unite," simply doesn't exist in these lying tracts, of which the aim is to prove against all evidence that "Trotsky and Co."—their cant phrase—represented a plot against the immense, the pure, the devoted, the eternal, the immortal, the infallible, god-like Joseph Stalin. Against whom Lenin has warned his Party! Too late . . .

"No one who reads Trotsky's "History of the Russian Revolution" or his "Revolution Betrayed," no one who searches the facts of his achievement, can deny his great ability.

"His arrogance, however, led him to make one irreparable mistake. He under-estimated, he despised, his adversaries.

"While he laboured, Stalin plotted; edged his own men in; played for position; struck when the time came; then waited patiently (as his way is), stalking his rival, for years; has not at last "got" him.

"A noble story! Full of idealism, is it not?

"And to-day, as Trotsky is dead, you will read in the Stalinite Press either the usual foul abuse of "Trotsky and Co.," or else the denial that Trotsky ever existed.

"For these mean and credulous rats will deny or assert anything, as we saw when this war began with their approval; and was then denounced by them with the approval of Almighty Joe.

"W.M."

OUR LETTER-BOX

'This will be a feature of our next issue. A large number of readers have written, from all over the country, expressing strong disapproval of our attack on Tory M.P.s who approved Fascism. A few have expressed approval. The critics' letters will be published next month. Send along your opinion.

Below we publish one letter as typical of the adverse criticism received :—

Dear Comrade Aldred,—With regard to the August issue, I am very pleased with your article on the real "Fifth Column." Whilst the material in it is very good I feel that the dogmatic attitude conveyed in it is somewhat out of place. For instance your headline, "Tory M.P.s Who Must Resign" seems a little naive.

We all appreciate that the world might be a little better for the workers if such individuals, out of the goodness of their heart, were to vacate their offices but do you think such an event is at all likely. Bearing in mind our experience in Spain is it not more likely that such gentlemen would ignore even a widespread public demand for their removal. The facts even show that they have gone as far as to overturn "democratic" assemblies by force when they appear to threaten their interests.

Again you put "Criminal Anti-Socialism Exposed." Somehow this headline savours too much of American Yellow Journalism and the gutterpress to me.

I realise and sympathise with the thoughts which probably prompted you to use this phrase. To some extent I share them myself but I feel it is wrong for us left wingers to lower our propaganda to the level of the *Daily Mirror*, etc. I feel you would have done better to stress their double-dealing and hypocrisy in this phrase rather than to use such a smug, pharisaic phrase which after all is not likely to awaken a tide of moral indignation among the general public. On the contrary, many of them are not so enamoured of our cause as to stigmatise anti-socialism as a crime. Something more on the lines of "Hypocrisy of So-Called Anti-Fascists" would have been better.

I seem to be always criticising your efforts but I am sure you will appreciate the friendly spirit in which it is done. After all an ounce of constructive criticism is worth a pound of insincere flattery.

Wishing you all success and continued vigour in your campaign against militarism.

Yours fraternally,
J. D. THOMAS,
Hon Secy., New Malden N.C.L.
Worcester Park, Surrey, *August* 18.

HOW TO HELP

You like this paper. You like our various pamphlet publications. We need your help to continue the paper and to improve it. You want to help but you do not know how to help. Let us explain.

Thousands of men and women have left the churches in despair. Thousands find themselves outside all political parties and groups. They are cynical or in despair. They do not know of the Bakunin Press or the Strickland Press publications. They know nothing about the United Socialist Movement. They have never seen this journal. Many of them would become subscribers if only the fact of its existence was brought to their notice. Why not let them know?

We are unable to reach the disillusioned ones through the ordinary channels of commercial advertising. We must rely on the willingness to help expressed by friends and comrades. You may show your willingness in many ways :—

(1) By taking an extra copy of the paper and sending or giving it to some interested friend or acquaintance.
(2) By sending us the address of an acquaintance, and paying for a copy to be sent to him.
(3) By sending us the address of every enlightened man and woman in your district; local Councillors who have spoken wisely; any local person; where possible, sending us a local news-cutting, with report.
(4) By lending your own copy to a friend, after you have read it.
(5) By leaving a copy in a train, tram, or 'bus.
(6) By taking a dozen or more copies at trade rates and selling them at meetings.

It seems monstrous that after so many years of Socialist, Freethought, Anti-Militarist, and Anti-Parliamentarian struggle, our publishing and educational work should not even be in an aggressive financial position. The paper and the pamphlets uphold and define a cause that is worthy of all that each and every comrade can do to speed its triumph.

BACK FROM THE JAWS

WHEN THE HEROES RETURN—WHAT?

Accommodation & Reception, London Railway Termini

House of Commons Debate Reveal a Public Scandal That Demands Immediate Remedy

(Continued from page 21)

Mr. Robertson speaking:—

The railway companies have told the Y.M.C.A., the Salvation Army and the Church Army that they should buy their tobacco, chocolates and cigarettes from the retail establishments in those stations. The voluntary bodies are trying to sell the troops something at cost price, but are compelled to buy from the retail organisations at the full retail price less five per cent. That shows, I believe, very clearly, that these welfare organisations are trying to do a job without any profit at all. They are trying only to do good, and it is distressing that this atmosphere of deliberate frustration—and of deliberate interest, if you like—is stopping the movement.

I am reluctant to say these things to the House—[Hon. Members: "Go on"]—but I would be still more reluctant to think that thousands of the most honoured passengers that the railway companies ever carried were subject to this treatment each day and each night. I know that it is not the wish of this House or of the people outside that hours of misery and discomfort should be brought upon these gallant soldiers, and I do charge the Director of Welfare, and those responsible for his work, with neglect. I hope that he stands the court-martial that soldiers who neglect their duty should stand in war-time, and he should pay the penalty. I charge the directors of the railway companies and their managers with neglect and with a great want of sympathy, and I hope that this House will send out a message to-night that will bring this state of affairs to an end.

Mr. H. W. Butcher (Holland-with-Boston)—I do not know who is to reply on behalf of the Government, but I feel that it is to the Minister of Transport that we are entitled to look for some speedy redress of the conditions existing at the present time. The railway companies are operating under the direction of the Railway Executive Committee, which is under my right hon. Friend. We must bear in mind that these companies have prided themselves, and have spent large sums of money during these months of war upon boasting and placarding in order to say, how they are serving the people. We have heard to-day how the railway companies are serving the soldiers. We remember that, in the months just before the war, these railway companies came squealing for a "square deal." Is there to be a square deal for the railway companies and their shareholders, but a dirty and raw deal for the serving man?

The statement made by my hon. Friend is one which I am sure the House will welcome. We are entitled to insist, through either my hon. Friend the Financial Secretary to the War Office or the Minister of Transport, that the companies shall be made to realise that they are public servants and that they have great privileges. During this time of war they have been guaranteed a return on their capital. They have had the advantage of protection which very few other organisations have, and it is their duty to put their house in order. I am bound to say that control of the railway companies is one of the matters that my right hon. Friend should take in hand at once. I see that two of these stations are Euston and St. Pancras, the property of the London Midland and Scottish Railway, the president of which line is Lord Stamp. He is able, in addition to fulfilling his duties in that capacity, to act as part-time Economic Adviser to the Government; I feel that it would be more desirable if, before he took on additional duties, he made quite sure that the ordinary soldier who travels on his line was treated with the same consideration as the fare-paying passenger.

In regard to animals, the railway companies are under a statutory obligation to observe certain conditions, and are liable for prosecution if they do not do so. Why is not the same consideration extended to the serving men? The statement of my hon. Friend about the way in which the companies seek, in a time of national emergency, to extract from voluntary organisations very heavy rents in London, when property is very difficult to let, and especially from voluntary organisations which administer comfort and help to the fighting men, is a revelation to this House and a disgrace to the country. I hope that before the House adjourns to-night we shall receive definite assurances that these things will be put right within the next 48 hours.

8.9 p.m.

Sir Joseph Nall (Manchester, Hulme)—My hon. Friend the Member for Streatham has rendered a real public service to-night. Many of us know that he has been struggling for weeks past with various Departments and people concerned to get this matter redressed. I heard reactions of it and really believed that something was being done. The House will appreciate from what my hon. Friend has said, that nothing serious in the way of a determined effort has been made. Responsibility for this state of affairs rests in several different quarters. First of all the War Office, with a great flourish of trumpets, set up this welfare organisation to which attention has been drawn. A one-time Member of this House, now gone to another place, preened himself on what was being done, but that Department is entirely futile. It has never done anything about this matter. I am not blaming the present Financial Secretary to the War Office—he has only just taken over his duties—but I would challenge his Department to say that any officer or person on the welfare staff of the War Office has ever been to any of these stations to see what is going on. I do not believe that any of them know anything about it or have taken the slightest trouble to make any inquiry about it.

This applies not only in London but all over the country. It is the same in Manchester, and I have no doubt it is the same elsewhere. There is complete lack of interest, and of co-ordination between the local authorities, the Ministry of Transport and the railway companies concerned. When voluntary organisations are willing to come along and do something to fill the gap, it is scandalous to demand rent and obstruct their efforts in this way. It should not be necessary for voluntary organisations to have to fill the gap in this way. Four main line railway companies have refreshment departments. They can do something. They cannot provide bivouacs for everybody who wants to stay the night in the station, but the refreshment departments of the railways seem to take no interest in these exceptional tasks which are thrust upon them.

One must be fair to the railway companies. They do cater for the carrying of these men quite reasonably. In certain cases special trains are run. Night trains are available, but the military authorities in sending men on leave seem to take no notice whatever of train connections. The men are not given proper instructions about train connections. They are thrown into Liverpool Street or King's Cross at two o'clock in the morning, after all the night trains have gone. If they are to be sent on an overnight journey they should be despatched from the starting station at a time to enable them to catch the eleven o'clock or midnight trains,, and not sent to a Southern camp or training depot just too late to catch the night train and too early to catch the morning train Nothing appears to have been done. The various training centres could give instructions as to how or when to catch trains.

The Ministry of Transport takes no interest in the matter. It may be said that it is not their job. It may be completely outside the scope of that Department, but at least it is within the scope of the railway companies and organisation to do something with their own refreshment rooms, and not to shut the doors of these places, as they often do, just when a train is coming in, merely because it is eleven o'clock and the licensing hours prevent them selling any more drink. That is what is happening up and down the country. Trains are late and do not arrive at scheduled times; the doors of the refreshment rooms are shut on the stroke of eleven o'clock, and the men cannot get any refreshment because it is after eleven. These points are details in the whole picture of the war organisation, but they are details to which attention should be given. Let us have somebody in the welfare department who can do something, who can get busy and get a move on. Let the Minister of Transport talk to the railway executives and urge them to make some sort of contact between their running departments and the refreshment people, so that these refreshment rooms can be open to people when trains arrive or when the men are waiting in the station.

There is a further aspect of this matter. The Minister will find that this question of night shelters for troops travelling on leave was raised months ago in the House. At that time, a case in point was Inverness, and whoever was in office at the time told the House of what had been done, and that shelters and bivouacs were being arranged. Why was not the same thing done elsewhere? Alternatively, why are not the men sent away at reasonable times? There are two alternatives. Either leave times should be so arranged that men need not come to a London station overnight, or else accommodation should be provided. This matter is not beyond some commonsense arrangement. I only rise now, on the spur of the moment, because it amazes me to think that after all the weeks the hon. Member for Streatham has been slogging away at this he has to state to-night that still nothing has been done.

8.16 p.m.

Mr. James Maxton (Glasgow, Bridgeton)—I wish to associate myself heartily with the action of the hon. Member for Streatham in bringing this matter before the House. As a fairly regular user of St. Pancras and King's Cross stations, I have been aware of this state of affairs for a considerable time, and I feel ashamed that I have not acted as energetically as the hon. Gentleman, merely contenting myself with casual complaints here and there. I always expected that the matter would be straightened out. I knew of the activities of the voluntary associations; I knew of the Army welfare scheme; I knew that the railways had been taken under the control of the Government, and I could not believe that in the course of weeks decent arrangements would not be made for the comfort of these men passing through the big terminus stations.

It was driven home to me in the strongest possible fashion in Euston one night about nine o'clock, when I was going up by the Scottish train, and I ran into a group of Glasgow men, members of the Royal Engineers, some of them my own constituents, who knew me. I entered into conversation with them. They had been over on the Norwegian Expedition. They had been in the terrible landing at Andalsnes. They had been up to Lillehammer, the furthest advance point of the Expedition, had been battered all over the place, had retreated and embarked again on ships under terrible conditions. They had to travel in a troopship through the most dangerous waters round the North of Scotland, down the west into London, and, having arrived here, were glad of a few days leave in which

to return to their homes in the West of Scotland. That was a month or more of concentrated hell. I would have thought that, for men who had gone through those experiences, it would not have been too much to have thrown open the doors of Euston Hotel and given them a shakedown. That is as it would seem to me—and, as hon. Members know, I do not take the ordinary view about warmongers—and it would not be too much for these fellows if they had been given every scrap of hospitality and luxury that Euston Hotel could produce. Do the Ministry of Transport, the L.M.S. or the Army authorities think about anything of that sort—of Army men lying about the platform, with no arrangements made for their ordinary comfort, let alone for special treatment for the men who have been going through a rough time?

I hope that the action of the hon. Gentleman has been sufficient to ensure that this sort of thing will not occur again. It is terrible to think that while I and other Members of this House, and business men who travel up and down between Glasgow and London, can have all the luxuries of the hotels and the dining rooms, and can have first-class sleepers—when the ordinary routine of our lives has not been seriously disturbed by the war—those fellows, who have been going through the hardest conditions, must lie upon the platform among the mail bags. I hope that this Debate has been sufficient to open the eyes of the War Office, and to get something done.

8.21 p.m.

Mr. R. J. Taylor (Morpeth)—I am glad that this subject has been raised to-night. It is not applicable only to the London stations. The hon. Member for Streatham has rendered a public service in bringing the matter forward. When we consider how much our future depends on the men who are fighting for us, we should at least give some consideration to their comfort. I have been trying for months to get this question settled so far as the soldiers from the North are concerned. Having failed to get proper train connections out of Newcastle, I asked that consideration might be given to the times at which the men were sent on leave. Reference has been made to men being delayed on the London stations because they were unable to catch their last trains to the North, but my problem has been slightly different. The train which used to leave King's Cross arrived at Newcastle one minute before the connecting train left, and the men had to travel about a mile to get that connection. The railway company very kindly brought the connecting train into the same station as that at which the other train arrives. That arrangement lasted for a fortnight. Then they said that, on account of heavy traffic, they had to take the train back again to the other station. They then re-timed the train, so that there was no hope of a connection in any circumstances. Men who came back from France spent the night lying in the Central Station. It is true that we have a Salvation Army hostel, doing splendid work, but these men do not know of it.

Is it not a shame that a man who had been serving in France, should leave London, get to Newcastle, and then be left lying on the platform for a night, when only 10 or 12 miles from his wife and family? I approached the Secretary for War about this, and he pointed out that they could not control the times of arrival of soldiers of the B.E.F. But the same thing applies to soldiers before they have gone overseas. They have been getting into London at times which prevented them from continuing their journey home. There is no wisdom in this sort of thing. If we cannot arrange to get our men to their homes properly in such times as this, we are entirely lacking in organisation. I hope that the Secretary for War will take steps to enable these men, who are making all these sacrifices for us, to get home to their wives and families.

(To be concluded)

SIR THOMAS MOORE, M.P.: IS HE A TORY FIFTH COLUMNIST?

HIS FASCIST LOYALTIES EXPOSED

WHY AYR M.P. MUST GO

Last month we exposed the Tory Fifth Column. In one article we denounced Sir Arnold Wilson, M.P. On another page we mentioned that he was presumed to have died in action. The fact that he repented his criminal worship of Fascism, and so died in company with young men instead of sheltering behind them, does not atone for his political folly nor make his public views less criminal in their effect.

Sir Arnold Wilson is dead and so he can rest. Many of his colleagues remain and still sit in Lords and Commons, directing the policy of the country, attacking and denouncing Socialists, genuine Pacifists, and sincere Conscientious Objectors. They still sneer at Socialism, which is the only remedy for Fascism, and have no idea of atonement for their political imbecility than aggressive self-assertion. These arrogant friends of Fascism must retire from public life. Once a Fascist, always a Fascist. In any case, they have been too recently the friends of Hitler and Mussolini to remain in their present place of paid legislators of the nation, whose citizens are facing death from Fascist bombs.

One of these Fascist M.P.'s is Lt.-Col. Sir Thomas Moore, Conservative M.P. for Ayr Burghs.

In the *Daily Mail* for April 25, 1934, Sir Thomas Moore put his name to a newspaper article entitled: "*The Blackshirts Have What The Conservatives Need.*" He described and enthused over the close affinity between Toryism and Fascism. He rejoiced at the Fascist rally in the Albert Hall. He wrote:

> "What is there in a black shirt which gives apparent dignity and intelligence to its wearer . . . All seemingly filled with the same emotions, pride of race, love of country, loyalty, hope . . . As I listened to the vibrant tones of Sir Oswald Mosley . . . I got my answer. There was little if any of the policy which could not be accepted by the most loyal follower of our present Conservative leaders. The majority of the essentials and many of the details are part and parcel of strict Tory doctrines. . . . In truth much of the national Blackshirt policy has already been initiated by the National Government. Why, therefore, the Blackshirts? The answer lies in the one word—Action! . . . But if my analysis is correct surely there cannot be any fundamental difference of outlook between the Blackshirts and their parents the Conservatives? For let us make no mistake about that parentage. The briefest study of the movement and the most casual examination of its members satisfy one that it is largely derived from the Conservative Party. This is perhaps natural for the instincts are the same, loyalty to the throne and love of country. With these two powerful bonds, surely the relationship can be made closer and more friendly. . . .
>
> "Why should there not be concord and agreement between that old historic party . . . and this new and virile offshoot? . . .
>
> "The country will be safeguarded from danger within and made more secure from danger without. The National Government will get a new lease of vigorous and successful life."

A few months before contributing this article to the *Daily Mail*, Sir Thomas Moore was writing for the *Sunday Dispatch*. Here is an extract from his contribution to that journal for October 22, 1933:

> "If we were to isolate Germany and therefore prove to the German people that Herr Hitler had failed them, deluded them, betrayed them, eventually they will discard him and seek another God . . . there is only one, the anti-Christ of Communism."

Moore was extraordinary blind to the growing menace of Nazism and Fascism. In his criminal opposition to Socialism he was arming the enemies of the British Empire with power and lulling the ruling class, even of Britain, to defeatism. He proved himself a political incapable whose domicile was the backwoods of understanding and imagination.

In the very same *Sunday Dispatch* article, Moore stated:

> "But if I may judge from my personal knowledge of Herr Hitler, peace and justice are the key-words of his policy."

Because political fools like Moore wrote, spoke, and alas! thought like this, the youth of Europe is being slaughtered to-day, and the workers of Spain were betrayed and crushed.

At this time, Moore was urging the return of the German colonies and the strengthening and developing of German power in Africa.

Sir Thomas Moore, Fascist and Nazi apologist, eulogist of Hitler, was re-adopted as Conservative candidate for Ayr Burghs in the 1935 election. The Tory machine worked overtime to secure his return. Why? Because of its criminal hatred of Socialism and the working-class. Whilst young workers face death, or discomfort in the Forces, he sits in Parliament and talks—at £600 per annum. Fascist, Nazist, Hitlerite, Mussolini-apologist, enemy of anti-Fascist Spain, he sits in Parliament and proclaims his hatred of Socialism, Conscientious Objectors, and Pacifists.

How can this man play any part in the defeat of Fascism? How can we expect his electors, or the political machine that returned him to Parliament, knowing his opinions, and endorsing those opinions, to serve the struggle against Fascism? Moore has no more right to be in the House of Commons than Captain Ramsay.

We demand his impeachment. The people of Ayr should demonstrate for his withdrawal. Not Socialism, not Conscientious Objection, not Pacifism, but Fascist Toryism pioneered this war and entrenched Fascism. Let us end Capitalist Fascism by meeting Fascism with United Socialist opposition. A Socialist Britain can destroy both Hitler and Mussolini; and only a Socialist Britain.

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THE WORD

To Rouse The People, To Combat Fascism, and To Speed Commonweal.

An Organ of the United Socialist Movement, Edited and Published by Guy A. Aldred, for the Bakunin Press and the U.S.M. at **Bakunin Hall, 29 Castle Street, Glasgow, C.4.** All unsigned matter is from the pen of the Editor. Annual Subscription, 3s. 0d.

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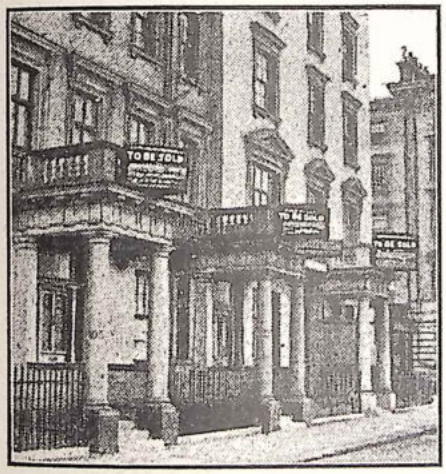
THE BOMBINGS—PROPERTY—AND THE POOR

LONDON'S ORDEAL AND LESSONS!

HOTELS, HOUSES, AND THE HOMELESS!



London and Glasgow have experienced the ordeal that Fascism but a few years ago imposed upon Madrid and Barcelona. This aerial bombardment may continue for long enough. It is part of the twentieth-century war-time life of civilised humanity. Woven into the horror is another tragedy—the tragedy of poverty, of the class-struggle. Property, and the evil of property, which has sacrificed humanity, and destroyed even capitalism's approach to commonweal, indulges its minor realistic cynicism midst the horrors of war's bombardments.

In London's fashionable West End, and wealthy suburban Hampstead, many many houses with deep basements and ample accommodation for many people stand empty. As the *Sunday Express* points out, they have been empty since their prosperous owners left London at the outbreak of war. *They should be commandeered—requisitioned is the correct term—and placed at the disposal of the refugees from Stepney and Bermondsey.*

Even the *Sunday Dispatch* realises how sane is this demand. On the same day as the *Sunday Express* said "*commandeer*"—Sunday, September 15—the *Dispatch* said: "SEIZE THESE HOUSES!" It said it in caps, and published the pictures we reproduce, without permission, on this page. The letter-press read:—

"Look at these houses! There are hundreds like them in the West End of London. Big empty mansions with 20 or 30 rooms or more and basements and cellars which could be speedily and cheaply converted into excellent air raid shelters.

"They stand empty waiting for tenants or purchasers able to pay huge prices.

"The owners may have to wait a long time to find people with enough money. *But the mansions must stay vacant while the battle for London is raging and thousands of people in the suburbs are homeless.*

"These great empty mansions must be seized at once by the Government and used for housing the Londoners whose own little homes have been smashed by the bombs of the Nazis.

"The opinions of the owners of these properties are not important in this crisis. The Government should act to-day and discuss the matter afterwards when there is more time."

What is the Government attitude towards this demand? Malcolm MacDonald—who owes his position in public life to the fact that his father once upon a time was alleged to be a socialist—acts as though he never heard the word: "Collectivise." He believes in *conscription*—that is only commandeering human beings; but he has never heard of *collectivism*, that means *socialising property* which is socially created and only individually appropriated. The value of war is questionable, at best. The value of making property serve humanity is without question. So Malcolm MacDonald puts property above humanity. He appeals for Charity—Charity for the bombed homeless! Charity to meet national emergency.

Says the *Glasgow Evening News*, Monday, September 16:—

"If the people are driven from their houses, as they have been driven from so many homes in the East End of London, what are we prepared to do with them?

"Charity is not a solution, either in the raising of funds or the friendship of more fortunate homes.

"This is a task for the people as a community, not as individuals."

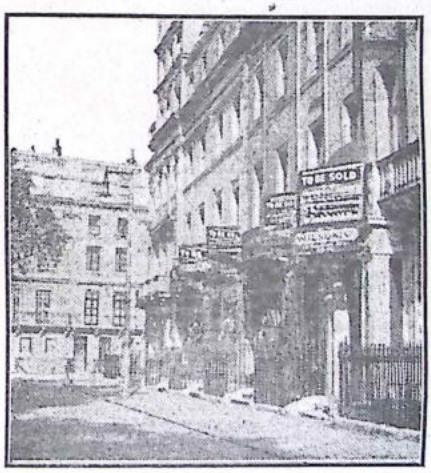
Charity, says the wealthy patriot who lives on dividends, and hopes he is immune from air-raids! Charity, says the some-time Socialist son, giving no heed to the need for social organisation. Charity! And this is how charity works!

From one of the Sunday papers quoted, we clip this excerpt from the news columns:—

Homeless March into the Savoy.

"Police were summoned to the Savoy Hotel last night, when about fifty men and women with two children in arms took shelter during an air-raid alarm.

"The party, who came from Stepney and other East End districts, decided that they were homeless and refused to move.



"Two directors of the Savoy were called in, and an inspector and a plain-clothes officer followed.

"It was pointed out to the party, which included Councillor Phil Piratin, of the Stepney Borough Council, and Mr. 'Tubby' Rosen, of the Stepney Tenants' Defence League, that they were on private premises, and that the owners could ask them to leave at any time even during an air raid. . . .

The police then demanded to see their identity cards, and took down particulars.

"A few minutes later the all-clear sounded and the party filed out."

Private property! Asked to leave at any time!

We do not believe in war; but war is here. So long as it continues the poor, who survive death, will be plunged into more desperate homelessness. And the amelioration is—to seize the houses, requisition the hotels, and commandeer the furniture stores. "Conscientious objectors" no longer face District Court Martials. They face Field Court Martials. Britain is the battlefield. And the battlefield demands that the front-line civilian shall be protected; the soldier's wife and children must be protected; *requisition*!

This is the lesson of London for the entire country. Practical social service. *Common sacrifice means equality.*

Seize the empty houses. Take over the hotels. Take over the hire furniture stores. House and comfort the homeless.

Capitalism has given us war and death. Let war lead us to peace and Socialism.

GOOD NEIGHBOURS!

BOLSHEVISM AND NAZI-ISM

The Soviet-German Pact was the immediate prelude to the present war. Molotov celebrated the first anniversary of that pact by going out of his way to stress the good relations existing between Soviet or Bolshevik Russia and Nazi-Germany. He repeated that those relations were based on the "fundamental interests" of both states. His eulogy of the pact was followed up by a leading article in *Izvestia*, which repeats the view that Britain and France were responsible for the war, and *had endeavoured to make a breach between Russia and Germany*, that is, between Stalin and Hitler.

The pact was summarised in the *Daily Worker*, London, for Saturday, August 26, 1940, under the following double column heading :—

SOVIET-GERMAN PACT A YEAR OLD

From Our Own Correspondent

Moscow, Friday.

The Communist Party dupes who read this paper were told in the letter-press that follows :

"An important editorial article on the occasion of the first anniversary of the signature of the Soviet-German non-aggression pact appears in to-day's *Izvestia*, the daily paper of the Soviet Government.

'The results of the past year,' says Izvestia, *'have fully confirmed the view that the Soviet-German Pact, signed on August 23, 1939, corresponds to the fundamental state-interests of the U.S.S.R. and Germany.*

'A year ago the peoples of the Soviet Union received with keen satisfaction the news of the signing of the Pact which revealed among other things that Germany correctly understood the great importance of the U.S.S.R. in international life.

'To-day, as then, the peoples of the U.S.S.R. greet this historic Pact which has contributed so much to the preservation of peace throughout Eastern Europe.'

"The signature of the Pact, the paper says, was a real turning point not only in the history of Soviet-German relations but also in the history of the whole of Europe and not of Europe alone. The Pact is one of the most significant and important documents in the history of foreign political relations of the last decades.

IMPERIALIST AIMS.

'The pact was signed in a situation fraught with danger, when it was already obvious what tasks the British and French imperialists had set themselves. For a number of months before the conclusion of the pact Britain and France had made persistent attempts to harness the Soviet Union to their chariot, to use the SovietUnion for their imperialist aims. Above all they strove to provoke armed conflict between the U.S.S.R. and Germany.

'The conclusion of the Soviet-German Pact put an end to this provocative work and ended the hostility between the two countries. For this reason the Soviet-German Pact was and still is an important factor for peace. The two largest States in Europe have ruled out military methods of solving mutual claims and disputes. This should have a sobering effect on the warmakers. But unfortunately for mankind this was not the case.

'After the collapse of Poland the new Soviet-German Pact, which laid a stable foundation for lasting peace in Eastern Europe, could have served as the beginning from which the war at the other end of the continent could have been brought to an end.

'NOT FORTUITOUS'

'The good neighbourly and friendly relations between the Soviet Union and Germany are not based on fortuitous considerations of a transient nature, but on the fundamental State interests of both the U.S.S.R. and Germany.

'This truth has long been understood in the U.S.S.R. and Germany, but must be repeated once more for the benefit of those gentlemen who, with surprising stubbornness, cannot or will not grasp it and who build all kinds of plans on their incomprehension or disinclination to understand, thus dooming their plans to failure.'"

We have reproduced the *Daily Worker* summary in full, including its italics. That must remove all doubt as to the accuracy of the Stalinist attitude. Every honest reader knows that, from beginning to end, the article is a lie. Every statement is false and can be proved to be false.

Here are the statements summarised :—

(1) This historic pact has contributed to the preservation of peace throughout Eastern Europe.

(2) France and Britain aimed to provoke armed conflict between Russia and Germany.

(3) The good-neighbourly relations between the Soviet Union and Germany are not based on fortuitous consideration of a transient nature, but on the fundamental State interests of both the U.S.S.R. and Germany.

(4) This truth has been understood long since in the U.S.S.R. and Germany.

Every reader will agree that these four points summarise the article. Facts answered the first point : for there is no peace in Eastern Europe. France and Britain did not need to provoke war between Germany and Russia, because Hitler avowed that the destruction of Bolshevik Russia was Germany's aim. If the good-neighbourly relations between Russia and Germany are based on fundamental *State* interests of both countries, then Fascism and Bolshevism are identical : and all the outcries against Fascism, and all the attacks on Social Fascism, were so much lying propaganda on the part of the Comintern and its hirelings. If this truth has been understood in the U.S.S.R. and Germany, how do the *Izvestia*, and the *Daily Worker*, explain the sensational charges made in the Russian newspapers, and the "Communist" press here, at the time that Zinoviev and Kamerev were brought from prison to face trial before the Collezium of the Soviet Supreme Court in Moscow, with fourteen other prominent Russian Communists.

The capital charges against them were of plotting against Stalin and the Soviet Government. Here is an example of the general tenor of the Soviet newspaper allegations against Germany, establishing the reality of "the good-neighbbourly relations" then existing between the Fascist and Bolshevik States.

"The Gestapo (German Fascist Secret Police) furnishes means to struggle with the Soviet for the leaders of the plot against Stalin."

The Soviet newspapers, in neighbourly tones, referred to

"Bloody Fascist dungeons where heroes of the German proletariat are tortured, and where they (the Gestapo) prepare false passports and poisoned arms."

This was very much like the pot complaining of the kettle being black : but it certainly did not read very neighbourly.

Pravda said :—

"Disguise is useless . . . . It is a question not of an idealogical and political liaison with Fascism, but of the direct and organised work of Trotskyists and Zinovieffists with Fascist police, with Fascist 'diversionists' and Fascists spies."

The readers of *Pravda* were asked to believe that this charge was true. The *Daily Worker* said the charge was true. If it were, did it point to fundamental neighbourliness?

STALIN IS HITLER'S VASSAL

TROTSKY'S LAST STATEMENT.

The last public declaration issued by the murdered Leon Trotsky, denounced Molotov's speech applauding the Nazi-Soviet Pact. The statement was issued to the world through the United Press :—

"Molotov's latest speech confirms that the Kremlin continues to be a satelite of Berlin and Rome. The Communist leaders in various countries have calmed their parties with promises that to-morrow if not to-day Moscow will turn towards the 'democracies.' Molotov's speech belies these promises. Five years of 'anti-fascist' Peoples' Fronts are definitely unmasked as charlatanism. Moscow's foreign policy is determined by power politics and not by political principles.

"Molotov, it is true, tried to cover the present Kremlin policy with anti-imperialist phraseology. But its falseness strikes one's eyes. Molotov unmasked England's wish to retain her colonies. But he kept silent about Germany's and Italy's wish to take them. He spoke about the imperialism of Japan and the United States but he didn't find a word of condemnation for Hitler's banditry and Mussolini's jackal politics. Even more, he underlined for the first time that the German-Soviet pact assured free hands to Hitler. This unilateral and thoroughly sham 'fight' against imperialism only reveals that Moscow's politics is not independent but serves the interests of one imperialism against the other.

"An increase in population of 23,000,000 doesn't solve the problem of the security of the USSR. The victory of Hitler-Mussolini over Great Britain would immediately place the move towards the east on the order of the day for German imperialism. It would at once become clear that in following the line of least resistance the Kremlin oligarchy only accumulated difficulties and dangers.

"LEON TROTSKY.

"Coyoacan, D. F. August 2, 1940."

HITLER'S ANTI-BOLSHEVIST PROPAGANDA EXAMINED

In other colums of this issue, we publish :—

(1) Communist Party or Stalinist celebration eulogy of the Nazi-Bolshevik Pact of August, 1939.

(2) Official 'C'ommunist" pre-pact attack on Hitler and Nazism, as constituting the war-menace and reaction of the world.

As shown, at the time of the Moscow trials, every critic of Stalin was accused of being a Fascist and a Trotskyist. Since Stalin shook hands with Hitler's ambassador, only one term of abuse remains. It is a crime to be a Trotskyist. It is neighbourly and comradely to be a Fascist. "Trotskyism" and "Fascism" are no longer twin terms of abuse.

Before these two assassins of human liberty shook hands, the hatred was mutual. Just as the Bolsheviks denounced Hitler, so did Hitler and his propaganda department abuse mercilessly Stalin and Bolshevism.

During 1936 and 1937, in common with other Socialists and Pacifists in Britain, we received—both at our private adress, and also at Bakunin Hall, then situate at Stirling Road, Townhead, Glasgow—from Germany a considerable quantity of propaganda leaflets, printed in English. This consisted mostly of well-printed, large-size leaflets. We kept five of these leaflets. To-day, they make better and wiser propaganda than their authors and printers intended.

The leaflets we kept are numbered :—

1 . . . . No. 312—English.
2 . . . . No. 842—English.
3 . . . . No. 892—English.
4 . . . . No. 922—English.
5 . . . . No. 972—English.

The imprint on 312 was as follows :—

"Free copies of this leaflet and others may be obtained by writing to the 'Fichte Association' Jungfernstieg, Hamburg 36. Please distribute them among your friends. Falken-Verlag, Hamburg. Hermann's Erben, Hamburg."

The imprint is the same on 2, 3, and 4. But the fifth leaflet bears the additional statement, published in big letters at the foot :—

"Published by President Heinrich Kessemeier, 127 Hochallee, Hamburg."

The title, and subject-matter, of each of these leaflets, in the order shown above, are as follows :—

(1) *The Treaty of Versailles violated the Preliminary Peace Treaty. Legal malpractice against the German Nation.*

This leaflet reproduces President Wilson's famous 14 points in full; makes telling quotations from Lloyd George and Wilson; indicts the Versailles Treaty as being illegal and not binding upon the German nation; and denounces the Young plan.

We make no criticism of this leaflet. It is a concise and sober statement of fact and of protest. We endorse every word as being true. This leaflet consists of nouns and not adjectives, and its general tone can be applauded.

(2) *Adolf Hitler offers France 25 years of peace. Main part of the peace speech delivered by the Fuehrer and Chancellor on March 7th,* 1936.

This speech denounces the pact signed between the Soviet and France, on May 2, 1935, and ratified on February, 27, 1936. Hitler claimed that this pact was military alliance made by France with the Soviet Union, directed exclusively against Germany, in violation of the Rhine Pact of Locarno.

Hitler then discusses Bolshevism and its menace. We give a special heading to this excerpt from the report because it makes such excellent reading to-day.

Hitler's Denunciation of Bolshevism.

"If my international opponents reproach me to-day that I have refused this co-operation with Russia, I make them the following declaration:—

"I do not and did not reject co-operation with Russia but with Bolshevism, which lays claim to a world rulership.

"The German nation has not only wept but has laughed heartily throughout its life, and I will not see it descend into the gloom of international communism and the dictatorship of hate. I tremble for Europe at the very thought of what would happen to our old and over-populated continent if this Asiatic concept of the world, which is destructive of all our ideals, should be successful in bringing upon us the chaos of the Bolshevic revolution.

"I do not believe that close association with the political doctrine and outlook on life which are destructive of national existence can be helpful to statesmen. Let me now apply this fundamental principle to European politics in general. The moment I do so I find that Europe is divided into two groups.

"The first group consists of autonomous and independent national states and of nations with whom we are linked together in a thousand ways by reason of a common historical experience and a common culture. With these same people we want to remain thus linked for ever, and indeed also with the free and independent nations of other countries outside of Europe.

"The second group is ruled by that intolerant Bolshevic doctrine which aims at international domination and which preaches the annihilation of what are to us the most eternal and most sacred ideals relating to this world and the next. In place of all this, Bolshevism would install a world which is abhorrent to us in its culture and its outlook and its teaching.

"Now there is deep tragedy in the fact that after all our long years of honest striving to establish relations of confidence, sympathy, and closer understanding with the French people, this people has entered into a military alliance with Bolshevist Russia, the first phases of which we can see to-day, but the ultimate results of which may be incalculable, unless Providence again proves more kindly than men deserve.

"It cannot be foreseen whether this Bolshevist philosophy will not be victorious to morrow or the next day in France as well. But should this happen—then it is certain that this new Bolshevic State would be a section of the Bolshevist International, which means that the decision as to aggression or non-aggression would not be made by two different States according to their own independent and objective judgments, but orders would be issued from one headquarter. Should such a development take place these headquarters would not be in Paris but in Moscow."

Let it be remembered that Hitler uttered these words, as Führer and Chancellor, on March 7, 1936; that the translation, in English, was issued officially in a leaflet, circulated through the post, throughout the English-speaking world, from Hitler's own propaganda organisation, in Hamburg. Its hatred of Bolshevism, and its challenge to the Soviet Union, cannot be denied. The defenders of the Soviet say that the Soviet Union is unchanged since 1936. It that is so, how did the Nazi-Soviet Pact come to be signed; and how can the alleged statesmen of Germany and Russia make speeches about "good neighbourliness?"

The italics are Hitler's. They were made to emphasise his opposition to *"that intolerant Bolshevic doctrine"*!

Defenders of the Soviet-Germany Peace Pact say that French and British statesmen endeavoured to prevent Germany and Russia from being good neighbours. We ask the "Communist" hireling apologists to tell us: Did French or British statesmen dictate Hitler's speech of March 7, 1936? Or did he compose it himself, as a clear statement of Nazi doctrine?

The other three leaflets are so emphatic of Hitler's antagonism to Stalin and to Bolshevism, that we reproduce their text in full, as separate articles, to show the nature of the Nazi world propaganda.

The titles of these leaflets are as follows:—

(3) *Bolshevists as World War Mongers* (illustrated with a cartoon.)

(4) *Who are The Rulers in Russia?*

(5) *World Enemy No. 1.—Bolshevism. A brief statement of sober facts relating to Bolshevism.*

Read these leaflets: and then form your own sincerity of Hitler's present-day protests of friendship for Russia; and of the Communist Party's hireling apologies for the Soviet-Nazi Peace Party! Good Neighbours!!

SOLDIERS' SONS

Albert Mann fought at Mons in 1914, won the D.C.M., and was mentioned in dispatches.

On Tuesday, June 4, he handed his war medals in a parcel to the Clerk at the South-Eastern Conscientious Objectors' Tribunal in London.

His son, 20-year-old Joseph Albert Thomas Mann, of London Road, Wembley, had been removed from the register. The son said that his father had made him promise never to take part in war.

Geoffrey Gordon Close (27), married, foreman van salesman, living in a furnished flat in Rawcliffe Lane, York, told the Yorkshire Tribunal for Conscientious Objectors held in Leeds on Monday, June 17, that his father gave his life in the last war, and he thought that was sufficient contribution from his family for the State.

The Chairman, Judge Stewart, replied that if every man whose father gave his life 20 years ago was exempted from serving, in this country, there might not be sufficient people to protect the country.

Mrs. Wilson, mother of Close, said she had been married a second time. She promised her son's father when he went to the last war, that if the pledge "War to end war" was not kept she would train their son in opposition to war. Mrs. Wilson said that she had done so and it was due to that influence that her son had adopted his present attitude.

After the Tribunal had ordered Close's name to be removed from the register without qualification, Mrs. Wilson exclaimed: "What sort of conscience do you recognise?"

Before the same Tribunal appeared the following day Frederick Hardy South, 39 Nab Lane, Shipley.

In the *New Statesman*, London, for June 22, his mother, Margery South, described the treatment of this youth by the Tribunal, and recalls the fact that his father was wounded twice in the Great War, as were also two uncles, whilst another three uncles were killed in action.

Mrs. Margery South writes:—

"My son's pacifist record was not disputed. He was a member of the No More War Movement, and automatically became a member of the P.P.U. when the two movements merged. He is an active pacifist, is saturated with facts and figures—has spoken in public, taken part in poster parades, and engages in any pacifist activities that are still possible. . . .

"In the course of a very short and irrelevant cross-examination the Judge asked: 'Do you wish this country to lose the war?' To this my son replied: 'I do not wish either side to be defeated.'

"'That is not answering my question. Do you want this country to win the war?'

"'I do not wish this country to *win* the war sir,' was the reply.

"In a flash Judge Stewart turned to the Court and said: 'This man has the mind of a traitor.' My son attempted to speak; he wished to point out that the pacifist fears that victory by either side will be the prelude to a vindictive peace policy, but the Judge angrily ordered him to be silent. My son respectfully once more asked to be heard, but the attempt was useless, and, refusing to listen further to the insults of an almost incoherently angry Judge, he left the Court.

"The whole thing was a sheer mockery and was not made better by newspaper report headed 'The mind of a traitor,' and which quoted Judge Stewart as saying, 'Steps will be taken to deal with a man who speaks like a traitor in this Court.' These reports have been a grief to my husband, who knows the utter sincerity of my son, but *who, along with five volunteer brothers, fought in the infantry in the last war when three were killed and two wounded—my husband being wounded twice.*"

In the *Yorkshire Observer*, for June 14, Mrs. Margery South had to publish a letter protesting against local victimisation, stating:—

". . . in view of certain unpleasantnesses to which we have already been subjected, I should be grateful if you would give equal publicity to the fact that my husband does not share the views held by my son, that he and five brothers were volunteers in the last war, and three of these brothers were killed and two wounded, my husband being wounded twice."

And we have "conchies" from the last war holding high positions in the State, or functioning as Lord Mayors or Lord Provosts, and expecting to receive titles, and to find a place in Burke or Debrett, at an early date. What folly! But what hypocrisy!

TOTALITARIAN DEMOCRATS

Under the above heading, the *North Wales Times*, Denby, for May 11, published the following powerful article:—

"The attitude of a number of our representatives on the Denbighshire Education Committee towards conscientious objectors who are in the employment of that authority is not likely to stimulate the waning faith of a large number of people in our democratic system of local government.

"Can it be possible that those members of the L.E.A. who are anxious to penalise teachers and others who are genuine conscientious objectors really voice the feeling of the majority of the ratepayers and the parents in this liberty-loving part of Wales? Led by a gentleman who has obviously not yet attuned his mind to the liberal and democratic traditions of the land of his adoption, these elected servants of democracy pleaded for more totalitarianism in local government!

"One can understand the plea for equality of sacrifice in these days of stress and strife, and genuine conscientious objectors would willingly accept the same rates of pay as members of the fighting forces—provided unscrupulous employers did not take advantage of such a scheme in order to secure cheap labour, and that all classes in the country had to make equal sacrifice. The demands of men and women who are in sheltered positions or basking in the fading rays of senile security, that only our young men should make vital sacrifices have a hollow, hypocritical sound.

"But what puzzles every sincere democrat is that members of a progressive public body should prove less tolerant in their attitude towards their employees than our National Government or those who govern the non-provided schools. Do they wish to reverse the whole trend of political evolution, and in the name of Welsh democracy, to deny their servants the personal freedom that, in its widest sense, is the object of all social and public activity? We are fighting despotism: they favour it. Prating of democracy they deny it. Individual judgment and independence, personal freedom to live as one thinks best provided others are not wronged thereby—these things were fought for in the past. Why should we relinquish them now?"

BISHOP OF BRISTOL'S PROTEST

In his *Diocesan Gazette* for August, Dr. C. S. Woodward, Bishop of Bristol, issues a warning against the danger of adopting Nazi methods in order to defeat Nazi-ism.

Dr. Woodward states:—

"No one can deny that with a view to increasing national efficiency we have submitted to such a measure of totalitarianism, i.e., State control of our lives and actions as a short time ago we should not have believed possible. Much of this has been inevitable and, making virtue of necessity, we have submitted with a good grace. But there are aspects of the situation of which we have little reason to feel proud and which those who believe in our national heritage and ethos ought most carefully to watch.

"It is unnecessary to speak of the blunders of the Ministry of Information or of the way in which the wholesale internment of friendly 'enemy aliens' has been handled . . . .

"But there is another matter—admittedly a very difficult one—about which as members of the Christian Church we are bound to be disturbed. I refer to the attitude which is being adopted towards Pacifists and Conscientious Objectors, and especially towards those whose pacifism is a direct result of their religious convictions. I do not suggest that conscientious objection on other grounds is to be ignored, but that Christian Pacifism must be the special concern of the Christian Church.

"I do not, as you know, share the opinions of the Pacifists . . . . But though I disagree with them, I am none the less unhappy about the way in which Conscientious Objectors are being treated in many quarters.

"The fundamental evil in the Nazi regime is the denial of intellectual freedom. To think differently from the majority, or rather from the small group of men who have seized power in Germany, is a crime to be punished by social ostracism and ultimately by the Concentration Camp.

"We have continually said that we are fighting to preserve the freedom of the individual against this tyranny and, although we are engaging in a life and death struggle, we have deliberately allowed those who have a conscientious objection to taking part in war to stand aside from the conflict. This seems to me to be an expression of our love of freedom of which we shall one day be proud.

"But the virtue of the State's action will be largely discounted if municipal bodies and business firms dismiss conscientious objectors who are in their employment, and if the public in general, by social ostracism or otherwise, make their lives intolerable. This is to deny freedom of conscience by a side-wind while it is officially permitted by the State."

THE HOLLYWOOD BRITONS

In our Christmas 1939 issue, we report the hearing by the South-Eastern Counties' Tribunal, sitting in London, of the appeal of Sidney Desmond Tester, the film actor, for registration as a conscientious objector. Tester was attacked for making that appeal. But nothing was said about the Hollywood Britons. Gracie Fields was then very popular. Since then, J. J. Davidson, M.P. for Maryhill, by insistent questioning, has brought to light the scandal of the money she has withdrawn from Britain. The pose of patriotism is a useful cover for unpatriotic conduct, and also an aid to the accumulation of wealth. We are glad to note that the Gracie Fields' scandal has forced into unwelcome publicity the Hollywood Britons—the patriots who prefer flight and play to fight and pay—not pay from the public, but pay to the war god of misery. Desmond Tester sacrificed his career by remaining in Britain and upholding his principles.

In the *Picturegoer*, London, for May 11 last, there was published an interview with Michael Balcon, Director of Productions at the A.T.P. Studios, Ealing, on the question of Britons in Hollywood. The interviewer was Hubert Cole.

Describing the interview, Cole said :—

"I went to Ealing this week to see Michael Balcon and help him get something off his chest . . . . I saw Mr. Balcon for something like an hour, and I scarcely spoke a word myself . . . . He talked at high speed, with a sincerity that was almost violent. Now and then he used words that aren't always heard in polite society. Somehow, they did not seem out of place."

As accurately as Cole could condense it, this is what Balcon said :—

"I am surprised and disgusted by the attitude of the British people at present in Hollywood. Between the Munich agreement and the beginning of the war—and even since then—streams of British subjects have been hurrying across the Atlantic. Not only were they actors, but also producers, directors and all kinds of artistes and technicians connected with the film business.

"These people have in the past enjoyed the advantages and the profits of working in Britain. When things become tough here, they immediately desert the country and the British film industry and take cover in Hollywood. With them go an assortment of Central Europeans who have been given refuge in this country, who have in many cases gained the benefit of British naturalisation, but who have no intention of repaying Britain in return. . . . .

"This morning, I pinned up on the studio notice-board the announcement of our first war casualty—a young boy who worked here as a camera assistant had been killed in action. And in my morning paper I read a gossip paragraph about a very highly paid and famous figure in British films, who had been amusing his friends by childish antics on the dance floor of a Hollywood restaurant. It is a revolting and indecent thought that those two events may have been taking place at the same time.

"You will remember there was a great deal of interest in this country when Desmond Tester, who made a name for himself in *Tudor Rose*, *The Drum* and other British pictures, refused to serve in the army and was registered as a conscientious objector.

"Now I do not sympathise with Tester's pacifist views—but I have this to point out to our fellow-countrymen in Hollywood: Tester could easily have slipped over to America as they did, put on his white tie and tails, and earned a lot of favourable publicity by attending expensive Hollywood parties and drinking champagne in aid of relief funds for Finland.

"Instead, he chose to remain in this country, appear before the conscientious objectors' tribunal, and draw upon himself a great deal adverse comment which will probably have a very serious effect on his future career. He did the thing the hard way. I respect him for that. There have been many excuses put forward on behalf of the Britons who have run to find a safe and luxurious haven in California. One of the most fantastic is that they have been advised by our ambassadors and consuls in America that their services are not required in this country.

"Well, I am starting work on a picture soon in which John Mills would have been ideally suited for one of the leading roles. John Mills volunteered at the outbreak of war and is now serving in the army.

"This morning, I received a letter from the War Office telling me that they could not release Mills for the three weeks necessary for him to play in the film.

"Am I to believe, then, that our Government officials are seriously telling British actors in Hollywood that they are not needed here? It is inconceivable.

"We have the strange spectacle of Americans—actors such as Robert Montgomery, directors such as Thornton Freland—coming to work in this country, while the Britons flow in a steady stream in the opposite direction.

"If that situation were not so nauseating, it would be ludicrous."

MANCHESTER ANTI-PARLIMENTARIAN C.O.

The Manchester area Tribunal considered an interesting case on Friday, August 23. The applicant was an Anti-parliamentarian and an Atheist.

James Henry Kirven, aged 29, of Higher Lane, Whitefield, a Besses-o'-th'-Barn grocer's warehouseman, told the Tribunal that "The Power of Non-Violence"—a book by Richard B. Gregg, which has had a great deal of influence on the pacifist movement in this country in recent years—had been withdrawn from circulation by Whitefield Public Library.

Judge Burgis: How do you know?

The Applicant (James Henry Kirven, a Besses-o'-th'-Barn grocer's warehouseman) : I've applied for it.

Judge Burgis: Perhaps it's so popular it has become worn out.

Kirven: When I saw it a few weeks ago it was nearly a new book.

Kirven's statement contained the following statement :—

"I am antagonistic to Christianity, and I think religious bodies are pernicious movements. I never vote at all, because I don't think any party is worth a vote as yet."

In reply to the chairman he said he had read books on sociology, and mentioned books by G. Lowes Dickinson.

Questioned by Mr. Clift about his attitude to a personal attack, Kirven said, "There is a system of self-defence known as jiu-jitsu."

You would use jiu-jitsu?—Yes, I am a jiu-jitsuist. It is non-violent.

Kirven's sister gave evidence and said that her brother had had an opportunity of earning £4 15s. splinter-proofing glass, but gave it up when he found it was war work.

After a retirement the tribunal returned to ask Kirven about his attitude to non-combatant and othr kinds of service.

Giving the decision to register Kirven on condition he works on the land, Judge Burgis said that the case had occupied an inordinate length of time—something over an hour,—but the tribunal was satisfied that the time was not wasted.

Kirven's conscience was of the perverted type but it was genuine. Only as the result of considerable expenditure of time had the tribunal been able to probe his views. The applicant was an unusual type of man, and could not consort with any organisation for any purpose. The tribunal had been helped greatly by the evidence of his sister, although she was a person of little education and small powers of expression. The job of which he gave up the opportunity was paid at what was for him almost a princely rate —nearly double his present wage.

A BRAVE SOLDIER

At the annual meeting of the National Union of Conservative Associations, held at Central Hall, Westminster, on Thursday, April 4, Second Lieutenant E. W. Harrison, defended the rights of conscientious objectors.

Before the outbreak of war Lieutenant Harrison was Parliamentary candidate for Houghton-le-Spring, Durham.

Opposing a resolution directed against the conchies, Lieutenant Harrison said :—

"I do not agree with them, but, in the name of all that is sacred and English, they have a right to their consciences—the eternal right of human beings to live in freedom of body and mind and soul.

"I am very unhappy about the spirit that is developing in this country.

"Two years ago, if I had said it was better for 99 shirkers to escape conscription than for one real objector to be forced to fight, everyone in the Conservative Party would have clapped and said, 'Hear, hear.'

"After seven months of war we have developed this wicked, intolerant attitude that we will not face up to the fact that there are people who disapprove of the war, and will not take part in it.

"I maintain that if you are living in England you have a perfect right to disapprove of the war."

For this exhibition of democracy and moral heroism, Mr. Harrison was hissed by the women present at this Tory gathering.

TROTSKYIST C.O.

Frank Maitland, who described himself as an adherent of the Fourth International of the late Leon Trotsky, appeared before the South-East Scotland local tribunal for Conscientious Objectors, at Edinburgh Sheriff Courthouse on Thursday, August 22.

The appellant, who is 21 and resides at 7 Eildon Street, Edinburgh, said he had been a journalist, a clerk, and was at present without occupation, although he was still writing matter for which he received no payment. In his statement to the tribunal Maitland said he thought it was wrong to call upon the working-class to fight for the country when nothing in the country belonged to them.

The statement added :—

"I object to taking part in a war for the preservation of capitalists, and exploiting the working class."

When asked to which political party he belonged, he said—I adhere to the Fourth International of Leon Trotsky.

Dr. Wederburn, a member of the tribunal—Who is the leader of your party now?—It is still Leon Trotsky.

Dr. Wedderburn—But isn't Trotsky——?—Yes, but he is still the leader of the party.

In reply to another question, Maitland said that he entered the Revolutionary movement about 1930. He added :—

"I feel it is my duty to be a rebel and stand all the consequences that follow." (Applause from the public gallery.)

Sheriff Brown—I think you have made your position very clear to us, and we shall just have to grasp our thistle.

When the tribunal returned from considering the case, Sheriff Brown intimated that their decision was that Maitland be removed from the register without qualification and be liable for military service.

Maitland then asked—"Was the decision unanimous, sir?"

Sheriff Brown—It was.

Maitland—Well, I should like to know why the Trade Union representative on the tribunal voted to put a working man into the Army?

Sheriff Brown—You have the right of appeal.

Voice from gallery: Answer the question.

The Sheriff: I will not answer the question.

Voice: "Because you cannot."

Maitland is well known in Edinburgh as a speaker at the Mound from the platform of the Revolutionary Socialist Party.

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BOLSHEVIKS DESCRIBE HITLER: 1936!

"HITLER'S NEW WAR MOVE"

By HANS BEHREND

[The following article was published under the heading, "Hitler's New War Move," in the English Edition of the *International Press Correspondence*, Vol. 16., No. 39, published in August 29, 1936, p. 1049. This issue carried an alleged "Report of Proceedings of the Moscow Trial." This paper was published by R. Bishop, 4a Partan Street, London, W.C.1., and printed by the Marston Printing Co. (T.U.), Nelson Place, Cayton Street, London, E.C., England. In other words, the paper was the official organ of the Stalinist alleged Third International, and of the Communist Party. It represents the "Communists" indictment of Hitler in 1936. The reader is asked to study it in connection with the article headed "Good Neighbours," and the Hitler attack on Bolsheviks, published on other pages of the current *Word*.—Ed.]

It is only a week since the Olympic torch was put out, and already Hitler has exploded a fresh bombshell over Europe and the world: the period of compulsory military service has been extended to two years. On March 16, 1935, the Treaty of Versailles was broken by the introduction of compulsory military service for one year. Less than eighten months later the strength of the army of the fascist dictatorship is considerably increased by the doubling of this period.

Naturally, as was to be expected, Hitler gives as a justification of this provocatorial step the supposed aggressive intentions of the Red Army, and the existence of the Soviet Union. He invents statements of "Bolshevik rulers," accordto which the Red Army will shortly march forth to attack Europe. Now, after the introduction of two years' conscription the *Voelkischer Beobachter* boasts, no power will be able to attack the safetv of the German Reich. And these people, who have a hand in every coup d'etat and every putsch, who instigated the murder of Dollfuss and Duca, who are accomplices to the murderers of Barthou and King Alexander, these tsars of the Gestapo, whose agents are preparing to assassinate Stalin and Voroshilov, these gentlemen of Nazi Germany who in their speeches and writings preach the annihilation of France, Czechoslovakia, and the Soviet Union—these people attempt to justify the introduction of two years' military service with the plea of the necessity of defence. Their real motive is obvious. The fascist dictators intend by the immensely increased power of their armies to force the smaller states of Europe still more under the tutelage of Hitler Germany; they want to strengthen the power of alliance of the third Reich, they want to issue a warning to those who would like to break free of the fascist military alliance. The introduction of two years' conscription intensifies the danger of war which the Germany of the third Reich presents to the whole world.

The dictator of Germany betrays himself, however, when he refers as a proof of the necessitv of increasing the period of conscription, in addition to the Soviet Union, to the events in Spain, which "under the curse of the Marxist terror has been turned into a desert." In this case the eyes even of those should be opened, upon whom Hitler's Red scares might otherwise have some effect. The fascist putsch in Spain and its terrible consequences are for the most part the work of Hitler himself. He had undermined the whole country, as the reputable English newspapers *Manchester Guardian* and *News Chronicle* now show in startling documents, by a whole system of Nazi espionage and agitation. Before the Spanish people had any inkling of danger, he knew every detail of the plan for revolt which plunged Spain into the horrors of civil war. He gave to the putschists that which is necessary for war: money and weapons. On 31st of July and 7th of August he sent the German steamers "Usaramo" with 28 bombing planes and "Montesarmiento" with 14 aeroplanes and numerous anti-aircraft guns to Lisbon. In the aerodromes of Morocco, Seville and Burgos there is no room for the Junkers and other German aeroplanes, there are so many of them there. Ten German planes daily transport Moroccan soldiers from Africa to the European continent, in order that they may bring western civilisation to the Spanish people. The German officers of the huge fleet which is concentrated in Spanish waters swagger with their "Heil, Hitler," arm-in-arm with the murderers of Bajadoz through the streets of the rebel towns. From the very first day of the Spanish civil war, nay, weeks and months before its outbreak, Hitler violated the principle of neutrality. On the pretext that other powers are not neutral towards Germany, he seeks to justify his new war move.

Hitler and Blomberg's decree of August 24th were prepared for weeks beforehand by an intensive press campaign. In order to shift the responsibility for their step on to the Soviet Union and Bolshevism in general, *they simply turn the war of defence and self-preservation of Spanish democracy into a Bolshevik war of aggression for the dictatorship of the proletariat.* "It is clear that the Spanish Government is no longer master in its own house," writes *Rudolph Kirchner*, the spokesman of the Foreign Office, in the *Frankfurter Zeitung*. That is to say that the Bolshevists are overrunning everything, that in France, too, the Peoples' Front government are losing control over the "forces of anarchy," and that, therefore, *Germany is threatened not only in the east, but in the west too.*

Thus during the last weeks a raging, tearing, anti-Soviet agitation has broken loose. Since August 15 all newspapers have been publishing daily pictures, pages and articles to prove that the Red Army is about to attack Europe. The whole of the Baltic is supposed to be swarming with Soviet warships, and the official German news agency, from whom also these hair-raising stories come, brings them into direct connection (this is the object of the whole affair) with events in Spain, where "world Bolshevism is engaged in carrying out its aggressive plans on land and sea." The announcers of the wireless stations of Madrid and Barcelona—Soviet Russians! The members of the legendary Revolutionary Committee of San Sebastian—Soviet Russians! The instructors of the government troops—Soviet Russians! On all the battle-fields—the corpses of Soviet Russians! Morning and evening this sort of thing is inflicted on the German public in all seriousness, and the clumsy lies are quickly followed by actions.

The fully justified search undertaken by a Spanish warship, of a German steamer which was carrving benzine for the Spanish rebels, was answered by the government of the Reich not with a note of protest but with an ultimatum, not with a demarche, but with an open threat of war. On August 20th the German charge d'affaires in Madrid had to "make a remonstrance in the most emphatic terms" and state that "the German Government would make the Spanish Government responsible for all the consequences." At the same time the head of the strengthened German fleet in Spanish waters telegraphed to the head of the Spanish Government fleet, that from now on he would meet "crimes of this kind with force.'" Hitler's guns are directed towards Spain, and to-day already his "press-guns' are firing. The *Voelkischer Beobachter* declares that the situation is "very serious." The *Angriff* compares the crews of the Spanish warships with mad dogs. The final word is said, as usual, by the Berlin *Boersen-Zeitung* of the War Ministry of the Reich:—

> "In Spain Bolshevism is raging in its most ghastlv form. Almost hourly news of atrocities is received, which prove that it would be an insult to the beasts of the earth were one to describe the crimes of the Bolsheviks as bestial. The bands of Bolshevik murderers who have plunged the Spanish people into such terrible suffering have now become so arrogant that they have lost all fear of the flag of the Reich."

Two days after the official threats to the Spanish Government, the government of the Reich had the colossal impudence to "complain most sharply" to the government in Madrid "about the injurious and slanderous propaganda on the radio against Germans." It is well known that the German radio as well as the press has become exclusively the echo of the slaughterers of the Spanish people. When these tactics, and the practical help for the Spanish rebels are fittingly exposed, then the wire-pullers and instigators, the accomplices of Franco and Mola have the insolence to protest, and the *Völkischer* Beobachter comments on the announcement of the note of protest with the unmistakable threat:

> "If Moscow and Madrid are not capable of behaving like civilised and cultured states, *this must be made clear to the Bolshevik Jews in another manner.*"

That was printed on August 22. Two days later Hitler demonstrated what he meant by doing something "in another manner." Exactly two weeks before the beginning of the Party Congress of the Nationalist Socialist Party there is carried out the new act of war preparation. This year too, *Ley* announces, "exactly as last year the fight against Bolshevism is to be the central task. Every speaker at this year's party congress, too, refers to our single-minded fight against Bolshevism.'"

These trumpet blasts against Bolshevism are to cause the walls of freedom throughout the whole world to tremble and fall. The iron heel of German fascism is to walk everywhere where Hitler is seeking to destroy the rights of peoples and to gain a foothold for himself. To this end every non-fascist regime is denounced as Bolshevik. The non-existent plans of aggression of other states serves as a pretext to divert the German workers from the defence of their rights to a better life in greater freedom, and to make them into victims of the imperialist thirst for power of the upper ten.

THE RED FLAG

REVISED 1940 VERSION

Tune: Either *Maryland* or *The White Cockade*

The Moscow flag is far from red;
'Twas once a crimson shade, 'tis said,
But now the German pact is made,
The Bolshies vow the red shall fade.

Chorus.

Then haul the scarlet standard down!
Within the pale let Nazis frown!
Tho" toilers flinch and thinkers fear,
We'll have no Red Flag flying here.

Strange sound; the Frenchman, in a daze;
The Nazi-German, in great amaze;
To Moscow tune: loud "heils" are sung
And Stalin swells the acclaiming tongue.

Red waved above our infant might,
When all around seemed dark as night;
It witnessed many a deed and vow,
So let us change its colour now.

Once, when with Western trade in view,
We twined it with Red, White, and Blue;
We held the scarlet standard back,
And made to hoist the Union Jack.

It suited then, the bureaucrats,
With double chins and white cravats,
In Eden's presence, loud to Sing:
The royal refrain, "God Save the King."

It suits to-day, the strong and base,
Whose thoughts are fixed on pelf and place,
To cower before the Fascists' frown,
And hurl the sacred emblem down.

With heads uncovered, swear we all
With Hitler we will play at ball;
For Stalin's gold gives us much vim,
So we'll forget our parting hymn.

"The Word" Library, and other Socialist and Pacifist works, can be purchased at **The Strickland Press Bookshop and Office, 104 George Street, Glasgow, C.1.** Open Daily: 9.30 a.m. to 6 p.m. Order your literature through this office.

HITLER'S ENGLISH LEAFLET, No. 922.

Who are the Rulers in Russia?

Main Part of a Speech by Alfred Rosenberg at the Nürnberg Party Congress "Honour."

[At the Opening Ceremony of the Party Congress in Nürnberg Alfred Rosenberg held a fundamental speech. The following statements of this speech prove that Soviet Government means nothing but Jewish Government.]

Of the many recollections we have of our times we can recall only one instance where a diplomat has had the courage to frankly call things by their right name. That diplomat was Lord d'Abernon. His recollections bear constant and repeated reference to the fact that in Russia it is the Jews that have forcibly taken over power and are forever busy consolidating their position.

Stalin, the Head of the Third International, is neither a Jew nor a Russian, but comes from Caucasia. His deputy, however, is his Father-in-law, a Jew named Lazarus Mosessohn Kaganowitsch who, by governmental decree, enjoys full rights and privileges, during the Dictator's absence. Kaganowitsch is to all intents ands purposes the supreme ruler, and he has seen to it that all official key positions in the police force, in the red army, the department of the interior, the ministry of foreign trade and in the foreign office have been filled by his Jewish cronies.

The department entrusted with the task of stamping out all traces of Russian nationalism was the Tscheka, that is, an Extraordinary Commission appointed for checking any form of counter-revolution. When, however, it was found that this blood-curdling name was no longer applicable even in Russia, the department was re-named GPU.—the Commisariat for Internal Affairs. At its head was the Jew Jagoda with Jakob Saulssohn Agranow as his deputy.

(Note: The Jew Jagoda—whose real hebraic name is Jehude—and his deputy were transferred to other posts at the end of September. Their successors are Heschoff and Moses Davidson Bärmann. The Publishers.)

The Official Security Service. Principal Administrative Officers.

Head of the Special Department: M. J. Gay . . . a Jew.

Head of the Industrial Dept.: L. G. Mironow . . . a Jew.

Head of the Foreign Dept.: Slutzkij . . . a Jew.

Head of the Transport Dept.: Schanin, Abraham Mosessohn . . . a Jew.

Head of the Anti-Religious Dept.: Joffe, Josaias Leosohn . . . a Jew. (Formerly Editor of an atheistic periodical.)

Head of the Military administration: Bjelskij, Leo Nahumsson . . . a Jew.

The Foreign and Domestic Security Service.

Principal Officer: B. J. Mogilskij . . . a Jew.

Concentration Camps and Deportation. Principal Administrative Officers.

Head of Central Administration: Bährmann, Jakob M. . . . a Jew. .

Deputy: Firin, Samuel Jakobsohn . . . a Jew.

Head of concentration and deportation camps in Soviet-Karelien, and Head of the "White Sea" forced-labour camps for political prisoners: Kogan, Samuel L. . . . a Jew.

Deputy Commissar for Internal Affairs and Chief of the GPU. in Soviet-Ukraine: Katznelsohn, S. B. . . . a Jew.

Head of concentration and deportation camps in Northern Russia: Finkelstein . . . a Jew.

In Charge of forced-labour camp on the Solowezkij Island "Slon": Serpuchowskij . . . a Jew.

Regional leaders in the Moscow district: Rapoport, Abrampolski, Fajwilowitsch, Schkljar, Selikman etc. . . . all Jews.

And that is only a small selection. But it suffices to show that the administration of the entire Soviet Russian internal polity is in the hands of over 98% of Jews.

This Commissariat for Internal Affairs is supported by a Commissariat for Domestic Trade, and according to the official "Iswestija" this consists of a committee of nearly all Jews. A few of their names are given below:

Weizer, Israel Jakobsohn. Peoples' Commissar for Domestic Trade . . . a Jew.

Lewensohn, M. A. Deputy for above . . . a Jew.

Aronstamm, Gregor Nahumsson. Head of State Commercial Survey Dept. . . . a Jew.

Beddeshskij, Samuel B. Head of the State Dept. for School Stationery requirements . . . a Jew.

Weschner, Lazarus Abrahamssohn. Head of the State Dept. for Fancy and Knitted Goods . . . a Jew.

Ganelin, Israel E. Director of the pig-breeding trust for the amalgamated Moscow Restaurants . . . a Jew.

Gittis, Israel Abrahamssohn. Head of the amalgamated Moscow Restaurants . . . a Jew.

Goldmann, David M. Head of the amalgamated Restaurants in the Don district . . . a Jew.

Gordon, Lazarus G. Director of industrial goods for the district of Moscow . . . a Jew.

Gumnitzkij, Tejfel Leossohn. Head of the domestic trade dept. for the district of Kalinin . . . a Jew.

Gurewitsch, Nachman Hirschssohn. Peoples' Commissar for Domestic trade in White Russia . . . a Jew.

Guchmann, Salomon Isaaksohn. Director of the "Mostorg" . . . a Jew.

Davidsohn, Benjamin A. Administrative chief of local auctions . . . a Jew.

Salinskij, Moses Isaakssohn. Peoples' Commissar for Domestic Trade in the Tartar Republic . . . a Jew.

Selenskij, Isaak Abrahamssohn. Chairman of Council of the Central Cooperative Society of the UdSSR. and RSFSR. . . . a Jew.

Süssmann, G. A. Head of Domestic Trade in the Odessa district . . . a Jew.

Kaganowitsch, Leo Nahumssohn. Head of the Kiew Dept. of the "Sojusprodmag" . . . a Jew.

Kremin, Lazarus Isaakssohn. Director of White Russian Foodstuff Supply . . . a Jew.

Nodel, Wolf Abrahamssohn. Editor of "Sowjetskaja Torgowija" . . . a Jew.

Smorgonskij, Efim Mosessohn. Head of the Baku Domestic Trade Agency . . . a Jew.

Chalamejser, H. L. Director in Rostow-on-the-Don of City Industrial Goods Trade . . . a Jew.

Schinkarewskij, Nahum J. Director of State Retail Dept. in Overseas products . . . a Jew.

Epstein, Meier Samuelssohn. Head of the Moscow Domestic Trade Dept. . . . a Jew.

All domestic trade is controlled by a committee with 99% Jews in it. The Soviet newspapers "Sa Industrialisaziju" of April 20, 1935 (No. 92) and "Iswestija" of June 11, 1936 (No. 135) publish the names of this Committee and the respective departments allotted to them and I mention only a few of them below:

Kaganowitsch, Michael Mosessohn. Deputy Peoples' Commissar for the heavy industries. Vice-Chairman of the Advisory Committee and Head of the Central Committee for Aircraft construction . . . a Jew.

Ruchimowitsch, M. L. Deputy Peoples' Commissar for the heavy industries and Vice-Chairman of Committee . . . a Jew.

Gurewitsch, A. D. Head of the Central Administration for the Metallurgical Industry . . . a Jew.

Kagan, J. B. Head of the Central Administration for Coal Industry . . . a Jew.

Israilowitsch, A. J. Head of the Central Administration for Gas Industry . . . a Jew.

Ginsburg, S. S. Head of the Central Administration for Building Trades . . . a Jew.

Galperin, E. J. Head of the Nitrogen Industry . . . a Jew.

Bitker, G. S. Head of the Central Administration for the Rubber Industry . . . a Jew.

Buskin, D. A. Director of the Tscheljabinsker tractor factory . . . a Jew.

Fuschmann, A. M. Head of the Central Administration for Carriage Building . . . a Jew.

Alperowitsch, E. M. Dept. Head for Heavy Industries at the Peoples' Commissariat . . . a Jew.

Fainberg, W. G. Head of the Central Administration for Mining Machinery . . . a Jew.

Kagan, B. D. Head of the "Prodmaschina" Trust . . . a Jew.

Frumkin, M. L. Head of the "Sojuschimplastmass' chemical trust . . . a Jew.

Bierenzweig, M. B. Dept. Head of the Foreign section for heavy industries in the Peoples' Commissariat . . . a Jew.

Israilowitsch, E. J. Head of the Central Administration for agricultural machinery industry . . . a Jew.

Sluzkij, S. B. Head of the Aserbejdshanisch Mineral oil Syndicate . . . a Jew.

Rosenojer, S. L. Head of the mineral oil Trust and Gas works in Grosnyj . . . a Jew.

Falkowitsch, S. J. Head of the "Ordshonikidse" Engineering Works . . . a Jew.

Schejmann, J. B. Director of the Woroschilowgrad locomotive factory . . . a Jew.

Izchaken, Josef Isaakssohn, Director of the Charkow Turbo-Generator Factory . . . a Jew.

Fränkel, A. M. Technical Director of Dnjeproppetrowsker Aluminium Syndicate . . . a Jew.

Slotschewskij, Ilja Jesaiassohn. Works Director of the Makeewsker Metallurgical Works . . . a Jew.

Granberg, Lpihm Isaakssohn. Works Director at the "Dsershinskij" Metallurgical Works . . . a Jew.

Rawikowitsch, Elim Mosessohn. Works Manager of the Tula Arsenal . . . a Jew.

In the armaments industry the percentage of Jews in key positions also ranges between 95 and 98%, and the same applies to the Commissariat for Food.

Belenkij, Markus Natanssohn. Deputy Peoples' Commissar for Food . . . a Jew.

Dukor, Hirsch Josefssohn. Head of the Finance Dept. . . . a Jew.

Schatschan, Abrahamssohn. Head of the Planning Dept. . . . a Jew.

Strikowskij, Leo Saulssohn. Head of the Central Administration for Meat Trade . . . a Jew.

Gieber, B. W. Head of the Central Administration for Butter trade . . . a Jew.

Bronstein, G. A. Head of the Central Administration for Milk Supply . . . a Jew.

Margoiln, G. S. Head of the Central Administration for Margarine Supply . . . a Jew.

Glinskij, Abraham Lazarussohn. Alcohol and Spirit Industry . . . a Jew.

Sawodnik, J. S. Head of the Central Administration for Macaroni Industry . . . a Jew.

Kissin, Abraham Ananjassohn. Head of the Central Administration Beer Yeast Industry . . . a Jew.

Simin, Miron Isaakssohn. Official representative of the Food Commissariat for the Leningrad district . . . a Jew.

Nikolajewskij, Leo Salomonssohn. Official representative of the Food Commissariat for the Ukraine . . . a Jew.

Breitmann, Alexander Salomonssohn. Head of the Ukraine Tinned Food Trust . . . a Jew.

According to the official "Iswestija" of May 8, 1936, the Commissariat for Foreign Trade appointed an Advisory Committee. This Committee was composed of 34 Jews.

Generally speaking, Jews, by reason of their racial singularity, are seldom to be found in the ranks of an army. Hence there are not many officers or soldiers in the Red Army. The Soviet Government has, however, seen to it that Russian national instincts in the Red Army are very sharply watched over by Jewish spies. For this

purpose, the so-called political administration of Red workers and farmers' army was formed—which is nothing less than a purely Jewish instrument. All military leaders have a Jewish spy attached to their staff who, at a moment's notice, is ready to hand over any officer to the murderous Jewish GPU. At the head of this political branch of the Red Army is the Jew Jankel Gamarnik who hails from Kiew. On February 7, 1936, the Jew Rosonowski was appointed to the position of Attorney-General for the Soviet Union with a similar function in the Red Army.

It goes without saying of course, that nearly all Bolshevik Ambassadors are also Jews. But here and there one had to conveniently make exceptions to suit conditions in the one or other country. Without mentioning names, we are nevertheless in a position to state that Soviet Russian foreign representatives total 7 Russians, 3 Armenians and 16 Jews.

At the head of this foreign department there is the well-known Foreign Commissar the Jew Litwinow, whose real name is Walach Finkelstein. This is the self-same gentleman who a few years ago was deported from London on account of some shady work. One of the triumphs of world Jewry was when this deported Jew was called to London in 1936 in order to assist in formulating a verdict on Germany's so-called violation of Treaties consequent upon the re-occupation of the Rhineland zone after the announcement of the French-Soviet military alliance.

The fate of over 160 million Russians and others of the Soviet Union lies in the hands of the Jews. The Bolshevik goal is the creation of Jewish world dominance along present-day Soviet Russian lines. Europe and Western civilization are nowadays once again the topics of conversation. But a bitter life and death struggle against this civilization has been announced by Moscow.

"Free copies of this leaflet and many others may be obtained by writing to the 'Fichte Association (Fichte-Bund),' union for world veracity, 30 Jungfernstieg, Hamburg 36. Please distribute them amongst your friends. Falken-Verlag, Hamburg. Hermann's Erben, Hamburg."

[Except for the symbolic seal, this is a complete and exact reproduction of the Nazi leaflet No. 892.]

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD

The eleventh Duke of Bedford died at his home, Woburn Abbey, on August 27. He was aged 82. The twelfth Duke of Bedford is well known as the Marquess of Tavistock, because of his peace activities. In view of the attacks made upon him in certain papers, it is only just to point out that the Duke of Bedford has been opposed to war for the past 20 years. His peace activities, therefore, did not arise from any sympathy with Fascism, but from his horror at the barbarism of war. Actually, he holds Christian pacifist ideas. His ancestor, at the time of the war on revolutionary France, adopted a similar attitude and supported Bishop Watson's opposition to war in the House of Lords.

PHILIP BOYLE

Philip Boyle was released from Barlinnie Prison on September 19, and returned to Maryhill Barracks. All military charges have been dropped against him, pending the hearing of his case by the Appellate Tribunal in Edinburgh.

EDITOR'S PERSONAL APPEAL

This was an appeal for £166 13s. 3d. to cover losses on *The Word* prior to Christmas, 1939, and for the Free Speech case in Hyde Park. The total acknowledged up to August was £76 17s. 7d. This left £89 15s. 8d. to come. Since then we have received £6 7s. 3d. This leaves £83 8s. 5d. to come. *We ask comrades to rally this amount at once.*

During the past year, losses on the paper and pamphlets have been very heavy. *Our work can continue only if every comrade does his bit.* If you cannot send a donation, why not take a dozen or so copies at trade rates? Sell them to your friends or at your branch.

SOCIALIST GOSSIP

Pioneers of Anti-Parliamentarism, once it is widely circulated, will arouse many diverse memories in different places. The essays on William Morris will appeal to many Socialist survivors in Hammersmith. In Glasgow it will be impossible to think of Morris without recalling Shaw Maxwell, who counted Morris, Kropotkin, and Eleanor Marx Aveling among his intimates.

Glasgow Art Galleries are a standing monument to Shaw Maxwell's work on the Town Council and they have been hurled at Anti-Parliamentarians as a concrete argument in defence of "Municipal Socialism." We have thrown back the slums which Municipal Socialism has left to the cares of complacent Sheriff-court hunting factors.

Shaw Maxwell was President, for a time, of the famous Democratic Club. He founded the *Seaman's Gazette* and the *People's Paper*. The latter was edited for a time by T. Marlowe, who progressed (*sic*) to the *Daily Mail*. Marlowe married a daughter of the famous Morrison Davidson, who played a part in the history of *Reynold's Newspaper*. Davidson is mentioned in *Dogmas Discarded*, in connection with Saladin and the *Agnostic Journal*. He introduced us to many studies, including the activity of Winstanley The Digger.

When Shaw Maxwell was elected first National Secretary of the I.L.P., Bernard Shaw wrote of him:—

"Shaw Maxwell will make a good, but not a brilliant, secretary. He has too much Maxwell and too little Shaw about him for that!

Another person whose career is depicted in *Pioneers* is Malatesta, who died in June 22, 1932. "Mad Malatesta" was the name they used to apply to him, because he renounced a fortune and status as a Count of Naples to lead a workers' revolt. Mad again, because when power could have been had, he refused it, and so died in poverty and persecution. Mussolini—who paid unwanted tribute to Malatesta on his return to Italy from exile—smashed Malatesta's organisation and destroyed his newspaper, *Umanita Nuova*.

A *Reynolds'* correspondent recalled interviewing Malatesta, once in exile in Soho, and again when the Anarchist was in power and might have become supreme, in Milan. On each occasion Malatesta went out of his way to convince the correspondent that he was a "harmless pacifist." Which was hardly true.

"What of the future of Anarchism?" the correspondent asked him in 1920, when Malatesta was Northern Italy's "Man of Iron."

"We may have a successful revolt—or we may be heading for the scaffold," he replied. As regards himself, neither prophecy came true.

When the *Reynolds'* correspondent went to Milan to interview Malatesta in 1920, there was an hotel strike in the city, and the "Royal Guard" — forerunners of the Fascisti — were "protecting" all the staffless hotels and cafes. Tourists could not procure food, and were warned to pass on to Venice or Turin.

"Hungry?" Malatesta asked with a twinkle in his eye. "Yes, very!" the correspondent answered. "Then come with me," said the Anarchist leader. He took the capitalist journalist to the "Anarchists' Kitchen"—a spacious cellar in which all the striking chefs were "keeping their hand in" for the benefit of the proletariat.

Reynolds' correspondent remained in Milan throughout the dispute. He confessed years later that it was the gastronomical thrill of his life.

In 1919, Malatesta, whom Trotsky classed with the Anti-Parliamentary cretins, uttered one very good prophecy for a man who was forced to blunder thrugh life—according to the so-called scientific Socialists, Leninists, Trotskyists, and Stalinists—without the beaconlight of Marxism to light his path. He wrote words of simple wisdom that meant nothing to Trotsky at the time but ought to have been pondered by him later. Avowed Malatesta when Trotsky was at the top of the Soviet heap:—

"Lenin, Trotsky and their companions are certainly sincere revolutionists—as they understand the revolution, and they will not betray it, but they prepare governmental methods that will serve those that will come, who will profit from the revolution and kill it. They will be the first victims of their own method, and with them I fear will fall the revolution. And history will repeat itself, *mutatis mutandis*: it was the dictatorship of Robespierre that brought Robespierre to the guillotine and prepared the way for Napoleon."

David Nicoll is mentioned in *Dogmas Discarded* (Part II.) and also in *Pioneers*. His name will recall to many the story of the *Commonweal*, and his indictment of H. B. Samuels, who was afterwards connected with the National Secular Society, as an alleged police-agent, who was the cause of driving William Morris out of the Socialist League.

Concerning the matter published in *The Commonweal*, after he had given up the editorship, Morris wrote:—

"Kelmscott House, Upper Hall, Hammersmith,
"July 12th, 1890.

"My Dear Nicoll,—I have been looking at this week's *Commonweal*, and I must say I think you are going too far—at any rate, further than I can allow you. You really must put the curb on Samuels' blatant folly, or you will force me to withdraw all support. I never bargained for this sort of thing when I gave up editorship.

"I look upon you as a sensible and friendly fellow, and I am sure you will take it in a friendly spirit as it is meant; for I feel it is only fair to give you warning of any dissatisfaction I may have.

"Please understand that this is meant to be quite private; and do your best not to drive me off. For I assure you it would be the greatest grief to me if I had to dissociate myself from men who have been my friends for so long and whom I believe to be at bottom thoroughly good fellows.

"I shall be at Kelmscott, Lechdale, till next Friday, and will send you the new batch of *News from Nowhere* so that it shall reach you on Friday morning at the latest.—Yours fraternally,

"William Morris."

"I send the proofs on to Blundell."

The study in *Pioneers* of Daniel De Leon is simple and sympathetic. A much more critical and destructive essay might have been written from the Anti-Parliamentary viewpoint. It is no argument against De Leon's worth, but it does tell against the Marxist Grandfather Knowalls, to note that De Leon made no impression on Engels. When Lucien Sanial and De Leon visited Engels in England, Engels wrote to a friend in the United States very simply: *"They did not impress me."*

De Leon is supposed to have been, in his own person, the enemy of all reformist compromise. But the famous I.W.W. split at Chicago, when the Direct Actionists captured the organisation and De Leon formed the political clause, Detroit section, occurred because of De Leon's personal reformism. It is supposed generally that the split occurred because some delegates rejected the *"action on the political and industrial planes"* clause. This rejection did not precede but followed the withdrawal of De Leon.

The credentials committee of the I.W.W. convention refused to sit De Leon because he was a member of, and a delegate from, a craft local (the clerical workers) and had refused consistently to transfer to an industrial union local. De Leon explained that this was not just a question of expediency—preference for representing a numerically stronger local—but of principle, i.e., that, according to De Leon, the organisation of industrial unions should commence with the organisation of craft locals. De Leon's attitude turned many of his supporters against him. Tom Powers, a delegate from New England, said: "No one but De Leon himself could convince me that De Leon does not understand industrial unionism—but he has done it."

BAKUNIN HALL
29 CASTLE STREET, GLASGOW,
Every Sunday, 7 p.m.

Speaker: GUY ALDRED.

Questions. Discussion. Collection. All Welcome.

WALTER STRICKLAND'S WANDERINGS

HIS DEFENCE OF THE UNDERDOG—IN EUROPE AND THE EAST

(*Concluded from page 20.*)

Strickland subscribed as handsomely as his funds permitted to the striker's cause—at that time he was living on a small allowance from his father and he pledged a part of it to raise more money for the strikers. He also wrote a further bitterly sarcastic poem entitled "An Ode in Praise of Lead." The introductory explanation to this poem says: "Showing its enormous superiority to bread as a staple article of food of the common people, and its proper application for that purpose." The theme of this poem may be judged from the following two verses:

"Mob starving, desperate, fudge!
That howl for bread, sirs!
Brave soldiers never budge,
But give 'em lead, sirs!

"Lead's the best panacea
For poor men's ills;
And bullets the least dear
Most drastic pills."

In 1913 a London evening paper, recalling Strickland's comments on the Milan strike, referred to him as tending to fish in troubled waters, getting into trouble with most civilised governments. Strickland wrote from Cordova, Spain, on February 25 of that year questioning the right of governments that believed in war and firing on strikers to be deemed civilised, and added: "I am at a loss to understand your metaphor. To the best of my poor ability I have stood up for freedom, fair-play, justice and good sense, but nothing else."

At the time of the Milan strike Strickland had returned to Italy after two years travel through the Slav countries, excepting Russia. At the time of the attempted assassination of King Humbert in 1897, Strickland was staying at a small inn at Pecs or Funfkirchen, in Hungary, "when a Wendish road contractor from Carniola turned up, a man of about sixty, with a complication of lung diseases and religion." Strickland had the misfortune to be obliged to sleep, or rather not sleep, in the same room, which was little better than a cell, with this strange Slav religionist. The Wend rejoiced at the attempt on Humbert's life and declared it was the result of the activity of Garibaldi and the war on the Pope. "There, see!" he exclaimed, "your precious house of Savoy relied upon revolution and infidelity to drive out our Holy Roman Emperor, and now he is menaced by the minister he himself raised. It serves him right and is a judgment from God."

Strickland felt obliged to defend the house of Savoy in this matter, only to reach Italy and find in the condition of the miners and the workers generally some excuse for the protests of the Anarchists.

WORLD TRAVELS BEGAN.

In 1900 Strickland commenced his world travels. He went to Australasia and the following year entered on the first of his two distinct tropical tours. From Sydney, New South Wales, in the middle of October, 1901, he went to Wellington, New Zealand, and arrived on December 6 of that year. Everywhere he wrote lengthy letters, made notes on local conditions or composed sarcastic poems describing the conditions of people. More and more he departed from his ideas of British Imperialism and his faith in the white man's outlook. He traversed the East Coast of Australia and visited Thursday Island, which owes its name to the fact that Captain Cook discovered it on a Thursday. From there he travelled in a Dutch ship to Soerbaya which he reached in November, 1903. He returned to Naples from Ceylon on April 14, 1904.

After a few months' stay in Europe, where he wrote a number of essays in defence of Free-thought and of Socialism, and prepared a satirical play on dictatorship, with Czarist Russia as the background, Sir Walter travelled by the North German Lloyd line to Port Said and reached Ceylon on December 19 of that year. He spent some months in Ceylon and then reached Singapore. From there he travelled to Soerbaya, and from the latter place he went by steamer to Timor Koupang at the end of June, 1905. His stay in these places lasted two and a half months, during which time he interested himself in the native conditions.

AN INCIDENT IN SUMBA.

His stay in Sumba caused him to write a really marvellous book describing the native conditions on that island. Unfortunately his objection to a certain incident he witnessed made him describe an occurrence in which an English official played a not very dignified part whilst on a visit to Australia. Actually Sir Walter traced the political history of the official in question and linked up the happening in Sumba with the behaviour of the man in Australia.

His censure was severe and there can be no doubt that the incident was a disgraceful one. There was no actual necessity to record it and it was indeed open to the criticism of being obscene. Sir Walter took the view that it had happened, that it should be noted, and that it should be condemned. The British authorities took the view that it was indecent and that the book containing it must be destroyed.

Strickland produced an edition of 10,000 copies many years later. The exact date of publication was 1927. He sent this work to me in Glasgow and it was siezed by the Customs and destroyed. The account to which objection was taken occupied a single page. The book itself was nearly 600 pages. It seems absurd that a valuable book of travel should be completely destroyed because of one page that could have been deleted. There may have been some fault on the part of the author, but complete destruction without the opportunity of preserving a copy, argues, to my mind, irresponsible vandalism on the part of those in authority.

Strickland proceeded from Sumba to Batavia at the end of September, 1905. During his stay in the Dutch East Indies he made a study of spiders and wrote several essays on the faculty of a certain spider to change the colour of its eyes when in danger. He was proud of the fact that he was of Dutch extraction, and that he was descended directly, on his mother's side, from the Benticks who came over to England with William of Orange in 1688.

This fact gives a Dutch bias to all his writings on colonial questions. This bias found a place in the book he wrote entitled "Pagans and Christians," or "The Black Spot in the East." This consisted of an open letter to Lady Arthur Somerset and was written in 1905, during a period of two years that the writer spent almost exclusively with Asiatics and Eurasians, in Ceylon, the Straits Settlement and Southern India. Sneering at the Anglo-Saxon domination of native races, but admitting that it was far superior to German domination, Strickland took for his motto the following refrain:

"The Lords of Asia bowed the head
In haughty, proud disdain;
They let the ribald hosts go by,
Then plunged in thought again."

He addressed himself to the English people in the terms of a sentence from Byron's "Don Juan"—"Believe me, you are not a virtuous nation." He adopted Bishop Heber's hymn:

"What though the spicy breezes
Blow soft o'er Ceylon's isle,
Where all the prospect pleases,
And only man is vile."

By man Strickland meant of course the English tea planter of Ceylon. He made great play of the popular song of the English tea-planters when dealing with the history of the Tamil:

"Take up the white man's burden!
Now things are at a flush;
Crimp all your neighbour's coolies
To meet the glorious rush;
Keep the black devils at it,
Like a swarm of busy bees;
While you rake in the guineas
For your high-scented teas!

A CRITIC OF COLONISATION.

In essence Strickland's conclusion was, as a result of his travels, that the Anglo-Saxon was an excellent coloniser, devoid mostly of personal brutality, but ruthless in his exploitation and with no sense of justice towards native races as races. At first he was inclined to rank the Dutch Imperialists higher but subsequently placed them in the same category. The German he condemned as being stupid and inefficient as a coloniser and personally given to a love of individual brutality. Towards the end of his life, having settled in the Dutch East Indies, he developed a great understanding of what he termed the terror and struggle for freedom in Indonesia. He pointed out that the Imperial importance which Holland enjoyed as a State was due chiefly to its possession of the Indoesian colonies which were sixty-four times as big as the Mother Country and had at the time he wrote seven times the inhabitants.

Dutch rule in India was possible only by monstrous economic exploitation and brutal political suppression. The agricultural concerns or plantations made profits of from 30 to 50 per cent. And the Dutch stay-at-home Imperialist shared hundreds of millions of florins every year from the exploitation of native workers who received no more than fifty Dutch cents per day. In the Dutch Indies strikes, meetings and associations were suppressed, the Press was under a severe censorship. At first Strickland would not face the extent to which the moral interests of the people had been neglected, in addition to their material interests. His latter views, however, were that in the course of 300 years, under the cultural influence of the Dutch colonial rulers, illiteracy had increased from 50 to 90 per cent.

It is not necessary to deal with the rebellions in Sumatra and Java which were violently suppressed. Maxim guns were fired upon unarmed crowds and so many prisoners were arrested that the Dutch Minister for the Colonies had to confess that the courts were overburdened with work and could not administer individual justice. Hundreds of Indoesians were banished to the marshy uninhabited islands of Obendigul of New Guinea, to die of fever.

Early in 1906 Strickland proceeded to Singapore and from there visited Penang, Rangoon, and the Andamans, where he enquired into the penal conditions. He published an excellent monograph on these conditions and made a bold protest in defence of the Indian political prisoners. This work is far too long in detail to quote in the present memoir. Also the fierceness of the writer's protest does not permit of easy summary in an article such as the present. His studies in the Andamans brought him to December 1905. Requested to leave the island, he returned to Rangoon, and on March 28, 1907, we find him at Singapore where he stayed some months. His next visit was to Ceylon. He remained there to February, 1908, and plunged into a study of Buddhism and the local economic conditions. He wrote several essays and poems on Buddhism, contrasting it against Christianity, and concluding that Buddhism was a nobler and more dignified religious system. He next visited Travancore and stayed there nine months. He was accused of too much sympathy with the natives and with Indian nationalism. In October he returned to Ceylon and after a brief stay took the steamer to Naples. From here he returned to England on the death of his father and assumed the title.

ATTACKS ON BLOOD SPORTS.

His father, Sir Charles William Strickland, the eighth baronet, was ninety-one years old when he died. He celebrated his ninetieth birthday on the

hunting field—a fact that his son recalled with horror in after years, when he published essay after essay attacking the blood sports. Sir Charles Strickland left estate of a gross value of £332,313 with net personality of £14,112. He left his son roughly about 21,000 acres of land to administer in Yorkshire. This event marks an important stage in Sir Walter Strickland's life. Down to this time he was partly dependent upon his father's bounty and was restricted in his movements. He was now able to sell all the estate of which he had control, to arrange for an annual income from the trustees from the balance in which his rights had been compromised and to return to the Continent.

SOLD HILDENLEY ESTATE.

He spent about three weeks in Yorkshire in order to attend the 8th Baronet's funeral and then decided to sell the Hildenley estate—the only one which being strictly entailed by his grandfather, came into his possession—remove every scrap of property to the Continent and for the future to have as little as possible to do with England and its people. Prior to 1890, as he recalled at this time, he had resided a good deal in London and considered London and Cambridge to be two of the least dreary and objectionable places in England.

In 1912 he endeavoured to obtain a passport in order to visit China. There is some confusion as to what exactly occurred at this time. Sir Walter held a passport, but some discussion arose between the Foreign Office, the British Consul at Marseilles and himself as to the validity of this passport. In any case he wished it to be extended to China and this request was refused. The British Government declared that he was in too close an association with exiled Chinese Republicans. This refusal and the fact that his writings had been suppressed in India by the Bombay Presidency led to his disappearance. He termed this sudden unexpected vanishing his "temporary eclipse." During this period he proceeded to Spain and from there went to the United States, Mexico, Japan and China. He subsequently returned to Europe and after a further tour of the world settled at Buitenzorg some time in 1933.

JOHN MACLEAN

Socialist Opinion, the monthly Bulletin of the Southampton I.L.P., in its issue for April 1940, published a review of the *John MacLean* pamphlet from the pen of our I.L.P. comrade, Albert McCarthy. He writes in part:—

"To those socialists who, watching the treacherous antics of the present leaders of the Labour Party, feel despondent of ever attaining the objects which they desire, a new pamphlet which I have just received will come as a tonic. . . .

"John Maclean is not well known outside of Scotland. His untimely death in 1923 robbed the Socialist Movement of one of its greatest men. A man intellectually the superior of all the present bombastic Labour Fakirs and Communist Party hacks.

"Maclean entered the Socialist Movement at an early age. Not until the last War however, did he become well known. To quote the pamphlet 'he unfurled the Red Flag, rather than kept it flying.' His life, from 1916 onwards is a tale of tremendous courage and Socialist integrity. He was in, and out, of jail from then until the end of his life. Nevertheless, it was not possible to imprison his spirit, and one feels sorrow, not for Maclean, but for the society which could possess the stupidity to imagine that they could stop a man of Maclean's mental vision from carrying on the duty of preaching the emancipation of the working-class.

"At the end of the pamphlet there is a word for word account of Maclean's historic speech from the dock in Edinburgh in 1918. . . .

"In 1923, worn out by his tremendous efforts, John Maclean passed away. . . .

"There is no doubt that Guy Aldred has done a tremendous service by producing this pamphlet. In some ways these two men are not unlike one another. Both are greatly underestimated in the working-class cause. They have occupied isolated positions. I feel that their efforts will one day be rewarded, and they will rank with all other heroes of the Class Struggle.

"I should certainly advise all socialists who retain any vestige of independent thought to send for this pamphlet and note its contents very thoroughly."

HITLER'S ENGLISH LEAFLET, No. 972.

World Enemy No. I—Bolshevism

A brief statement of sober facts relating to Bolshevism.

The swearing-in of soldiers for the defence of their country is a custom common to all countries. Soviet Russia, however, is the exception. In that country, every Soviet soldier has to swear an oath as follows:

"Before the working classes of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics and the whole world I swear that I will spare neither effort nor my own life in my endeavour to advance the cause of socialism and the brotherhood of all nations."

These words clearly show that the Russian army possesses an international function when compared with that work which is allotted to the armies of other nations. By means of their army the Soviet rulers are desirous of forcing their political world revolutionary creed on the nations of the world.

Bolshevism Unmasked.

The London "Times" reported on January 10, 1936: "The exclusive Comintern. The pretence of the Soviet Government that the Comintern is a body completely beyond the range of its influence and authority is a masterpiece either of make-belief or audacity . . ."

How Youth is poisoned by Bolshevism.

"La Plata" reported in September 1936: "When the police visited the school run by the Jew Isaac Schlos they found 35 children being taught in Yiddish by an Argentine lady teacher although this teacher only held the Argentine teachers certificate. The class room maps all emphasized the importance and the power of the Soviet Republics in various territories. The school books furnished proof that the children were being taught the manufacture of gunpowder and other explosives. Various pamphlets were also discovered which gave instruction in the use of firearms. The Jewish director of the school had decamped at a convenient moment."

Lecture Courses for Indian Students in Moscow.

In April 1937, Mr. R. A. Butler, the Parliamentary Under-Secretary, India Office, reported in the House of Commons that free tuition was available for Indian students at Moscow universities provided that these students returned to India as bolshevik recruiters and agitated against Great Britain.

Moscow Agitation Unmasked.

In September 1936 the Belgian newspaper "Nation Belge" came into possession of the rules of conduct issued by Moscow to the Belgian Communist party to assist them in their struggle. Moscow declared that the Belgian Communist party had completely understood that instead of it being a case of a purely commercial strike

the main aim was the creation of a "confused and gloomy state of affairs" which would assist in establishing in Belgium that system known as "Front Populaire."

In an article entitled "Mendacious Justice" ("Uj Magyarsag," March 1937), Dr. Franz Rajniss, the Hungarian member of parliament, sharply criticises Soviet Russia and Jewry. Both were striving with all their might to oppose a peaceful settlement and understanding between the great nations in Western Europe.

Three months before the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War, the important Spanish newspaper "A B C" declared: If the Powers in Western Europe were not blind they would not hesitate to sign the pact of non-aggression suggested by Germany, a pact which guarantees the peace of Europe for a period of 25 years. But it was obvious that the "pacifists" in Geneva preferred to throw themselves into the arms of Stalin and set the world ablaze rather than be willing to stifle their hatred of Hitler and fascism.

Moscow's Instructions to Vienna Communists.

The Vienna paper "Der Heimatschützer" reported in September 1936: "Secret instructions have been issued by Moscow to their agents in Austria to the effect that demands incapable of being met should be made in industrial circles particularly for the lower middle class, the small farmers, and small traders, so that in this way a state of general dissatisfaction and unrest is brought about . . ."

In October 1936, eleven Soviet agents including one woman were arrested in Vienna. They all frankly admitted to the police that they were in the service of the Soviet Union. All of them were in possession of forged passports of various countries. The passports had all been issued by one central bureau.

Red Acts of Sabotage in the British Navy.

Among the reported acts of sabotage in the British navy, the following were quoted by the responsible minister in the House of Commons in January 1937:

Sand and brass filings were thrown into the engines of a man-of-war whilst in dry dock.

A steel nut was found in the ventilation engine engine and rigging ropes were cut on the fleet tender "Oleander" in Devonport.

Foreign substances were discovered in the engines of the submarine "Oberon." A bolt had been removed from a firing cable on the battle ship "Royal Oak." The damage was only discovered with great difficulty.

A short-circuit took place on the cruiser "Cumberland" due to a needle having been driven into a power cable.

Threats of Armed Force.

At a large public meeting of communists in Prague, Deputy Sverma declared that it was the object and aim of communism to fight German fascism and that this had to be done in two ways. Firstly by means of illegal revolutionary preparation for class-warfare in Germany and secondly, the question of making arrangements for the work of fighting German fascism by means of armed force in the event of war.

Russia Finances French Communists.

On March 22, 1937, Deputy Doriot, the Chairman of the French Peoples' Party stated to French Press representatives that he could prove by means of 150 witnesses that the French communist party had received about 250 million francs from Moscow since 1920.

France in the Service of Moscow.

Jacques Bardoux, the French author, issued a brochure in April 1937 in which he quoted the following words of M. Litwinow, the Russian Foreign Commissar, addressed to a radical-socialist senator:

"If a Cabinet assumed power with the intention of coming to an agreement with Germany, then we would at once allow a radical strike and a revolution to break out."

Bolshevik Agitation in the U.S.A.

During the sham court proceedings in April 1937 in Mexico City, Trotsky declared that the whole of the bolshevik propaganda of the communist party in the United States was directed by the GPU. from Moscow. Every individual agent regularly receives his instructions from the Moscow GPU. central bureau.

Bolshevik Agitators in Poland.

According to a report dated April 24, 1937 from Warsaw, the police authorities there arrested a Jewess who was acting as courier between Moscow and the various offices of the communist party in Warsaw. The police were also able to locate and remove the whole of the staff entrusted with the work of organizing the communist May Day celebrations. These officials had also been furnished with full powers of action by Moscow.

Bolshevik Conspiracies in Argentina.

In April 1936 the police in Argentina were able to track down an extensive bolshevik conspiracy against the state. Twenty communist leaders were arrested and a search among their

household effects revealed large quantities of bombs, hand grenades, revolvers and ammunition.

The house of the Jew Dr. Bunge was searched in Buenos Aires during the course of a party that was being given to raise funds for the Red cause. A list was found containing the names of those who were to be held as hostages the moment the revolution broke out. Eighty per cent. of those arrested were Jews.

Moscow's Hand in Spain.

The Paris "Matin" made the following revelation on March 23, 1936: At a special session of the Comintern on February 27, 1936, it was decided to send two delegates to Spain, one of whom was Bela Khun, formerly President of the Hungarian Republic. A sum of one million pesetos was voted to cover initial expenses and the preliminary work of stirring-up revolutionary disorders. Among the instructions issued to Spanish communists were the following:

Immediate expropriation of large estates, state acquisition of all banks, mines, factories and railways.

The formation of a revolutionary native government in Morocco with instructions to bring about a similar status in the French North African possessions.

The organisation of terror and the creation of Red guards. Total destruction by fire of all churches and monasteries throughout Spain.

The arrest of all bourgeois journalists. The formation of a Red army and a campaign against "fascist" Portugal.

The System of Hostage Lists.

Shortly after Adolf Hitler acquired power in Germany several lists of hostages were found, notably in Andreasberg and Clausthal in the Harz district. The one list contained the names of 70 and the other 120 hostages. Both lists bore the following instruction:

"Arrest immediately and shoot on the Market Square in the presence of all citizens. Anyone absent at these executions must be fetched by force."

Early in 1937, "Echo de Paris," the organ of the French General Staff, revealed how the French communist party had been busy organising the revolution in Spain since April 1936. Of the 30 sets of instructions given to the Spanish Red forces the following are quoted:

One and all, from private to officers of high rank, must be classified in one of the following categories: (a) Enemy, (b) Neutral, (c) friendly disposed, (d) Supporter. In the event of a rising, those under heading "Enemy" must be shot at once and hostile politicians and capitalists taken into protective custody. Capitalists must be made to furnish balance sheets. The greatest radius of action for individual detachments must be assured so as to guarantee independent action unhampered by any feeling of sentiment.

The eight existing offices of the Tscheka in Madrid are authorized to carry out executions without any preliminary trial. Jewish emigres from Germany are attached to these offices as assessors. It has been estimated that more than 50,000 people have been murdered in Madrid between July 18 and October 1936.

The Murder of Eleven Bishops and 16,750 *Priests.*

The following report was published by the "Osservatore Romano" in February 1937: The evidence received by the Pope proves that in Spain no less than 11 bishops and 16,750 priests have been murdered by the Bolsheviks.

Bolsheviks Sell Spanish Gold and Art Treasures.

A report issued on December 18, 1936 states: The vaults of the National Bank were forcibly broken open by the Bolsheviks with the aid of oxy-acetylene apparatus. Eight detachments were employed for a fortnight in the work of plunder. Gold and silver were robbed from all households. The loot had to be bundled together in order to make room for more in the transport vans.

The "Nationale Dagblatt" in Holland reported in its issue dated November 17, 1936: A great number of the jewels robbed by the Spanish bolshevik government from monasteries, museums and private owners and sent abroad—chiefly to Soviet Russia—has now been sold in Antwerp, Paris and London.

Bolshevik Child-Stealing in Spain.

According to "Arriba Espana" another 4000 children were to be forcibly abducted and sent to Soviet Russia early in 1937. In a public statement, the bolshevik General Miagas declared inter alia: "I shall take strong measures against those parents who attempt to prevent us from removing their children into "safe-keeping." The children are the property of the State whose legitimate representatives are the Committees of Defence and they therefore are the best able to judge what has to be done with these children."

In October 1936, the Central Council of the Soviet Anti-God Society declared: "Three thousand Spanish children are to be converted in suitable educational establishments into pioneers and propagandists of the anti-God movement. Largo Caballero is appointed an honorary member of the society"

Increase in Anti-God Propaganda.

In a further appeal issued by the above-named society it is stated: "We want to reduce all churches throughout the world into a single mighty sea of flame."

The Coming Carnage in France.

In its issue dated July 23, 1936, the Jewish Paris newspaper "Haint" wrote: "The Spanish communists have permitted their enemies to make a counter-revolution. Against this, all enemies in Soviet Russia are mercilessly executed, that is to say, they are no longer able to take counter measures. The French Jew will take the Soviet Republic as an example.

"Free copies of this leaflet and many others may be obtained by writing to the 'Fichte Association (Fichte-Bund),' union for world veracity, 30 Jungfernstieg, Hamburg 36. Please distribute them amongst your friends. Falken-Verlag, Hamburg. Hermann's Erben, Hamburg." "Published by President Heinrich Kessemeier, 127 Hochallee, Hamburg."

[Except for the symbolic seal, this is a complete and exact reproduction of the Nazi leaflet No. 922.]

Theistic Church, opposed to my views, loyally stood by me personally; the late Sir Walter Strickland wrote me from France, seeking friendship on my release from prison and offering employment; but George Lansbury, pledging my friend, Rose Witcop, to secrecy, demanded regular reports of her situation, and contributed to the domestic struggle.

George Lansbury, during my 12 months' imprisonment, made a secret contribution to home of just over £100. He gave this to Rose Witcop on condition that it was not acknowledged. He actually did good by stealth and blushed to have it known.

Later, when he was in the Labour Cabinet, and I criticised him severely, he wrote me privately, saying he was sorry I felt like that towards him, but I was right to attack him if I felt he had betrayed his principles.

I was opposed to the Great War and was imprisoned as a conscientious objector. Rose Witcop was Russian born and the Anarchists with whom I associated, and she more than I, were all foreign. I strayed into a strange fold. I experienced four court martials, and her situation was sad. George Lansbury, immediately I was arrested, wrote to her and said I was loyal to the principles for which he stood.

He was not too flush at this period. Nevertheless, he defended me consistently in the columns of the *Herald*—the Labour daily turned weekly during the war emergency—and subscribed a total of £150 towards the home defence. He wrote me one or two charming letters.

In 1921, the case of *The Red Commune*, published not by me, but by a Glasgow Group, occurred. I was arrested and duly served 16 months' imprisonment in Glasgow.

During this period George Lansbury again showed his solidarity. Lansbury immediately inquired of Rose Witcop how we were placed. I was not too tight but it was not possible to manage without some domestic assistance. Anyway, he gave her £50 towards things, as he "knew what a propagandist's life is like, when he is genuine."

LANSBURY MEMORIES

GEORGE LANSBURY.

*The following tribute to George Lansbury from our pen appeared in the Islington Gazette for May 31, 1940. The wording was changed very slightly but definitely in two places by the Editor of our contemporary.—Ed.

I was very much touched at reading the report in the *Islington Gazette* of the City Road Memorial Service to George Lansbury. Although my intimacy was intermittent, and our main paths in the Labour movement diverged, I have known George Lansbury very well for over thirty years. I knew him in the old S.D.F. days, and in to me, the important year 1909, when in the old *Socialist Annual* he outlined an almost utopian scheme for dealing with unemployment, almost every phase of which has become law since. Old Socialists will remember the *Socialist Annual*, edited by Theodore Rothstein, and published by the now historic Twentieth Century Press on Clerkenwell Green. How well I know this site!

I read the report of the memorial address delivered by the Rev. G. C. Langdon, M.A., the Vicar of St. Matthew's Church, with interest. His tribute and concept were very true. To describe George Lansbury as "the greatest man of his day" may seem to be carrying tribute very far, yet it does emphasise the truth. George Lansbury, his errors notwithstanding, was a very great man, inspired by the Christian ethic, who yearned to transform the world, as one day it will be transformed, into a great human brotherhood. He wished the earth to be fair, and all her people to be one. Perhaps, indeed, the Vicar is right. Perhaps George Lansbury was the greatest man of his day.

My first real contact with George Lansbury was made in 1909. I believed, from an early age, in free speech and free Press. In 1909, certain Indian papers were suppressed and Indian Nationalists resorted to assassination. I did not believe either in nationalism or assassination. But I did believe in the free Press.

I published the *Indian Socialogist* in defence of the free Press. At the Old Bailey an attempt was made to claim that I believed in assassination, but Mr. Justice Coleridge overruled that suggestion. My defence made clear that I did not believe in violence.

George Lansbury wrote to me—all the Labour movement otherwise turned against me—and asked me to confirm my anti-violence views. I took the first opportunity of doing so and he wrote, commending my attitude, and asking me to pledge my loyalty to pacifism.

During this period, Charles Voysey, of the

(Concluded at foot, 2nd column.)

WHOM SHALL WE HONOUR?

Naval Rating Fiscal or "Socialist" Lord Provost

J. FINDLAY LANGMUIR, B.L., Glasgow Procurator Fiscal, 1931.

On June 6 it was announced in the press that Mr. James Findlay Langmuir, B.L., had given up his job as Procurator-Fiscal at Glasgow Central Police Court to join the Navy. He left Glasgow that night to start his training as a rating.

Mr. Langmuir started his career in the office of the Town Clerk. He qualified as a solicitor in 1924, and two years later became Assistant Fiscal under Mr. James Miller. On Mr. Miller's death in 1928 he was appointed Procurator-Fiscal.

In addition to being Police Procurator-Fiscal, Mr. Langmuir was Procurator-Fiscal of the Dean of Guild Court. Through his hands, in normal or peace times, passed over 600 cases a month in the Court of the Stipendiary Magistrate, or Central Police alone. He also directed the cases in the district police courts. There were also a large number of petitions for linings in the Dean of Guild Court.

Whatever the merit of the Dean of Guild petitions, many of which related to actual social administration and possible public usefulness as things are, the police court cases condemned the capitalist system. Whoever has sat in the Central Police Court will know how many of these cases express the hopeless misery of the system and its derelicts. Human beings reduced to utter failure and total deformity. A problem not to be solved under the system, and with which police court administration is compelled to tinker. Findlay Langmuir did his best to bring relief in many cases, and spared no pains to attempt salvage. Often he put aside all ideas of punishment and police-court procedure and addressed himself to solving an individual social problem. In many instances he achieved success.

A Queen's Park School boy, Findlay Langmuir went straight into the Corporation by competitive examination, and began in the Town Clerk's Office under Sir John Lindsay. There he was encouraged to qualify as a law-agent, which he did, and proceeded to the University for a second qualification.

The illness of the then Police Fiscal led to him taking up the duties, and when the position became vacant he continued in the office.

For several years Mr. Langmuir played for Queen's Park Football Club, and has served since on the board of management. He was well-known to the sporting public in Glasgow as a football player.

We all know that the economic struggle dictates Court decrees. The class struggle governs the Small Debt Court and stalks in almost nude misery through the corridors of the County Buildings. Within this economic struggle there exists, or there exists not, the ordinary, not too unfortunate for the moment citizen's respect for the Law. That respect is based on the sense of security or the worthiness of respect he finds in its administration. Law and Order, within even Capitalism, depend on laws being administered truthfully and impartially. Laws are foundation stones of commonweal. They embody history and tradition, and cannot be crumbled by despotism, tyranny, or bureaucratic maladministration. That is why, finally, the totalitarian state must go and democracy be reconstituted throughout the world. It must pass from law and politics to economics, but it must continue and must apply economically, legally, socially, and politically. In the system of criminal administration operating in Scotland, much social welfare within the system depends upon the character of the man who occupies the office of Fiscal.

Socialists in Glasgow were brought into contact with the Stipendiary Magistrate, Mr. George Smith, and at first, with Mr. Miller as Fiscal, and afterwards, in 1931, with Mr. Langmuir. Both Magistrate and Fiscal discharged their respective tasks with great responsibility and respect for the law. As a result of the cases tried the bye-law relating to Free Speech was altered, to secure Free Speech. Magistrate, Fiscal, and police assisted the struggle. But the "Socialist" majority at George Square had no use for Free Speech, and the bye-law remains, meantime, a dead-letter to the eternal disgrace of the parliamentary Socialists and Canerists.

It is interesting to contrast the treatment of the Glasgow Police Fiscal, who joined up from patriotism and because he felt he must do his bit, with the publicity accorded to the Glasgow Lord Provost. This ex-Socialist's portrait is to

Naval Rating Findlay Langmuir, 1940.

This picture appeared in the *Daily Record*, Monday, July 29. It was snapped in Glasgow on the Saturday. Another portrait appeared in *Sunday Mail*, July 28. Block lent and reproduced by courtesy of the proprietors of the *Daily Record*.

be found in the local newspapers every day. With considerable breach of true dignity and etiquette he permitted himself to receive the St. Mungo Prize. From the standpoint of human worth, and dignity of office, an unpardonable offence. He is photographed on every occasion as a great patriot. He never says a word in defence of conscience, and unites himself complacently with folk who slander the "conchies" to-day. If all the things said about "conchies" were true, then, as a "conchie" of 1916-1918, he merits no regard. This fact is slurred over by an official conspiracy of silence. He urges battle, but never says a word about the soldiers' condition or rates of pay. For example, why should a soldier's wife or children suffer because he commits some passing military "crime"? Why not just the soldier? If a Socialist *can* be a Lord Provost, and if he feels the present war is different from all previous wars, why not take a Labour view of the soldier's right, and express it boldly?

So far as we know, Dollan does not do this. He utters nothing but the platitudes of office that lead to further advancement and recognition under a system Socialism condemns.

Whilst the Lord Provost was being photographed the Glasgow Fiscal returned to Glasgow on a 48 hours leave of absence. He was not photographed, so far as we know. No attention was paid to him. He was only a naval rating—a man who did his duty as he saw it. Mr. Langmuir does not claim to be a Socialist. He has not studied Socialism. He is an ordinary citizen, with an ordinary orthodox outlook. But he possesses what many "Socialist" Councillors, Provosts, and Mayors lack, a sense of worth and decency. He joined quietly—slipped away to serve "the country," as he puts it, in a position of danger and discomfort. He went, as a brave man should go, modestly and without any fuss—thereby setting an example to Lord Provosts. Why does not Dollan slip away quietly and join the colours in some post of danger?

On June 29 Mr. Langmuir returned to Glasgow on 48 hours leave. No fuss was made. He was not photographed. He visited the police court; interviewed the Stipendiary Magistrate, who gave up his legal practice and joined up in the 1914-1918 war because he thought he was doing his duty; and returned to his naval duties. Mr. Langmuir feels he must pull his weight in defence of democracy. We honour him, not merely for facing danger, but for his practical democratic approach and sense of equality.

The working class movement has no reason to respect Glasgow's alleged "Socialist" Lord Provost, the conchie of 1917, who demanded that the entire Labour Movement save him from conscription; the over-age conchie who breathes conscription to-day and is parading always in his robes of office and posing for the cameras. But Glasgow citizens can turn from the Labour Lord Provost to pay a tribute of respect to the naval rating, Findlay Langmuir, Glasgow's Police Procurator-Fiscal. He sees his duty and goes out to discharge it, putting aside every thought of comfort and well-being.

We honour the genuine conscientious objector. And we honour also the brave and conscientious soldier or sailor, much as we are opposed to war. We pay tribute to Findlay Langmuir.

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(*Concluded from page* 36.)

sea and air forces. And with the help resultant from systematic internal disruptive work in other countries, Jewish World Dictatorship would then be an accomplished fact.

In that quarter lies the peril that threatens the nations of the world. This danger can only be overcome if the whole of civilization joins in one formidable anti-communist front. As long as these Jewish Bolshevist enemies of the world are not made to realize that their undermining and destructive efforts will be shattered against the common front of all civilized nations, they will continue their plans for wholesale destruction. Everywhere where governments are not on their guard, this Bolshevist terror will incite people to fight against each other, they will instigate strikes and civil wars, establish Front Populaire governments, and the hour will finally strike when Soviet hordes will be let loose to complete the work of devastation and destruction.

"Free copies of this leaflet and others may be obtained by writing to the 'Fichte Association (Fichte-Bund)," union for world veracity, 30 Jungfernstieg, Hamburg 36. Please distribute them among your friends. Falken-Verlag, Hamburg. Hermann's Erben, Hamburg."

[Except for the symbolic seal, this is a complete and exact reproduction of the Nazi leaflet No. 972.]

HITLER'S ENGLISH LEAFLET, No. 892.

Bolshevists as World War Mongers

At the close of the Great War, when the nations after years of dreadful suffering and exhausted by terrible sacrifices called for a stable and lasting peace, there raged in Russia a civil war the true extent of which only became known more than a decade later.

After power had been taken out of the hands of the collapsing Czarist régime by a kind of Front Populaire with Kerenski at its head, Lenin and Trotzki whipped the Russian people into a fresh intoxicated state of murderous lust. And thus Russia became one huge slaughter house extending from the Arctic Ocean across the Siberian Tundras to the Far East. This civil war cost Russia approximately three million lives, that is to say, far more than she had just sacrificed on the battle fields. In marxistic Bolshevism as schemed out by the Jew Marx, there appeared a line of thought to which the concepts of honour and liberty, duty and the realization of ideals were entirely foreign. The establishment of the Communist International now resulted in the poison of sedition being transfused into all countries so that Moscow's ideas of a world revolution took definite shape with the object of plunging nations once again in a welter of blood and tears. This is substantially confirmed by the following statements:—

"Our stay in Moscow will only be a temporary one; we hope that it will be as short as possible and that we shall be able to transfer the General Staff of the Proletariat—the International Executive Committee—to one of those countries in which other flags are still flying." Lenin.

"Under Lenin's banner our proletarian movement will conquer the whole world. The Red Army is the Army of World Revolution." Stalin in 1935/1936.

Placing its trust in the fourteen points announced by Wilson, the German nation laid down its arms only to be betrayed by the terrible dictates of Versailles and thrown into a state of dire misery. The resultant distress was so great that in 1932 the number of suicides committed in Germany was equal to the strength of an army corps. During that period Bolshevism was rampant in Germany and carried out its dastardly work in accordance with orders from Lenin who, having regard to Germany's political situation in the heart of Europe had said:—

"A victorious proletarian revolution in Germany could easily with one single stroke smash the whole international economic structure and thus safeguard the way for the success of international socialism."

Adolf Hitler, a former front line fighter, recognized this threatening danger. He had fought since 1919 for the purpose of sparing Germany the appalling misery which Russia had been subjected to. It was through his accession to power that the Germans were given

Social Justice on a National Basis.

Economic distress was overcome and Germany was saved from Bolshevism. And more than that. Germany became a mighty bulwark against Jewish World Revolution. Notwithstanding one of the principles of National Socialism in reference to non-interference in the domestic affairs of other nations, agents from Moscow set their traps around Germany and attempt to hunt her down and destroy her by means of diplomatic ruses. And throughout the world they are fanning the fires of world revolution by instigating rebellions, strikes and riots. The Soviet Jews know full well that they need a world revolution in order to save their own skins.

From the very beginning the Bolshevists devoted their energy to the building up of their Red Army in order to check the desperate revolt of the starving and tortured Russian people. After civil war had systematically annihilated the educated classes, foreign engineers and mechanics were looked for and found, and given high wages and special food in return for their assistance in forging the technical weapons of Bolshevism.

Thus the Red Army was created as a weapon for suppressing not only the slightest discontented move of the desperate Russian people by means of machine guns, bombs and poison gas, but a weapon was created that already threatens the whole of civilization.

In former times the peace strength of the Russian Army was stated to be 562,000 men.

At the beginning of 1935, Tuchatschewski, the Deputy Commissar for War, announced that the Red Army had already attained a strength of 940,000.

Tuchatschewski declared further that the total strength of the standing army was 1.3 million excluding reserves, early in 1936.

In 1936, the Council of Peoples Commissaries passed a resolution whereby the age limit of military recruits was lowered from twenty-one to nineteen years. By this arrangemnet the standing army has been increased by fifty per cent. and now totals 2 millions.

I bring you the blessing of the bolshevistic world revolution.

This cartoon is reproducted with wording from Hitler's original leaflet, No. 892.

The trained reserves total

11—12 *million men.*

And it is not the number of troops alone that has been increased (especially on the Western frontier)—but the whole of Russian armaments have been expanded and many new airports have been built.

As an example we may quote that the second Five Years Plan makes provision for an additional construction of 8000 war planes and 20,000 aeroplane engines in addition to the vast armament programme already embodied in the new Plan.

At the Seventh Soviet Congress, on January 31, 1935, Tuchatschewski stated with regard to a special force that exists in addition to the Red Army:—

"Here (i.e. in Ossoaviachim) millions of workers and peasants are trained for entry into the ranks of the army. Their training is such that in the event of war they will be able to participate with full military knowledge. This preparatory training is of the greatest possible importance. The Ossoaviachim and the Red Army work hand in hand in the work of preparation for war."

And are we and the world at large to believe that these huge war preparations are merely to serve as defensive measures for protecting Soviet frontiers? At least this is what Soviet "diplomats" are told to broadcast throughout the world and what the Jew Litwinow (whose real name is Wallach-Finkelstein) tells the League of Nations.

Everywhere during these last years fires that have been kindled by Moscow have blazed up in order to destroy that which every nation cherishes, namely, domestic happiness and integrity. (See Fichtebund Pamphlet No. 791, "Bolshevism unmasked.") The Brazilian Government, for example, took vigorous measures in 1936 to suppress a rebellion that had been planned on a large scale. This rebellion was engineered by foreign Jews and had already brought about mutinies in various army units. In Spain, the bolshevist wirepullers, acting according to old custom, partly succeeded in seizing power by cloaking themselves under the name of Front Populaire. On the very day that they came into power they began their campaign of murder which surpassed even the bolshevist atrocities of the Russian civil war. During the first weeks of this Spanish Civil War tens of thousands of peaceful citizens were ruthlessly murdered in cold blood. Among them were clergymen, scientists, artists and sportsmen of international fame. As examples we list a few names. The Nobel prize winner for literature, M. Benavente—the well-known journalist and President of the Madrid Press Association, M. Alfonso Santa Maria—and many others. We were horror-struck at the news that the Bolshevist beast had drowned hundreds of innocent and defenceless victims or poured petrol over them and burnt them alive. Crucifications and other brutal tortures were also carried out. And all the while we were listening in to fresh instructions issued by radio from headquarters in Moscow.

The blazing fires and wanton acts of destruction and riots throughout the world speak for themselves. And yet the civilized world is irresolute in meeting the situation brought about by the undermining activity of Soviet agents, who never fail to take advantage of parliamentary freedom. Those who have not yet recognized the true aims of the Soviet Governmnet will do well to grasp the frank revelations of M. Gusjew, an important Soviet functionary. In a number of military pamphlets he has told what has induced the Soviet rulers to make their preparations and has made it clear how world revolution can best be advanced.

"Matters can be accelerated best by giving military assistance to a revolution begun in one of the Western countries. Secondly, by entering into war if one of the new Western socialist Republics be forced to fight against the holders of international economic power. Finally—and such a case is quite probable, we may have to asume the offensive in order to accelerate the revolution in the West."

If these statements are taken in conjunction with the fact that the Soviets have taken the offensive in the Spanish civil war, and if furthermore the gigantic armaments of Moscow are taken into consideration, then the ultimate object of Moscow terrorist rule becomes plainly evident and assumes a ghastly clarity. The dangers lurking in the Pacts and Agreements which Soviet Russia has concluded with France, Czecho-Slovakia and Rumania are also very apparent. A predominance of communist elements in these countries would certainly result in a fresh European war and with it the commencement of a world revolution. The Red Army consists mainly of non-communist peasants and does not seem reliable enough for a prolonged war against a regular modern army. Therefore, the Bolshevists hope to gain a-quick and decisive decision by a sudden combined operation of their land,

(*Concluded foot, 3rd column, page* 35.)

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Liberty! Equality!! Fraternity!!!

THE WORD

To Rouse The People, To Combat Fascism, and To Speed Commonweal.

An Organ of the United Socialist Movement, Edited and Published by Guy A. Aldred, for the Bakunin Press and the U.S.M. at Bakunin Hall, 29 Castle Street, Glasgow, C.4. All unsigned matter is from the pen of the Editor. Annual Subscription, 3s. 0d.

Vol. II. No 4. NOVEMBER, 1940. Price: TWOPENCE

FASCIST WAR ON SPAIN

UNITED SOCIALIST MOVEMENT'S UNHEEDED APPEAL

WHY DID NOT THE "SOCIALIST" LORD PROVOST ACT IN 1936

In the August *Word* we told the story of the mimeographed *Regeneracion* leaflets issued by the United Socialist Movement in 1936. We reproduced No. 10, which contained our open letter to the late Campbell Black, the famous British airman, who served the Fascist cause against the workers of Spain. We now reproduce issues 4 and 6 of these leaflets. Each leaflet is reproduced in full, the text being exactly as originally issued. These leaflets tell their own story.

REGENERACION.

No. 4. August 8, 1936. Sub.: Voluntary

SPAIN, THE WORKERS, AND NEUTRALITY.

An Open Letter to Lord Provost Stewart.

145 Queen Street, Glasgow, C.1.,
Friday, August 8, 1936.

My Lord Provost,

By the time this letter has been duplicated and circulated, one does not know what the news will be from Spain. The principle stated will stand, however, in the end, for the word must survive empires, and the emancipation of the workers of the world from the thraldom of property must become a reality. I address myself to you because you typify the hopelessness of parliamentary Socialism and Reformism at a time of crisis and I want the workers of Glasgow to face facts. The cause of Spain is the cause of democracy and labour throughout the world, and you adopt a lofty attitude of humourous inaction. Imitating a famous judge, you plead ignorance. You have no official knowledge of Spain. But do you possess any knowledge, official or otherwise? Do you not owe your position to ignorance, your own ignorance, and that of the working-class? But ignorance, my Lord Provost, is no excuse in a Court of Law and it is no plea at the bar of history. One day you will be judged: finally. Only the ghost of your memory will be affected, it is true. And that ghost will have no consciousness. Still, there are folks who have delicate minds, and they do not like to leave mean little ghosts behind them. They would not bargain character for reputation. As Jesus put it, losing their own souls, yet profiting nothing. You have lost your soul and you know nothing of Spain. Once upon a time a man had a toothache and knew nothing of the execution of the Son of Man. He cursed the procession and the victim-in-chief as it moved towards the gallows.

My Lord, you are a parliamentarian and have therefore a fascist mind and false soul. Spain is a friendly nation, living under a government, elected, after years of suppression and fascist torture, by democratic vote. France, with its Popular Front Government, urged neutrality between a constitutional government and a fascist counter-revolutionary rebellion! Italy and Germany, having armed General Franco and his fascist cohorts, accept neutrality, qualified! Soviet Russia, except for stupid little demonstrations, adopts the same role. The British Government also adopts an Isolationist policy. And you, owing your elevation to the workers, but enjoying your status by grace of the ruling-class, fall into line. There shall be no Lord Provost Fund for Spain! A fund is taking sides! It is helping beleaguered, constitutional government, against a fascist conspiracy from within

Regeneracion!!

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Friday, August 8, 1936.

My Lord Provost,

By the time this letter has been duplicated and circulated, one does not know what the news will be from Spain. The principle stated will stand, however, in the end, for the word must survive empires, and the emancipation of the workers of the world from

United Socialist Movement Leaflet Against Fascism.
Issued August 1936. Title and opening sentences. Reproduction is a little smaller than the original typed leaflet.

Concluding portion same leaflet.

I have the honour to be in the cause of Socialism, Democracy, and the Spanish workers and Government, my Lord Provost,

Your avowed enemy.

Guy A. Aldred.

and from without. Franco has been armed! Italy and Germany have sent him aeroplanes and guns. His troops have been conveyed across the straits from Morocco. Britain, her warships idle, permitting this adventure. Such neutrality! And you are all for *this* neutrality, which is really the aiding and abetting of fascism. No wonder you expect this system to continue fifty years with a Labour administration at George Square! No wonder you boast to the city business men that the Labour "bossing" has made no radical difference to civic affairs in Glasgow! Was it intended to do so?

Your parliamentarism is a conspiracy against the workers of Britain as well as those of Spain. Your fund would have been futile as a fund, considering that the fascists were well and freely equipped with arms and planes by Italy and Germany, and financed by Juan March, the Spanish millionaire, whose tobacco monopoly was confiscated by the Spanish Government. This man never forgave the Republic for exposing and prosecuting him for fraud and when the Azana Government was overthrown in 1933, he returned to Spain and was a party to the infamous tortures imposed by the fascist government upon Spanish workers. Against the finance of this individual your fund would have been as futile as the paltry collections that the Soviet Republic in these days of its decline considers to be the proletarian method of assisting Spain. Your fund would have been as futile as your gesture is eloquent. It is a gesture of treachery, typical of the parliamentary debacle we have suffered under in Britain since the end of the war.

The Powers, meaning of course the diplomatic representatives of the ruling-class, have agreed that we must not help Spain. And your wee thimble-rattling "Socialist" parliamentary soul sighs "Yes, yes." You must obey the master's voice—the master being not the genius of freedom but the interests of the stock exchange. The Italian Government having supplied camouflaged military planes to General Franco insists that no private individual in any other country shall help the Spanish Government. We must send no money. We must not speak, whilst democracy is strangled and men, women and children tortured. From being the dominator of Italy, Mussolini has become the dictator of Britain. To all which you, as the Socialist Sir Galahad of George Square, knowing the price that you must pay for your coming knighthood, assent.

This time, my Lord Provost, the treachery of parliamentarism has gone too far. The workers of Britain will and must help Spain. Unless the tide of fascism is rolled back from Madrid, unless the workers of Britain take their stand by their heroic comrades in Barcelona, all liberty, constitutional and otherwise, will be destroyed in Britain. Let the government of Great Britain enter in to what negotiations it likes with Rome and Berlin, let Stanley Baldwin declare that we must not speak on behalf of Spain, speak we will, let the consequences be what they may. We will speak and we will act in support of Spain. We will recruit armies if necessary to support the Spanish Government. We will raise funds, if so be they help. We will set up Councils of Action. We will call for workshop action to spike and suppress the fascist press. We will silence the Northcliffe press for ever. Only let the government require it, only let the government demand that we shall not speak, and the voices that will be raised on the side of the Spanish workers in their struggle will be a mighty prelude to civil war in Britain. Let the government adopt this suggestion of Rome and we can promise that William Morris's words about the rolling of the thunder will turn to reality. The workers of Britain at this crisis have one cause and one aspiration: complete loyalty through all possible action to the Spanish Government and workers who support it.

I call upon the workers of Glasgow to despise you and your party. I call upon the workers to form Councils of Action in every district and every work. I call for immediate solidarity and unity of every political and industrial fraction and faction of the working-class movement. I ask for immediate workshop action. I call for a movement towards industrial strike action, towards a General Strike or towards a regulated strike, according to the needs of the Spanish struggle. I announce that I am prepared to recruit and to be recruited in the Spanish workers' cause. If the government attempts to silence our speech on behalf of Spain I am prepared to do my best to oppose the government by action and not through parliament. I am prepared to take my stand by civil war.

The shoddy of your parliamentarism, my Lord Provost, is obvious. It shows through your robes of office. Spain has exposed your meanness all too thoroughly.

I have the honour to be in the cause of Socialism, Democracy, and the Spanish workers and Government, my Lord Provost,

Your avowed enemy,

GUY A. ALDRED.

Regeneracion!!

No.6. August 12, 1936. Sub: Voluntary.

BRITISH NEUTRALITY HUMBUG.

THE RAPE OF SPAIN!

In this issue, we reproduce two News-Items that throw some light on the Fascist conspiracy for the overthrow, by international plotting, of the properly constituted and duly and freely elected Government of Spain, and the workers and peasants who are defending their right and

United Socialist Movement Leaflet Against Fascism.
Issued August 1936. Title and opening sentences. Reproduction is a little smaller than the original typed leaflet.

Concluding portion same leaflet.

have asked for them. Soviet Russia, which assisted in arming fascist Germany, is afraid to arm the workers of Spain. Why?

THE RAPE OF SPAIN MUST CEASE. THERE MUST BE NO WORLD WAR. RATHER

LET THE DEFENCE OF DEMOCRACY MEAN WORLD REVOLUTION

.....

Issued by Guy A. Aldred on behalf of the United Socialist Movement, Bakunin Hall, 71 Stirling Road, Glasgow, C.4.

REGENERACION.

No. 6 · August 12, 1936. Sub.: Voluntary

BRITISH NEUTRALITY HUMBUG.

THE RAPE OF SPAIN.

In this issue, we reproduce two News-Items that throw some light on the Fascist conspiracy for the overthrow, by international plotting, of the properly constituted and duly and freely elected Government of Spain, and the workers and peasants who are defending their rights and liberties so heroically.

Campbell Black is well-known as a British airman. His career is unique. Served in the war in R.N.A.S. and R.A.F. Piloted the present king when Prince of Wales on a big-game hunt in Africa. Flown 13 times between London and Nairobi, and in 1929 covered the 5,000 miles in eight days. Three times awarded the Mansefield Robinson Trophy by the Aero Club of East Africa for the most meritorious flight. Once linked four East African capitals—Entebbe, Kisumu, Mombasa, and Dar-es-Salaam, a distance of over 1,600 miles—in a day. In 1931 rescued the German ace, Ernst Udet, when the latter was stranded on an islet on the Upper Nile. In October, 1934, with C. W. A. Scott, won the Mildenhall-Melbourne Air Race, setting up the record of 2 days 4 hours 34 minutes for the 10,000 miles trip from England to Australia. For this feat he and Scott were awarded the Britannia Trophy, the Royal Aero Club gold medal and the silver medal of the Royal Aeronautical Society. Last year made two attempts to break the London to Cape Town record.

On July 28 last, the Campbell Black Aviation Co. was requested to provide a plane for "a week's commercial charter" and pick up a passenger in Paris. Black sensed a trip out of the ordinary and booked it to himself. Next day he reported in a Puss Moth at Le Bouget.

"Campbell Black?" quietly asked a short, stout, smiling little man.

"Yes," was the reply.

"Well, I am your passenger—the Marchese Rivas de Lingares."

The Marchese briefly explained that he wanted to go to Spain—first to Burgos, northern headquarters of the rebel army, then right down the country to Lisbon. Also he wanted to fly back to Burgos.

Campbell Black told the story of this flight and his services to the "rebel cause," i.e. Fascism, in the *News of the World* for August 9 last.

The *Daily Express*, for Tuesday, August 11, 1936, features the story of John Owen Cathcart Jones, the British Air Pilot, who, with his American Beechcraft airplane and his two Spanish Monarchist passengers, was held up by the authorities at Marienbad Airport, Vienna. An excited and angry official at Marienbad Airport gave the *Daily Express* correspondent the information by telephone.

"Cathcart Jones fooled us completely," he said. "His airplane has been kept locked in a hangar ever since his arrival. He told us he wanted to take it out to overhaul the engines. He was permitted to do so. He climbed into the cockpit. Before we realised what had happened his engines started up with a roar, he took off, and vanished in the distance."

Cathcart Jones's passengers had gone on to Berlin. It is considered probable that he has flown to join them.

In the same issue, Cathcart Jones told his own story. He arrived at Cannes on August 1, when he met Don Victor Urrutia, "Air Minister" to the Spanish rebel forces. He asked Jones if it were possible to fly him to the rebel head-

quarters at Burgos, where he had to discuss plans with General Mola for the purchase of equipment and armaments in various European countries. Within ten minutes of meeting Urrutia, Jones sold him the only long-range high-speed aircraft in Europe—an American Beechcraft which had been brought over in the German Zeppelin Hindenburg by an American flier. A telephone call was put through from Cannes to Croydon and the deal was settled. It was arranged that Urrutia and Jones should fly in an American Stinson airplane to an airport in France not close enough to the Spanish frontier to arouse suspicion. There they were to meet the American in his Beechcraft, transfer the two airplanes and fly on to Burgos. The American was to go where he liked. Urrutia then said to Jones: "Fly me over the Red lines to the home of my mother and sister. I want to see if they are still alive. Then take me to Burgos. There we will speak with General Mola. From there I want you to fly me non-stop to Rome. I want to see the Italian Air Minister and buy ten fighting airplanes from the Italian Government."

Note, both these British airmen, for money, for pure commercialism, openly confessed that they have traded in what is the murder of Spanish workers and peasants. The supine British Government takes no action, but it assists in closing the international port of Tangier to Spanish Government ships! And Great Britain is neutral! In any event even neutrality would be wrong for it would mean that both sides were recognised as belligerents, with the rights of that status. The correct policy is not neutrality but non-intervention. This means recognising the established government and not recognising, much less assisting, the fascist rebels.

But the government not only recognises but covertly assists the Spanish reactionaries. It is the duty of the entire working-class to demand that this policy cease and on the contrary to see that material aid is given to the Spanish people and their democratic government and their magnificent workers' militia to crush the militarist revolt. If the Labour Party was worthy of its salt and if it believes that Parliament matters it should insist on the recall of Parliament within 48 hours and, if necessary, general strike action for the overthrow of the present government.

Campbell Black, who sold his machine, just as Cathcart Jones sold his machines, represents the spirit of British commercial banditism. This is an insight into the character of the patriots, of those types who would bully and conscript the working-class in the event of war. For pure gain they are assisting Fascism to win. And if the Fascist conspiracy succeeds, it means not only the growth of Fascism in France, not merely the rise of Fascism in Britain, but also a Fascist war on the British Empire. If Fascism wins Italy will secure Spanish Morocco and Germany the Canary Islands. This is the price of the airplanes and ammunition the Fascists have been and are receiving from Italy and Germany. Whilst the *Soviet News Bulletin*, in the name of the Soviet Government declares that the Fascist report that a Soviet ship has assisted the Spanish workers is the Fascist way of *"bringing discredit on the Soviet Union."* Why should not the Soviet Union pursue the normal custom of supplying armaments to the *de facto* government of Spain, if that government requires it. The Spanish Government has not asked for and the Spanish Government ought never to have needed to have asked for them. Soviet Russia, which assisted in arming Fascist Germany, is afraid to arm the workers of Spain. Why?

THE RAPE OF SPAIN MUST CEASE.

THERE MUST BE NO WORLD WAR.

RATHER LET THE DEFENCE OF DEMOCRACY MEAN WORLD REVOLUTION.

Issued by Guy A. Aldred on behalf of the United Socialist Movement, Bakunin Hall, 71 Stirling Road, Glasgow, C.4.

AUSTRALIA AND CONSCIENCE

The *Church Standard*, Sydney, Australia, in its issue for Wednesday, May 8, published a statement on the position of conscientious objectors in the Commonwealth, prepared by the Department of Information.

We make the following excerpt:—

"Conscientious objection to military service is not regarded in Australia or any other part of the British Empire as a crime against the State, as it is in Germany . . .

"In Australia, the law relating to conscientious objectors deals with two contingencies—exemption from service in time of war of certain specified classes of people, and, secondly, exemption from training under the national compulsory plan.

"Exemption was provided originally for persons who satisfied a prescribed authority that their conscientious beliefs did not allow them to bear arms. This was modified to apply, simply, to 'persons whose conscientious beliefs do not allow them to bear arms,' thus taking away from the prescribed authority discretion in the matter.

"Last year, a new interpretation of 'conscientious belief' was embodied in the legislation. Earlier, 'conscientious belief' was, more or less, identical with 'religious belief.' If a man believed that war was opposed to his religious belief, he could claim exemption; now the field of conscientious objection has been widened.

"The existing interpretation is:—

'Conscientious belief shall include all conscientious beliefs whether the ground thereof is or is not of a religious character, and whether the beliefs are or are not part of the doctrines of any religion.'

"Legal authorities hold that this means that a man may hold a valid conscientious objection to bear arms on political or economic, as well as religious, grounds.

"As overseas service is voluntary, these provisions of the Act apply only when a call is made under the national compulsory plan. The objector must then report to his military area officer, who, if he be satisfied that his objection is valid under the Act, may issue a certificate of exemption.

"There is this qualification, however: Exemption does not cover freedom from non-combatant service, such as may be rendered in the Army Medical Service. So the area officer may exempt the objector from the actual bearing of arms, but may allot him to a non-fighting branch of the forces.

"There are conscientious objectors who do not accept even non-combatant service, however. If the area officer refuses to issue a certificate of exemption, the objector may, within seven days, apply to a magistrate. Three days before the hearing of the claim the Clerk of the Court must notify the area officer, and if it is decided to oppose the application, any military officer may appear as a party to the hearing.

"The peculiar features of the law, a legal authority commented recently, are the widening of the grounds of conscientious objection from religious belief to 'practically anything,' and the right of the objector to appeal to a civil court.

"Cases have occurred in which men have refused to take the oath on their allotment to non-combatant service, but this is an offence under the Act and the penalty may be six months' imprisonment.

"Conscientious objectors who disregard the law may be penalised under several clauses. For instance, a person who is required to serve and absents himself is deemed to be a deserter, and is liable to punishment.

"Any person who fails to attend for medical examination or enlistment may be fined £50, or imprisoned for six months, or may suffer both penalties.

"It is an offence to counsel or aid any person to fail to enlist or to avoid enlistment, or to counsel any person who has enlisted not to perform any duty under the Act."

Commenting on the Act, editorially, our Australian contemporary, in the same issue, says:—

"A man who refuses to bear arms may be a coward or a 'crank,' but he may also be a brave and noble citizen. Our law recognizes that compulsion in this matter is contrary to high principles for which we, as a nation, stand, but it is perhaps doubtful whether the decision as to whether a man's objection is founded on sincere conviction should be left in the hands of magistrates, much of whose work is concerned with the facts of petty crimes.

"It is strange that the law should show some liberality towards the man who, for conscience sake, will not fight, but none towards the one who will not take the oath (or make the alternative solemn affirmation) to obey orders.

"This second refusal is made into a crime, though it should be obvious that an oath taken under compulsion can have no binding force on the conscience of the taker. This particular provision is very nearly absurd—and it is unnecessary because, by other parts of the statute, an order issued by duly appointed authorities is to be obeyed on pain of punishment. Neither difficulty is new—as witness Article XXXVII, which indicates discussions about serving in the wars; and XXXIX, discussions about swearing."

PHILIP BOYLE'S CASE

Philip Boyle, described on the Tribunal papers and in the press as a private in the Highland Light Infantry, appeared in military custody before the Scottish Conscientious Objectors' Appellate Tribunal in Edinburgh on Friday, October 4, at 2.15 p.m., when he applied for registration as a conscientious objector.

Lord Elphinstone, who presided, intimated that, in accordance with the usual practice, the Appellate Tribunal would consider the case and forward their recommendation to the Secretary of State for War.

Boyle was refused registration by the Glasgow local Tribunal, and that decision was upheld by the Appellate Tribunal. He was then compulsorily taken into the Army, and subsequently court-martialled for refusing to carry out orders.

In a written statement submitted at the court-martial Boyle said that he would serve any sentence without dismay, and that he would renew his protest when he had completed his sentence.

Questions were raised in the House of Commons about Boyle's case, and answered by Mr. Anthony Eden.

IN CIVILIAN CLOTHES.

Boyle, dressed in civilian clothes, appeared before the Appellate Tribunal accompanied by an officer and a lance-corporal.

Lord Elphinstone, addressing Boyle, said—"You make a point in your statement that you are a Catholic. I suppose you will agree that there are thousands of Catholics in the Army. Do you base your objections on religious grounds?

Boyle—I base them on moral rather than religious grounds.

TWICE COURT-MARTIALLED.

Mr. Gordon Stott, advocate, who appeared for Boyle, said that the appellant was conscripted on May 7, and on May 10 he refused to don military uniform. He was court-martialled, and received a sentence of detention or military imprisonment. While he was serving that sentence he refused to sign an official receipt for his belongings, and accordingly was kept on a diet of bread and water for two days.

On his release he was returned to the military barracks at Maryhill. He disobeyed another military order and received a second court-martial. His military clothes were taken from him and he was allowed to resume his civilian clothes. He wore these clothes at his second court-martial and was sentenced to imprisonment on the civil side of the prison, with hard labour.

Mr. Stott argued that Boyle had proved his conscientious scruples in a far more rigorous manner than most men who came before that Tribunal. Since he had returned from prison the military authorities had allowed him to wear civilian dress and to go about the barracks as he pleased, provided he did not make a nuisance of himself. That showed that the authorities had come to the conclusion that he had proved his case.

Except for a slight technical error, which we have corrected, the above report follows closely that which appeared in the *Glasgow Herald*.

The *Scottish Daily Express*, in its issue for Saturday, October 5, reports the case under the heading: *"Private C.O. Appeals—in Civvies."* The report contained the following interesting passages:—

'Philip Boyle, a Glasgow Civil Service student, now a most unwilling private of the H.L.I., said last May: 'Nobody will make me a soldier.'

"The Army took away his brown suit, but he refused to 'sign it in.' They used force to uniform him. He was court-martialled. He did 'solitary.' Then he did the regulation 90 days' detention, and yesterday he appealed to the outside world.

"Still stubborn and unbroken, this 21-year-old man was led in by an officer and lance-corporal to the C.O. Appeal Court in Edinburgh wearing his own brown suit.

Mr. Gordon Stott, advocate, pointed to the dress and said, 'It shows that in the eyes of the military authorities he had proved his case.'

'Boyle was now allowed to go about barracks and on leave and was no longer forced into khaki.

'The chairman asked Boyle if he would be a non-combatant. The reply was an emphatic 'No.'

'Would he do farm work?—'Nothing I am compelled to do.'

'Boyle seemed to be going the limit, added Mr. Stott. 'I have seen his cell and I think that any one who is prepared to put up with such conditions is a very strong objector.' '

The italics are in the *Daily Express* report.

The *Daily Record*, Glasgow, published a report under the heading :—

"C.O. NOW TREATED VERY WELL BY MILITARY."

The report opened with the following paragraph set in capitals throughout :—

"TWENTY-ONE YEAR OLD GLASGOW 'CONCHIE' PHILIP BOYLE, TWICE COURT-MARTIALLED AND IMPRISONED FOR REFUSING TO OBEY ORDERS, IS NOW ALLOWED TO GO FREELY ABOUT THE BARRACKS AND TO HIS HOME IN THE EVENINGS."

On October 15, Mr. Campbell Stephen was advised by the Minister of Labour that Boyle had been granted conditional exemption, the condition being that he works on land drainage, forestry or agriculture.

CATHOLIC CONCHIES

The Catholic Hierarchy, seconded by the Catholic Press, maintain that a Catholic cannot be a conscientious objector. It is asserted that a conscientious objector disobeys the lawful authority of the State.

We will put aside the question whether the authority of the State is lawful always and inevitably. We will ignore the stories of Catholics who have been martyred for denying the authority of the State. We will not discuss the question of allegiance to God and to Caesar, a point on which Christian theologians argue as badly as state politicians. We will content ourself with two comments of fact :—

(1) To register as a conscientious objector is not to disobey the State, as the State makes statutory provision for such objection.

(2) To ask the objector to accept the State's decision, if that decision is against him, is an error in ethics and in logic.

The State decides that its war is just. The State can come to no other conclusion. Therefore, its decision is without legal ethic. If the conscientious objector is opposed genuinely to war, whatever its nature, he must oppose the State's decision that he shall fight. If he believes the war to be unjust, he cannot permit the State to put the question, "Is this war just?" and say : "Yes, it is." It is not the conscientious objector who is not genuine in this instance but the State. To submit to the State's decision is to espouse the old barbarous cry : "My country, right or wrong."

The State is quite right to endeavour to discover whether the conscientious objector is genuine, or otherwise. It has no right to say its view of its own war is right. It has the right to say that, refusal to help that war, based on genuine disbelief in the war, is rebellion. If it is rebellion, it is the healthy and desirable rebellion of conscience. This fact the priests of the Catholic Church will not admit.

The *Catholic Herald*, London, for July 5, 1940, under the heading, "Here's the Answer," dealt with the question of Catholicism and conscience. It published a letter, asking the following three questions :—

(1) Has a priest any right or authority to say that a Catholic cannot be a conscientious objector?

(2) Is not the statement in direct conflict with the teaching of the Church on the supremacy of conscience?

(3) What is the position of a Catholic who happens to be a conscientious objector?

The *Catholic Herald* replied by saying that the priest had the right to express his own opinion; and that he could find direct support for his contention in the Joint Statement of the English and Welsh Hierarchy, issued on September 15, 1939.

This statement :—

"urged upon all the Faithful the duty of loyal obedience . . . and of willing co-operation in every form of national service."

The authors explained :—

"We have a profound conviction of the justice of our cause. Our nation in this conflict stands for freedom and for the liberty of the individual and the State."

The paper added that statements of like tone had been made by His Eminence, Cardinal Hinsley, and other Catholic leaders. It commented that these were strong authorities.

Passing to question 2, the *Catholic Herald* declared that the priest's statement was *certainly not* in conflict with Catholic teaching. It explained :—

"It is not true to say, without qualification, that Conscience is supreme."

To support this doubtful assertion—and to our mind, it is worse than doubtful—our contemporary plunged into a hysteria of unmeaning metaphysic. It said :—

"Man is guided by a double norm of right action, comprising an objective and remote standard—the Laws of God and of the Church, and a subjective and proximate standard conscience . . . Man is obliged to have a *rightly formed* conscience, that is, he is bound to take pains to make his conscience conformable (as far as he can) to the law of God and of the Church . . . It follows therefore that conscience must be formed under the guidance of right reason, which must work out problems as far as it can by itself, and at the same time accept the guidance of legitimate authority when it commands in matters that are within its competence. From this it will be seen that conscience is supreme in the sense that proximately man is bound to obey it; but it is not supreme in the sense that a man may disregard the objective standard, namely, the laws of God and of the Church, or neglect to find out what that standard is."

This a mass of specious reasoning. The author is trying to say that conscience does not exist but is afraid to write honestly. There is no such thing as a "proximate standard conscience." Conscience is absolute : and the laws of God are the laws of conscience. There is no such thing as "a *rightly formed* conscience," precisely because there is no such thing as "a *wrongly formed* conscience." We are not bound to make conscience conformable to the Church. On the contrary, the Church, and man's allegiance to the Church, *must conform* to conscience.

The author is muddled in his advice because he confounds conscience with reason and right conclusion. Reason and conscience, understanding and conscience, ought to exist side by side. Reason enlightens the understanding and application of conscience and defines its employment. Reason does not affect the voice of conscience : for its voice is imperative, and it says but one thing : "Do that which you *feel* or *sense* is right. Abstain from doing that which you *feel* or *sense*, which you *know*, is wrong." And know, in this sense, is a *felt* knowledge and not just a reasoned knowledge.

Answering the third question, our contemporary adds to its balderdash as follows :—

"He must obey his conscience as long as it dictates to him a course of conscientious objection . . . It should be noted that mere doubt or uncertainty is no sufficient basis for conscientious objection; conscience may only act on a certain conviction."

This is the repetition of felt error. The writer is whistling to keep his courage up, because he knows he is lying, and wants to put a good face on his fraud. *Doubt* is *sufficient* to warrant conscientious objection to war, which, after all, means wholesale killing or murder. Conscience must act on the certain conviction that no man is justified in participating in any war that he is *not* convinced is right *beyond all shadow of doubt*. Uncertainty means that participation is wrong.

The writer denies this true definition of the basis of conscientious objection to war, because his view is fixed, that a Catholic cannot be a conscientious objector. It is enough that the enemies of Catholicism should deny conscience to a Catholic. We hardly expect such arguments from Catholic apologists.

How this attitude of the Church influences the Tribunals will be seen if we glance at a few cases at random.

Harry Claus, painter and decorator, Oswald Street, Blackburn, who is a Roman Catholic, told the Manchester Tribunal on Tuesday, April 30, that his priest had promised to give evidence for him but had since come to his house and said that he had consulted with the dean, and he was forbidden to do it. He was to tell him that it was a just war.

Hugh Dugan, Whiteside, Bathgate, was granted non-combatant service by both the local and the appellate Tribunal. He stated that he was a student at the Edinburgh University and complained that, following his appearance before the local Tribunal, he received letters enclosing white feathers.

William A. Munden, a Manchester bus conductor, also a Roman Catholic, was registered for non-combatant service by the Manchester Tribunal, on Thursday, July 18.

Munden stated that the present war fulfilled all the Catholic conditions of a just war except that everything possible should have been done to settle the dispute by other means. But he did not agree with a statement, quoted by the chairman, Judge Burgis, in which Cardinal Hinsley spoke of Germany wishing to de-Christianise Europe.

"I don't think that can be the case," he said. "The most Catholic country in Europe has just come in on the side of Germany."

At the Leeds Tribunal, when the Court reached the 1,100th application, Judge Stewart told Tom Slater, of 6 Lower Clay Pits, Pellon, Halifax, that he was only the fourth Roman Catholic who had appeared for exemption. The decision was non-combatant service.

At Reading Tribunal, Michael Madden, 62 Norrey's Avenue, Oxford, a Roman Catholic, applied on religious grounds, and was granted exemption on condition that he did agricultural work.

On the same day, before the same Tribunal, Patrick Scanlon, a male nurse, who appealed also on religious grounds as a Roman Catholic, was granted non-combatant service.

In our opinion, Madden's exemption was due to the fact that he had suffered victimisation for his pacifist views. But we are aware of Scanlon's sincerity. In his case, the Tribunal advanced the view that a Catholic cannot be a conscientious objector.

Before the same Tribunal, sitting at Reading, on a more recent occasion appeared Charles Jeffrey James Wiggins, of 37 Northumberland Road, Slough, a milling operator, employed by the Intertype Co., of Slough.

Applicant based his objection entirely on religious grounds, but pointed out that his were not the general views of his church, which was the Roman Catholic Church.

Have you talked the matter over with your priest?—No, because I know the attitude of the church towards the present conflict. Mine is my own personal attitude.

Does your priest know what your views are?—No, I am afraid he does not.

Does your objection also go to non-combatant service?—Yes, because I consider it is very nearly as big a part in the war as the war itself.

The Tribunal were not satisfied that there was any genuine conscientious objection in this case.

In the Scanlon case, the Tribunal held that a Catholic could not be a conscientious objector. During the first week in September, the same Tribunal, under the same chairmanship, came to an opposite decision, when sitting at All Soul's College, Oxford. This was in the case of Robert Lawrence Drummond Hay, Old Town House, Woodstock, a librarian at Queen's College, Oxford. *Hay based his objections on religious grounds and stated that he was a Roman Catholic.* Hay said that he was not prepared to do non-combatant service, but was willing to continue his A.R.P. work or do agricultural work.

Hay was granted full exemption on condition that he did full time agricultural, horticultural or forestry work.

Conditional exemption may be unsatisfactory, but it is a recognition of the fact that a Catholic can be a conscientious objector.

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A PEOPLE'S WAR

by Rev. F. H. Amphlett Micklewright, M.A.

[Mr. Micklewright is a well-known clergyman of the Church of England, resident in West London.]

It is being widely acclaimed that the present war is a People's War. Mr. Priestley has made the appeal over the wireless that it should be viewed in this light. It is a sign of the intransigent nature of the "Colonel Blimps" that even such a cautious demand for reform has caused offence in some quarters. The Archbishop of York has demanded a new social and economic order as a result of the war. A good many politicians have been led to make use of the battle-cry and to suggest that, if the people as a whole, back up the war effort, a people's peace is the inevitable result. Orthodox labour has fallen for the bait. Ernest Bevin, Thomas Johnson, and the rest, are busy leading their followers into the government version of a People's war!

In one sense of the term it is perfectly true that this is a People's war. It is the same social class which are forced to bear the main brunt of its effects. Working-class areas are so congested that they are the more likely to be the victims of German bombs than anywhere else. The tragedy of East London was caused very largely by the overcrowding of homes which a decent social system would have eradicated long ago. Instead, the East Londoners have been left to be bombed together with the ordinary people of other districts. Their only personal guard has been a wholly inadequate shelter provision. It is certainly a People's war which leaves the people without the deep shelters which are the only proper protection and which takes no effective measures against the plague epidemics which must surely be the accompaniment this winter of the conditions of the present shelter-accommodation.

Again, it is certainly a People's war which puts the main weight of financial exaction upon the people! It is all very well to use high sounding phrases about equality of sacrifice. These things are relative to income, and it is the small income which is hit hardest by the present taxation. It is also a People's war which robs the people of their civil liberties, which conscripts the lives of certain age-groups, and which seeks to extend the same measure of compulsion and of dictatorship to the expression of opinion. In the light of all that has happened in the past year, high sounding words about "freedom" and "democracy" sound rather like a joke in bad taste! It is idle to pretend that it is not the ordinary working people who are bearing the weight of the war. It is likewise idle to talk of democracy so long as a capitalist order of society is allowed to introduce considerations of income and of finance as determining a man's individual worth, or to impose inequality by means of inheritance and private monopoly. The fact that there is a door of democratic opportunity by means of scholarships and the like is often exploited by the capitalist press. Actually, as Professor Tawney points out in his illuminating work, *"Equality,"* such opportunities are extremely few in number and can only apply to an infinitesimal proportion of the working-classes.

Yet, the phrase, "a People's war," is extremely dangerous. It is one of the best adapted for the deluding of the unthinking into a belief that any sort of social betterment is to be expected from a war whose causes are so largely intertwined with the financial interests of private monopoly. The last war saw exactly the same bait used in order to secure the allegiance of the workers to the war-effort. Even the phrase, "a People's war,' is not new. Lord Ponsonby has shown how the horror stories are not only devoid of truth but work to a model. So too do political slogans. Not a few of the slogans of the moment reflect the "land fit for heroes" theme. Read "Hitler" for the "Kaiser" and many of the propagandist phrases of the last war may still be made to do duty! The People's war as the gateway to a People's utopia was an idea much exploited in the last war. For example, on September 14th, 1914, a meeting was held at the London Opera House to popularize the war. Among remarks made by the principal speaker was a definite promise:—

". . . it is one of the scandals of our social system that, whilst we are the richest nation in the world, there is all this grim poverty and distress . . . when you have got rid of this naval competition and military menace . . . you have that money over for the relief of the unemployed; you have that money over for profitable and legitimate industry, and the encouragement of productive work throughout the length and breadth of the land.

And, ladies and gentlemen, that is why I say this war is a People's war."

The extent to which these promises were redeemed was worthy of the government which employed such a propagandist. The remarks were made by Mr. Horatio Bottomley! There is no reason to think that the phrase employed by the late apostle of war is now resurrected with any greater sincerity than the sense in which it was used by its original author!

The complete insincerity and chaos implied by the People's war idea should be a warning against its adoption by anybody who is politically educated at all. A vast medley of interests has gone to the making of the present war. They are well illustrated in Simon Laxey's investigation, *"Tory M.P.,"* which provides practical illustration of the extent to which the practical interests of the governing classes are bound up with high finance and private monopoly. It is idle to pretend that the interests of the persons there named can have any point of contact with the interests of the workers. The class-war is a very potent reality. The Fifth Column detentions have shown the extent to which persons of the English conservative classes and of the aristocratic, naval, and military orders have involved themselves with Fascism in order to discipline the working-classes.

It is true that this class have quarrelled with Hitler over certain details, but it is futile to imagine that they can fight a sincere war against the things for which he stands. Their relationship to Nazi Germany has always been purely opportunist. It is only a few years ago that Lord Rothermere was filling his papers with praise of the Nazis, Hitler included. In 1934, his paper, *The Sunday Dispatch*, backed up Mosley and his gang of Blackshirt thugs. The story of the Anglo-German Fellowship has already appeared in *The Word*. It is true that members of this class now vie with each other in silly abuse of Hitler. They did exactly the same (and told the same stories) when they had fallen out with the Kaiser, whose dictatorial rule they had united in praising up till 1914. But the fact remains that the war which they are anxious to paint as "a People's war" is essentially one waged in the interests of capitalist finance and private monopoly, dictated by the vested interests of the ruling classes. A few daubs of democratic colouring can never succeed in repaintng such a picture. It leaves a far clearer impression of a quarrel between two groups, the one associated with the monopoly interests of industrial capitalism, the other with the state control of the Nazis and Fascists.

The whole issue goes to prove how far the government propaganda concerning a People's war can either be trusted or expected to produce results. Just as did the orations of Horatio Bottomley during the last war, it will doubtless gain the support of a few persons. But, the nature of the present political and international crisis shows clearly enough that these things cannot be brought about in successive stages of time. It is merely wishful thinking to imagine that the defeat of Hitler is going to be followed by a thoroughgoing social and economic reform. A new social order must be sought out here and now. The real defeat of Fascism and Nazi-ism has to be secured in this land as well as abroad. It can only be brought about by the workers of the world realizing a community of interest and striving together against the social order which capitalism has imposed in every country and which finds in Fascism its last stage. The defeat of Hitler by Churchill is completely irrelevant to the real People's struggle which is bound up with the capitalist crisis.

It all serves to prove that there is only one People's war. It is the constant fight against the ruling classes for better conditions. An examination of the present social system shows it as shot through and through by inherent contradiction simply because it is unnatural and illogical. Its seizure of the land for private ownership is a deprivation from the people of their natural rights as may be seen in the story of the enclosure of the English common land or in the treatment of the Scottish crofters. The use of capital by private monopoly is clearly illogical. Government should be by the many and in the interests of the many. The result of such a social system is bound to be poverty and unemployment. Fruit is left to rot on the trees, fish is thrown back into the sea, cotton is left to waste, at the same time as starvation is tolerated, rather than challenge private capital and private profit. During the inter-war years, the permanent army of some two million unemployed existed side by side with the emergence of 1,024 new millionaires. This fact was a necessary accompaniment of the present social system. In other words, capitalism and private monopoly is bound to cause unemployment and starvation just as it is bound to cause war. If goods cannot pass tariff walls, armies will do so. One of the potent causes of the present war was the Ottawa Agreement of 1932, which sought to strangle German trade in the interests of private monopoly.

The resurrection of the phrase, "a People's war," together with the popular cry for a new social and economic order, is a decisive moment to make clear that there must be such a war fought upon the only lines which can be effective. Let there be negotiation followed by the people taking control. Let liberty be restored to the many, both in civil liberties and in the economic realm. Let the foreign policy of the land be aimed at promoting a spirit of internationalism among the workers of the world. Hitler will cease to be a menace for his power will have gone. A real People's war will be far on the way to abolishing the evils under which the people suffer. Only let the people realize that their true foe is not merely one supremely diabolical man. They were told this story concerning Napoleon, it was repeated about the Kaiser, and now it is repeated again of Hitler. One man cannot cause a gigantic war and war-guilt is an international thing shared by the statesmen of every country. This popular propaganda simply confuses the true and vital issues. The people must come to realize their true foes and seek to eradicate them as a cancer from the midst of the social order.

CABALLERO & COMPANYS

We have been compelled to hold over a special article on Luis Companys, sometime President of Catalonia, from the pen of Ethel Macdonald. Companys was arrested by the Vichy Government in unoccupied France and handed to Germany, who passed him on to Franco. He died, a martyr to Liberty and a victim of the invaded right of political asylum by criminal Fascism, before a firing squad in a Madrid prison yard.

We now learn that Francisco Caballero, Prime Minister of the last Republican Government in Spain, has been arrested in unoccupied France at the instance of the Vichy Government.

Caballero was a plasterer and secretary of the Socialist General Union of Labour. After 1934 he led the left wing of the Socialists. In recognition of his leadership in the defence of Madrid against Franco in 1937, he was made Premier.

Caballero will face a Fascist firing squad. His death will inspire struggle and revolution, until, at last, reaction and war are overthrown for all time. His blood will choke his Fascist executioners.

UNITED SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

Many comrades who read *The Word*, and the pamphlets issued by the *Strickland and Bakunin Press*, may wish to join the U.S.M. Those living in Glasgow, but unable to attend the meetings held at Bakunin Hall, could become members at large by paying 1s. 0d. per year. Comrades living in other cities could do the same, until they were able to form a local group. At the present moment, Bakunin Hall is £50 in debt and gifts would be welcome. Address all communications to *Secretary, U.S.M., Bakunin Hall, 29 Castle Street, Glasgow, C.4.*

LIVERPOOL OBJECTORS

Brutal Treatment Alleged

[This account was prepared for publication before questions were raised in the House of Commons on Tuesday, October 22. Mr. E. Thurtle was most anxious to assume that the facts were not true, and Sir W. Smithers considered such questions only propaganda for the enemy. Quite rightly, Sir E. Grigg said the matter was *sub judice*. That abuses should be challenged is not enemy propaganda, but the very opposite. It is a defence of Freedom and an assertion of faith in democratic standards and traditions. Secrecy is tyranny.—Ed.]

A statement concerning the treatment of conscientious objectors at Liverpool has been sent to us by Mr. H. W. Eden, J.P., of 53 Eastlake Street, Liverpool 8, on behalf of the Merseyside Conscientious Objectors' Advisory Bureau. The status of the persons who assure us that the statement is correct in its details warrant attention to their complaint. We ask Labour Members of Parliament and the Cabinet to enquire into Mr. H. W. Eden's allegations. They are as follows :—

CHADWICK (Leeds).—On Friday, September 20, he was brought out with several other men under detention, including Norman Williams, mainly for exercises. Walking up and down he was put into line with others and made to walk in step. The soldiers behind kicked him when he would not do it. He was brought out and told to run up and down on his own, but he would not do it. He was taken round a corner of a building and when he reappeared his nose was bleeding. He was taken into a cell below the Commanding Officer's room.

On Monday at 12 o'clock he was brought before the C.O., who is Lieutenant-Colonel Greenwood. He was too weak to stand up, and was supported by soldiers. Williams, who was there also, heard the Colonel say that Chadwick was to be taken to hospital. He is there now.

NORMAN WILLIAMS (Sheffield) states :—"I came on Thursday night and they took me down into a cell. I was told I could sleep there and would have bread and water until I decided to do something. They reasoned with me, and gave me a palliasse and I was taken to the detention room. *Friday*—They took me into the Q.M. Store, and told me to take off my boots. I was marched into a little room and given choice of dressing in uniform or being dressed. I half dressed myself and they told the officer that I had been forcibly dressed."

JOHN RADFORD (London). — John Radford arrived on Thursday, September 12, at 7 o'clock, according to calling-up papers. Refused to sign form giving personal particulars. Put in Guard Room over-night. *Friday*—Went before Colonel at mid-day, and asked to be tried by court-martial; without being charged was put on solitary confinement and bread and water. Was given one blanket and no palliasse. Was there until Monday. Had normal meals for a week. Before the Colonel on *Saturday*. No charge or sentence was made. Put in Guard Room and charged on *Wednesday*. *Thursday*—Roused by Military Police in the night and told he had been given two half hour stretches of fatigue duty. *Friday*—Turned out at 2 o'clock to scrub out wash basins, and at 4 o'clock to scrub out the Guard Room during the night.

Other C.O.s in the Guard Room were treated similarly.

Saturday night—Left in peace apparently on account of Sunday. *Sunday*—When asked to work refused. Radford and others were dragged down to the Guard Room and subsequently left alone for the rest of the day on bread and water.

Monday—By this time Peter Thornton had arrived from Glasgow. There were now three "conchies" (Thornton, Worth and Radford). The sergeant ordered them to work. They refused and were all beaten up more or less, and dragged down to the butcher's shop and ordered to scrub it out. They refused and were all beaten again. They were then taken back to the Guard Room, being struck on the head at every pace. In the afternoon they were split up and put in solitary confinement with bread and water. None of the cells had any light—they were blackened out. Worth's cell was 4 ft. by 10 ft. with a stone floor. There was one blanket each. They were roused three times during the night.

Tuesday—In the morning they went into the Gym., and had a bath in the afternoon. At night Gibbs came from Glasgow. At mid-night, at 2 a.m. and 4 a.m. they were paraded round the playground, Gibbs in bare feet and underclothes (or night shirt), the rest in shirt sleeves.

Wednesday — Heads shaved. Forster and Radcliffe agreed to join.

Thursday—Gibbs and Worth agreed to join (physical weakness had lowered their resistance).

During this period, probably on the Monday, they were taken out to drill with a party of men with rifles who continually butted them in the back and stomach with the rifles, and kicked them on the legs and struck them on the face as they marched. This lasted either twenty minutes or an hour, they could not remember clearly. None of them ever had a chance of asking for a court-martial. (When Worth was tried he said he wanted to be tried by court-martial, but was told to shut up, etc., and hustled out of the room).

ALBERT FOSTER (Newcastle) says :—

"After serving three days in Newcastle I was taken down to Dingle on Saturday night at about 12 o'clock and was put straight away into the Guard Room with a number of other fellows.

"*Sunday* — Treated very well — normal food. Three men, including Sergeant Cullen, took me up to the Q.M. Stores for uniform which I refused to have. They forced it on me, and asked me to sign a paper to acknowledge receipt of clothes, but I refused to sign. Taken to solitary cell, and they ripped off my coat and jacket, so I agreed to do the rest for them, and put the uniform on against my will.

"*Monday*—I was taken before the C.O. and as soon as I was bundled into the room, I shouted that I had been forcibly dressed, and said I would take the uniform off then and there. The C.O. (Greenwood) said "Take this man away." He was taken down to the cell and, because of his impudence to the S.M., the sergeant set about him and left him with aching jaws. He had one blanket, and after that he was fed upon one slice of bread and water for each meal.

"*Tuesday* (?) — The colonel himself came down and advised me that he had had a telegram to say that my mother had died, and that the only condition on which he would allow me to go home was to go back in uniform. I refused, naturally, as I understood that this would make me a qualified soldier, but he said he would give me five minutes to make up my mind. On the whole he was very decent and tried to show me a bit of kindness, as he had found that the other methods did not go very far in getting me into the army. I eventually consented to go back home in uniform on the condition that I would resort to my former position on my return. That night he had me taken down to the station in his own car under escort, and I was home until the Thursday afternoon, when I was brought back and placed in solitary confinement again, and a palliasse and another blanket were in the room.

"*Friday*—I was taken to the reception office and gave particulars for the attestation form, but refused to sign it, and was later charged in the C.O.'s office for disobeying orders, and was sentenced to 14 days detention. In the afternoon I was taken to the Guard Room and placed with three others and asked to work. Upon my refusal I was again given a severe beating up by the same sergeant. From that day until the Wednesday I was in solitary confinement with one blanket and my overcoat, and fed on bread and water for the best part of the time. I was told that I could take exercises but refused to take it in uniform. I was taken out for physical training with others and the party of men with rifles who continually hit us in the back and stomach and kicked us and struck us on the face. Another time five of us were out together on our own and given orders to drill. I walked out of the group and looked over the railings. Fortunately Sergeant Cullen was engaged in other duties and I did not get what I expected, but was placed back in the cell again.

"*Wednesday*—Three men came down to cut my hair and I felt so weak and depressed that I did not have enough strength to resist at all. The barber tried very hard to leave a little on the top but the sergeant got his own way eventually and I was shaved very clean. The sergeant came down again and asked if I had changed my mind, but I asked him to come back in the afternoon because my spirits were so low that I just did not know exactly what I was doing. He said he would but actually came back in about five minutes and told me I should gain great advantage by signing my papers at that time. I went up to the reception office and, after about five minutes hesitation, put my name to the form. I was taken before the C.O. again and he was advised of my change of attitude. I was then returned to the cell not knowing why, because I understood that my sentence would be finished. The colonel came down himself that night and ordered the police sergeant to take me upstairs to the Guard Room, where I spent the night, with a blanket and palliasse for a change.

Thursday—Drafted to Liverpool College and took up my duties as a soldier

One day Sergeant Cullen got me to put on boxing gloves with him in the gymn. and I just did not want him to think me afraid, so I had a go with the gloves but came off second best.

(When speaking with Foster when he first came in, Cullen made a slip of the tongue, and he found out that he was a certain Cullen, a boxer, and also a member of the Communist Party of Great Britain. Not wanting to lose his job as a sergeant of the police, Cullen asked Foster to keep quiet about it).

Worth and Radford said they were all forbidden to write or receive letters, although some had homes in London, which was being bombed.

GIBBS (Cardiff) states :—"Arrived *Tuesday*, September 24, from Barlinnie Prison, Glasgow, after doing two months. I had been sentenced in Glasgow to one year's imprisonment commuted to three months for refusing to don the uniform at Gt. Yarmouth. I was placed in the Guard Room but no charge. Arrived with escort on time. About midnight I was roused and taken out in my underclothing and with bare feet and marched round the yard, being beaten and kicked as we went along. I was taken back to the Guard Room, my palliasse and blankets taken away and left to sleep with one blanket on the cold stone floor. I was again roused at 2 a.m. and 4 a.m., marched round with others and then left until 6 a.m. the following morning. I was taken to a solitary cell in darkness where I was given bread and water and one blanket.

"Next morning I was taken before the C.O., where I refused to be a soldier. I was shouted and bawled at and generally abused, then hustled out of the room and taken back to my cell. They informed me that my appeal was not going through and that, if I held out, I would be given just 91 days' detention until I broke up. He said he would bring me up on a charge the following morning but when I was taken before him I was not charged but hustled back to my cell.

"I was still in the canvas clothing which I wore in Barlinnie Prison, although I had been informed that I would be allowed to wear civilian clothes."

Continually throughout this period the objectors made complaints, both as to their general treatment and particularly to the beating up, but nothing at all was done. We were told it was the order of the C.O.

When Cook, Bunday and Gibbs were up they were told they definitely would not be forced into uniform, and that Gibbs would appear for the appeal in civilian clothes. The C.O. told Cook when he arrived that there would be no appeal, and that nothing could be done as the military were in charge of the country.

The Newcastle F.C.O. has issued an excellent letter and leaflet on the Liverpool C.O.'s, signed by the Chairman, John Morley, of Rosslyn, Highfield Road, Westerhope, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

THE CHURCH AND CONSCIENCE

For several months we have been noting the reactions of the church to the question of war, and its inevitable expression of opposition, conscientious objection to the business of man being organised to kill his fellow man. In this article, we publish some items from our scrap book.

A curate, whose pacifist views "caused dissension in the parish," announced his resignation on March 5, 1940.

He was the Rev. J. Q. C. Hind, curate of St. Mary's, Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk, and is a son of the Bishop of Fukien, China.

"I am sorry to have caused this trouble," he said in a farewell message to the parishioners.

The vicar, the Rev. A. C. Pelly, said :—

"I think his sentiments do him credit, and I am sincerely sorry he should find it necessary to resign. It is grievous to think that the parish has not been able to tolerate, but rejects a man of sincere convictions leading to a Christian life, from whose opinions they differ."

In an appeal to his parishioners to "stick together," the vicar declared : "I am not pleading for pacifism, but for ordinary Christian fellowship."

Perhaps the vicar's regret explained why so many clerics are not merely pro-war, but aggressively militaristic. They are afraid to defend conscience or pacifism in war-time, but breathe peace in peace time. It is strange they can uphold national war, yet attack the working class, but never the capitalist class, in time of strike and industrial riot. It is not bravery or patriotism that moves such clerical imposters, but convention. They are afraid to swim against the tide.

In May, the Rev. J. G. Byrnell, vicar of St. James Church, Selby, inserted an advertisement in the *Yorkshire Evening Press*, stating that conscientious objectors need not apply for the post of organist at the church.

Interviewed by a *Press* reporter, Mr. Byrnell said that the church had been without an organist since Easter and he was having great difficulty in filling the vacancy, although there was no real shortage of organists. Of eight applicants for the position five were conscientious objectors.

The reporter said : "Surely they are entitled to respect for their views?"

Vicar Byrnell replied :—

"While the sons and husbands of members of my congregation are risking their lives for the country men eligible for military service will not find a soft billet in my parish."

The vicar concluded :—

"I would sooner put a handle on the organ than have a conscientious objector on the staff of the church."

The Rev. F. Ferguson, rector of St. Paul's, Carlton, Nottingham, in the June issue of his parish magazine, wrote :—

"It makes one sick to read the drivelling nonsense talked by conscientious objectors, and talked in the name of religion. These men invariably quote the Scripture ; then let them remember what the Scriptures say about a group of people who refused to stand by their country in its hour of need."

And what do the Scriptures say? Besides, is obedience to the Government always an expression of standing by the country? Do the Germans who obey Hitler and his gang practise standing by their country or their government? The "conchie" may utter cant phrases. But so do conventional militarist sky-pilots. We doubt the sincerity of many Bible-quoting "conchies" and we doubt the sincerity equally of militarist parsons and persecuting politicians.

The rector continued :—

"To surrender to Hitlerism would be to betray truth, to trample down justice, to sell Christ anew for the price of our physical safety. Hitler and Mussolini have not hesitated to say that they deem the Christian Church to be the greatest barrier to their dream of world conquest, consequently they would willingly destroy the Church. In Germany those Christians who have clung to New Testament Christianity are being tortured body and soul. If Jesus Christ were back in the flesh He would be publicly flogged in the streets of Germany as he was once flogged in the court of Pilate, for it is a crime in Germany to be born of a Jewish mother. . . .

Did the Rev. F. Ferguson support the Spanish workers when they were struggling against Hitler and Mussolini? Is not Mussolini supported by very church-going statesmen who are governing Britain? Maybe, Jesus would be flogged in the streets of Berlin. But if Jesus lived in Britain, and objected to war, the Rev. F. Ferguson would jail and persecute him also.

We do not object to the Rev. F. Ferguson being patriotic. We object to him dragging in Jesus and the Church. He also speaks, not godliness, but merely national patriotism—conventionalism.

The Rev. R. F. Hurst, Vicar of Cleveleys, is another fire-eating cleric. In his June magazine he demanded the dismissal of all conscientious objectors. He said :—

"If conscientious objectors have a right to exercise their moral judgment so have the ratepayers generally. Their moral judgment rebels against keeping someone in safety when their own menfolk are having to risk life and limb."

He related a query put to him :—

"A ratepayer said to me a few days ago, 'Is it right that my two lads should be in the Army and that I should also, through the rates, help to pay the wage of someone the same age and keep him in a soft job?' I believe it to be absolutely unfair."

He condemned C.O.'s, in a long passage, urging that they ought to starve. His main argument was in the sentence : *"They leave other men to do the fighting for them."*

Of course, they do nothing of the kind. They simply say, fighting ought not to take place, and they will not take part in it. As a matter of fact, the ratepayers, who bleat so much now, paid no heed when Socialists warned them against Hitlerism, and how finance was building it up. These same ratepayers went their way, in scorn and indifference, helping the world drift into the hell of war : and now they cry, that for their criminal folly, for their toryisms, respectabilities, mental laziness, and past moral cowardice, others must pay. We never expected the Church to think. But we might be forgiven for expecting it to show some moral understanding. *The world is in hell because the orthodox and the conventional cowardly left the Spanish workers to fight for them, and the Socialists to think for them. They are paying to-day for their football coupons' ramp.*

Another cleric who could not last the distance, a hysterical creature devoid of a background of intellectual conviction, is the Rev. Perry Mitchinson, 25-year-old curate of St. Philip's Church, Sheffield, a former pacifist, member of the National Council of the Peace Pledge Union, chairman of the Sheffield branch of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and clerical secretary of the Sheffield Anglican Pacifist Fellowship. He told the *Sheffield Telegraph* readers, on June 18, that he thought that ninety per cent. of conscientious objectors are funks and cowards.

His denunciation of C.O.'s was given big headlines. Here is a gem from his denunciation :—

"To take ration cards, eat rationed foods, pay taxes and rates, which all help the war, and then to refuse to fight, is sheer funk, and cowardice. Ninety per cent. of the conscientious objectors are 'yellow.' They should be rounded up and put in jail. The best thing they could do would be to find themselves a desert island and stay there."

And here is his personal apology :—

"If I were not in Holy Orders, I would volunteer for service."

This man hides behind God. His statement is an implied lie. Men in holy orders are exempt from conscription. *There is nothing in any Act of Parliament to prevent them from volunteering for active service.* Let this 25-year-old ex-pacifist, and bellowing hero, the Rev. Perry Mitchinson, join the colours. If he does not do so, he should be boycotted by every decent citizen.

The Rev. C. T. Cribb, Vicar of Oldbury, shares the views of the Rev. Perry Mitchinson. In the West Bromwich *Weekly News*, he expressed his objection to those who believe that Jesus took the world as it was — a world of violent political and racial feelings—and tried, by non-violent teaching and example, to change it. But the Rev. C. T. Cribb served during the last war. At the outbreak of war he left University College, Durham, where he was studying for his degree, to join the Forces. He rose to the rank of captain and adjutant of the 4th Brigade, R.F.A. He served in France, India, Mesopotamia and Palestine, and was wounded and mentioned in despatches—Mr. Cribb did *not* hide behind his *vestments.*

The Rev. Donald A. Shute, Curate-in-charge, was outspoken in his parish magazine for May in an attack on the Peace Pledge Union and its activities.

The Rev. T. Wilson, Vicar of St. Peter's, Belsize Square, Hampstead, writing in his parish magazine, for May, denounced pacifism as dangerous nonsense. He defined Hitler's appetite for power as "insatiable."

Rev. J. A. Carter, "old sweat" of the Great War, and now Vicar of Hillington, Leamington, stated in his July letter to his parishioners, that the bishops should withdraw the licences of the 400 Church of England clergy who belong to P.P.U.

Mr. Carter served throughout the great war. He joined up in 1914 as a "ranker" in the Dragoon Guards, and was demobilised in 1920, with the rank of lieutenant.

Denouncing conscientious objectors, and the clergy who defend them, the Rev. J. A. Carter asked how these clergy could reconcile their oaths of allegiance to the King to their teaching and influencing the youth of their parishes in their refusal to serve in the armed Forces?

When the war is over, says the Rev. T. Chadwick, Vicar of Darlaston, Staffs, in his July parish magazine, all conscientious objectors should be deported to "some distant land." He praises the action of local authorities in sacking objectors. Many objectors, however, still hold jobs with local authorities, complains the vicar. He adds :—

"We are fighting for conscience; the right to live in a free world. The cowardly objectors ought at once to lose their vote and their positions, be given a soldier's wage, formed into an Objectors' Company, and made to work on the land."

The Rev. W. R. Jellie, in the St. Paul's Argyle Street Parish Magazine, for May, says :—

"There has been a good deal of correspondence in the local Press lately about conscientious objectors. St. John Ambulance for instance have refused to admit them as members and in other parts of the country they have suffered a good deal of abuse and persecution. I do hope that all Churchmen will take very good care not to join in this outcry and to keep clear of actions which are not only contrary to all British traditions but in every way out of tune with the Christian spirit.

"Personally I am far from being a C.O. . . . When we are all knit together in the great effort of the war it is most annoying to find people who will not join us, but at the same time there are many who have a sincere and deep-rooted conscientious objection to taking part in any form of military service and while that objection remains it would be a sin for them to do so. . . .

"We would do well to remember that as a people we have entered this war for freedom of thought, freedom of conscience and speech and are fighting against persecution and the spirit that would destroy every one who will not conform to type. As Christians we have taught the sanctity of the conscience and the duty of every man and woman to follow its teaching and, should we join in this outcry, we would be but poor Christians and do our country a great disservice."

The Chief Rabbi, Dr. J. H. Hertz, in a statement issued on June 6, 1940, regarding Jewish conscientious objectors, says :—

"I have again been asked what is the Jewish religious position in regard to those who claim exemption from military service on conscientious grounds. My answer is : There is no basis for such a claim in Judaism, which ranks defence of country among the supreme duties. None should have a clearer understanding of this than his Majesty's Jewish subjects, in a war against heathen forces that have made the annihilation of the Jew one of the main aims of

their infamous policy, and at an hour when the sacred heritage of man is in mortal danger at the hands of these same heathen forces."

The pacifist vicar of St. Lawrence's Church, Mansfield, the Rev. T. A. Rockley, was asked by the Church Council to explain his views in the parish magazine for June. Mr. Rockley offered to resign the living, but the council passed a unanimous vote of confidence in him.

Mr. Rockley denied that pacifism was preached from his pulpit. Since the war he has purposely refrained from expressing his views in church. But he believes war is contrary to the teaching of Jesus Christ.

He adds:—

"Let me make it quite clear that the majority—the vast majority—of the people of St. Lawrence's do not share my views in this matter. They are in good company of both Archbishops and most of the Bishops and clergy and congregations throughout the land."

Whilst it is supposed to be right for ministers of military age to preach militarism and war, whilst skulking in the pulpit, hiding behind their cloth of superstition, creed, and greed, it is wrong for a minister, who is opposed to war, to bear witness to his views!

The President of the Methodist Conference, the Rev. Richard Pyke, told a large congregation in the Wentworth Street Church, Peterborough, on Monday, May 27, that though he respected the genuine conscientious objector and would stand by him, he would not make a hero of him. His hero was a man who went out and knew he might never return. He thought it was wrong for a man who held pacifist and conscientious objector views to take advantage of a pulpit to give personal point of view to 99 people out of a hundred who deplored those views, and who had boys dying at the front.

Mr. Pyke spoke of two Methodists who had been reported to him by the chairman of a meeting for not rising for the National Anthem.

He thought that conscientious objectors should not take advantage of the pulpits for their views, at a time like this.

After reading two letters sent by ministers of religion in the town and Miss B. H. Roberts, secretary of the Bury branch of the League of Nations Union, drawing attention to the Council's attitude towards Corporation employees who are conscientious objectors, Councillor S. Lord, at Bury Town Council meeting on Tuesday, July 9, called for the removal of the Rev. A. Booth, of Brunswick Methodist Church, and Miss Roberts from the local Ministry of Information Committee.

One of the letters was from the Bury Methodist Council, signed by the Rev. A. Booth and the Rev. Bernard Barker. The other letter was signed by the Rev. H. Allmark, St. John's; the Rev. H. Lonsdale, New Road Congregational Church; the Rev. J. W. Maw, Bank Street Unitarians; the Rev. A. E. Mobbs, Chesham Unitarians; and Miss Roberts. Both letters were forwarded to the Ministry of Information.

The Methodist Synod of the Bolton and Rochdale districts, meeting at Chorley on May 18, passed a resolution "regarding with deep concern the tendency in civic and other spheres to victimise conscientious objectors.

Two ministers who inserted an advertisement in a Kirkcaldy newspaper offering advice and information to conscientious objectors were condemned by Kirkcaldy Presbytery.

The Rev. John Williamson, Kirkcaldy, drew the Presbytery's attention to the advertisement, which read:—

"National Service Armed Forces Act. Any men who have registered as conscientious objectors and who desire advice or information may have the same by applying to the Rev. John Anderson, Innerleven Manse, Methil, or the Rev. Robert Murray, the Manse of St. Michaels, Buckhaven."

The Rev. Hugh Menzies, Dysart, expressed the opinion that it was really a matter for the police, and the Presbytery should take no notice of it.

The Rev. A. Renshaw Mackay, Kirkcaldy, moved that the Presbytery disapprove of the activities of the two ministers in encouraging young men to evade their military services and dissociates itself from such action.

On a vote this was carried by 26 votes to 25.

(To be concluded)

CUNNINGHAM REID

In the August *Word* we dealt with the scandal of evacuation and exit permits for M.P.'s. One person indicted was Captain A. S. Cunningham-Reid, Marylebone's 44-year old M.P.

A special meeting was held of the St. Marylebone Conservative and Constitutional Union behind locked doors at Portman Rooms, Baker Street, London, on Saturday, October 26. The meeting lasted nearly two and a half hours, and Cunningham-Reid repeated his refusal to resign three times.

Strict privacy was enforced at the meeting. Officers of the union were on guard at the doors to make sure that no one who was not a member got inside.

Everyone had to produce an official letter of invitation. Some who were not members tried to get in, but were turned away.

One woman who pleaded that she was a voter produced her national identity card, but this was of no avail. A large proportion of those present were women.

A resolution was moved declaring that Marylebone had not been properly represented by its M.P. and calling upon him to resign.

Captain Cunningham-Reid said:

"I have no intention to-day, if the vote is carried against me of resigning."

Mr. W. W. Wakefield, M.P. for Swindon, then addressed the meeting. He said:

"I have been a very regular attendant at the House, and I can count on the fingers of both hands the number of times I have seen Captain Cunningham-Reid in the House.

"When he goes to the divisions he goes at a time when he knows there are going to be a dozen divisions on the same night. It is an old trick of certain members.

"Members of all parties have the utmost contempt for your member."

After a local Alderman had asked him to be less personal in his remarks, Mr. Wakefield continued:

"If I have over-stated the case, I will unreservedly withdraw the statement, but I insist that the constituency would be better represented by a Socialist than by Captain Cunningham-Reid.

"When I was in America recently people were saying to me: 'What is Cunningham-Reid doing in America? Why isn't he in Britain doing his job of work, or looking after his constituency?'"

"Tens of thousands of people there are anxious to take our people in, and it was not necessary for Captain Cunningham-Reid to go across the Atlantic in connection with the scheme of evacuation.

"So fas as I know the only two people he has evacuated are his own two children.

"I hope the meeting will ask him to resign, and I hope he will have the decency to do it."

Captain Cunningham-Reid replied. He declared that the remarks of Mr. Wakefield were "vitrolic insults" beneath contempt. He described the opposition as *"a few soured members and ex-members of the Marylebone political organisation"* and denounced the *"disgraceful manner in which"* they *"had conducted themselves recently."* They had insulted kind and generous citizens who had offered to take British evacuee children. They had hampered his efforts to get the children of Marylebone to safety.

Cunningham-Reid referred to the remarks made by Mrs. Mavis Tate, M.P. for Frome, in the House of Commons, concerning his visit to America. These observations, culled from *Hansard*, were reported in our August issue. Cunningham-Reid said she was *"not only irresponsible, but untruthful"* in what she said in the Commons. Mrs. Cromwell, an old American friend of his, had made Marylebone an offer through him that had been universally recognised as the war's most generous individual contribution. She was prepared to provide in the U.S.A. a home for 500 children for an indefinite period. Mrs. Cromwell was unable to make all these detailed arrangements and asked him to do it for her. He had been trying to get hundreds of Marylebone children to safety in the United States, and yet he was asked to resign.

Previous to this speech, replying to Mr. Wakefield, a letter was read from Mr. Cunningham-Reid, defending his position. In this letter to members, he asked them, as a union, to support resolutions conveying to the American people their thanks for the offer of sanctuary for the children.

When the motion asking for the resignation was put the chairman said it was carried by a substantial majority on a show of hands.

Captain Cunningham-Reid then asked for a ballot.

A resolution calling on him to resign was carried by 83 votes to 24, and there were cries of "resign."

A resolution approving Sir John Fitzgerald as prospective candidate was also passed.

Captain Cunningham-Reid declared that in view of his declaration that he would not resign the resolution adopting Sir John became futile.

We approve entirely of the censure passed on Cunningham-Reid and we hope that he will meet with the moral, social and political boycott his conduct merits. But we are opposed to all or any M.P.'s and public characters visiting the United States at the present times on lecture tours, away from the centre of danger. This applies to alleged Socialist as well as to Tory M.P.'s, and even to literary characters, who are said to be over-age. The present war menaces the lives of civilians, and it is the duty of every British citizen, pacifist or militarist, to remain in the danger zone until the conflict is ended. Whatever attitude we adopt, the place to adopt it is in Britain. We are opposed to all exit permits, *unless some special purpose or cause can be shown.*

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ON CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS

As stated in our August issue, the question of conscientious objectors has been discussed in "Letters to the Editor" in papers published in every part of the English-speaking world. To the excerpts then published, we add a further selection.

Education, London, for August 23, publishes the following interesting letter from that stalwart Anti-Militarist Unitarian Minister, the Rev. Richard Lee, M.A.:—

Sir,—The dismissal of Conscientious Objectors by Councils all over the country is a sad reflection on the intelligence of the elected representatives who are responsible for this victimization.

Such dismissal means—

(1) That the Councillors usurp the position of the Tribunals appointed by the Government and defy the law of the land.

(2) That the spirit of Hitlerism, which assumes that the state has the only conscience to be recognised, has invaded the minds of these Councillors.

(3) That there is class distinction in persecuting defenceless teachers. No one suggested that the late George Lansbury or Lord Ponsonby or Bishop Barnes should be deposed from their positions. The two Archbishops have, indeed, admitted recently that conscientious objectors inside the Church are exercising a holy vocation.

I do not think the man with a genuine conscience needs any pity. One can only pity those who use their authority to drive men out of their profession.

Yours, etc.,
RICHARD LEE,
Chairman, Coventry Education Committee.

August 18, 1940.

The effect of Richard Lee's stand is referred to in the following letter, published in the *Midland Daily Telegraph*, Coventry, for July 3:—

Sir,—I should like to be among the first to publicly congratulate Coventry City Council upon its sensibly broad-minded decision to retain "C.O.'s."

I should like to anticipate possible critics of my defence of the conscientious objector by stating that I am not a "C.O." I do, however, like to feel that I am still a democrat!—Yours faithfully,

H. LAKIN.

66 Tennyson Road, Coventry.
July 2.

The *Richmond Herald*, Surrey, during August, published a correspondence on the subject of conscientious objection. Bernard Jolivard, writing from Barnes, wanted conscientious objectors *compelled*, despite the conscience clauses, to fight for "Liberty and Freedom." A Mr. Hurdle answered him by pointing out that a Pacifist *"usually tries to do his bit in peace time as well as in war-time."* To that—in the *Richmond Herald* for August 31—J. E. Thompson, Junr. of 48 Newell Road, Barnes, added, *"the Pacifist not only tries, but does his bit."*

Bernard Jolivard published his final words on the subject in the *Richmond Herald*, for September 7:—

"In peace there's nothing so becomes a man as modest stillness and humility; but when the blast of war blows in our ears, then imitate the action of the tiger."

A cheerful motto. *But Mr. Jolivard forgot that even the tiger does not destroy its own species.*

The *Yorkshire Gazette*, for July 5, published a long letter from Desmond Neill, Clerk to Preparative Meeting, Society of Friends, York, expressing deep concern at the decision of the York City Council to dismiss conscientious objectors. The York Society of Friends described the decision as *"a retrograde step."*

A similar view was taken by the Archbishop of York, in his *York Diocesan Leaflet*, issued on August 16. He described as *"utterly deplorable and in the deepest sense unpatriotic"* the action of such public bodies as have *"lately passed resolutions terminating the employment of any persons working for them who have pleaded conscientious objection to military service."*

A feeble attempt to reply to this protest by the Archbishop was made in a letter, signed "J.A.M.," published in *The Scotsman*, Edinburgh, for August 21.

Writing from Polmood, the author of this almost anonymous letter says:—

"The State recognises the liberty of an individual to be an agnostic or an atheist, but should the Archbishop of York terminate the services of one of his household servants, whom he might find to be an agnostic or an atheist, would it be fair for a public body to stigmatise this action as "utterly deplorable and in the deepest sense unpatriotic"?

The *Manchester Guardian* has published some interesting letters on the C.O. question. In the issue for June 28, G. A. Sutherland wrote from Dalton Hall, Victoria Park, Manchester, 14, attacking the Stockport Town Council for victimising C.O's. He claimed that C.O's. are protected by the National Service (Armed Forces) Prevention of Evasion Regulations, 1939.

H. M. Bunbury, writing from Dudley Lodge, Prestwick, in reply to Mr. Sutherland, in the Manchester Guardian, for July 2, pointed out that the termination of a contract of employment of a conscientious objector was not a punishable offence under the National Service (Armed Forces) (Prevention of Evasion) Regulations, 1939 (S.R.O. 1099 of 1939).

Section 5 of those regulations reads:—

"These regulations shall only apply to a case where the employment has been terminated before the date upon which the person employed was *called up for service* under the Act—i.e., the National Service (Armed Forces) Act, 1939."

This means that regulations only apply to persons who are liable to be called up for service. It is thus necessary to ascertain what the "services" are for which a person can be "called up." These are to be found in subsection 5 of section 14 of the Act and are:—

"Called up under the Military Training Act, 1939; called out under the Reserve and Auxiliary Forces Act, 1939; called up under this Act; called into actual service, ordered to join the Royal Navy, ordered to serve in the Royal Marine forces, called out on permanent service, embodied or called out for service, under the permanent enactments relating to his Majesty's reserve or auxiliary forces."

None of these services are "duties or obligations" which can be imposed on a conscientious objector by a tribunal under the provisions of section 5, subsection 6 of the Act. Moreover, it is expressly enacted in subsection 10 of section 5 of the Act that "a person shall not be liable under this Act to be *called up for service* so long as he is registered in the register of conscientious objectors."

It is thus clear that a registered conscientious objector is not liable for any of the services covered by the Act. He cannot receive a calling-up notice and therefore, by the terms of section 5 of S.R.O. 1099, the regulations do not apply to him and he is not protected by them. The contract of employment of a conscientious objector must, of course, be determined in accordance with the terms of the contract; otherwise he will be entitled to the common law remedy for wrongful dismissal.

The provisions of the Emergency Powers (Defence) Act, 1940, must not be overlooked. This Act confers an overriding authority on the Minister of Labour to order the disposition of any person for defence purposes, including an order that such person shall remain at his post.

In the *Guardian*, for September 10, D. Bowman, of 12 Clifton Avenue, Fallowfield, Manchester, protested against the decision of the Manchester City Council to dismiss conscientious objector employees. He concluded his protest with these wise words of rebuke:—

"Men who hold fast to tried convictions are not to be summarily dismissed from serving the community because their convictions are those of a minority; it is neither a democratic nor an economic proposition. To dismiss trained men in these times means inefficiency and waste."

The *Birmingham Gazette*, for July 1, published a letter from the Rev. Herbert G. Wood, President of the Birmingham Free Church Ministers' Fraternal, protesting against the Birmingham City Council *"penalising men for convictions honestly held."* Mr. Wood describes the attack on conscientious objectors as *"undiscriminating and unjust,"* and avers that *"it overrides the findings of the Tribunals."*

To the same effect, but from a somewhat different angle, is the letter published in the *Burton Daily Mail*, for June 18:—

Sir,—The decision of our Town Council to dismiss all conscientious objectors at present employed by the Corporation was no doubt arrived at after the responsible committee had studied the matter in all its aspects, but the fact remains that the State has decreed that if a man satisfies a tribunal that he is a conscientious objector, then he shall be exempt from military service.

After reading your report of the debate upon this subject, I am prompted to ask the quetion, "What right has Councillor Walters to pass judgment on the conscientious objector? Did he serve in the last war to end war? Is he serving in this war for freedom?' If not, his statement that in present circumstances we cannot afford to employ men who will do nothing to defend homes, wives and children against an enemy desirous of annihilating the human race, is sheer cant and humbug.

As one who saw service in France during the last war, I hold no brief for the C.O., but these men have, at least, the courage of their convictions.

If the C.O. is to be criticised, let the fighting man do it; he is the only one with the right to do so.—Yours, etc.,

D. HAYWOOD.

338 Wetmoor Road, Burton-on-Trent.

The following letter appeared in *Time and Tide*, London, for May 18:—

Sir,—In the matter of Conscientious Objectors I think we need a further distinction between those who will not fight because they do not believe in war, or in this war; and those who want the war to be won but whose nervous constitution is such that they cannot take an active part in it. These latter should not rightly come into the category of conscientious objection at all, but there is no other category for them so they sometimes take refuge in this one because it is against the English tradition to plead "nervously unfit." Such people, if sent to fight, would ultimately fill the ranks of mental hospitals and become burdens to themselves and to the State. Why not, therefore, use them productively as they are willing to be used, by recognizing their existence and their equal rights to a case with physical unfits and conscientious objectors?— I am, etc.,

M. E. ISHERWOOD.

The School, Dartington Hall, Totnes, S. Devon.

The *Newcastle Daily Journal*, August 28, published the following letter:—

Sir,—Having heard and read a great deal about the Conscientious Objectors and having a little time at my disposal, I called in at the tribunal at Newcastle last week to hear and see for myself how these individuals were dealt with. I may say, as one who loves freedom of thought and expression, I was not enamoured in the least.

The law was framed to grant exemption to those who had a conscientious objection to military service of any sort, but, the surprising thing to me was not one obtained that exemption, although they seemed to merit it.

There were some fine intellectual young men who seemed very earnest and sincere in their beliefs and convictions, but the members of the tribunal seemed to think it their duty to prevent exemption instead of granting it.

The composition of the tribunal is not all that could be desired either. I came away with the opinion that perhaps the inclusion of two ministers, i.e. men with a knowledge of the scriptures, would have kept out that narrow spirit which should not be present.

We should keep in mind, as all the leaders of our nation have told us, that we are fighting to retain liberty. Let us then not withhold it from our fellowman in free England.

E. GODDARD.

Victoria Road, Hebburn.

The *Evesham Journal and Four Shires Advertiser* published a leading article in its issue for May 1, headed "AN ABUSE OF LIBERTY," attacking conscientious objectors. Mr. H. N. Horne, of 15 Hatherley Gardens, London, replied in the following issue.

From his lengthy and vigorous letter of protest, we make these excerpts:—

"It is strange to read your statement, in the name of Liberty, that "the State has an absolute moral right to compel the services of the individual in times of national danger." It is for resisting the claim that the State has final and absolute rights in the realm of religion and morals that Martin Niemöller is in a concentration camp to-day.

"If we are concerned to vindicate freedom and to build Peace, those men who are determined to maintain freedom of conscience at all costs to themselves and are more concerned with peace than with victory, are playing a vital part in that vindication."

From the *Shields Gazette*, for May 29, 1940:—

C.O.'s EXPLANATION.

Sir,—With your kind permission, I would like to bring to the notice of your readers the following points.

As a conscientious objector, I have recently been accused of taking up an anti-British attitude. Taking the bare statement as published by your paper re "Not proud of being English," this is quite a reasonable accusation, but, to get to a true perspective, it is necessary to gain a little more information.

In my case, as presented to Judge Richardson, I explained that I had freed myself from the emotions of racial pride and racial hatred because I believed that they were two of the emotions which led countries to war. I considered that loving one's own country and hating other countries, being blinded by patriotism, etc., were all emotions calculated to lead us to the slaughtering of our fellowmen.

To bolster up our pride it was often necessary to read of our country's many achievements or, secondly, to hear disparaging comments about other countries. Such an atmosphere was not conducive to peace, hence my desire to eliminate it. To get an unprejudiced viewpoint it was surely a sign of honesty to try and eliminate racial hatred. To try and love the whole of the people of the world, whether they be black or white, red or yellow, was I think, a pro-British attitude.

In the light of such statements, the comments, "He's ashamed he is British," "He hates the British," are unjust, and I ask, in all fairness, that Judge Richardson confirm my statement that I eliminated these emotions because I believed that they led to War.

G. DICKSON.

61 Dee Street, Jarrow.

The *Ottawa Citizen*, July 8, published a Canadian view:—

Editor, Citizen,—To single out two or three eminent pacifists, and hold them up to the public eye as having changed their minds in an effort to prove it is right to wage war, seems to me quite beside the point. Having done that in your editorial yesterday (24th inst.), how would you like to write something about the 39,000 conscientious objectors in the British Isles who have not "bowed before the logic of events," as you said that others have done?

Quoting Miss Macphail as an example does not prove anything either. Was hers a political pacifism or a spiritual pacifism?

I think that you, Mr. Editor, will agree with me when I say that spiritual convictions do not "bow before the logic of events." But you would not print it as your political opinion.

Now that conscription of "mind" has come to Canada by law, readers of your back page will be looking for your broad-minded opinions and a fair deal for conscientious objectors and I for one sincerely hope we shall not be disappointed.

(Mrs. F. G.) EDITH E. HOLTOM.

Ottawa, June 18, 1940.

Unity, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A., for April 15, published a letter from which we quote in part:—

Toward the end of 1939, the first issue of *The Conscientious Objector* appeared. It was published because it was felt that something more than pacifist pamphlets was needed in the anti-war movement, in view of the day-to-day changes in the European situation and the growing domestic agitation for war. To-day the paper is established as an organ of the War Resisters League (National), the New York section of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and the Peace and Service Committee of the New York Monthly Meeting of Friends (Quakers). Other groups support it by acting as distributing centres.

The aim of the paper is to show the sham and futility of war, to strive for the removal of the causes of war, and to inform and support those who are opposed to all wars.

We have received letters from all parts of the country, from professors and students, workmen and housewives, religious organisations and non-sectarian groups, all congratulating the paper for the good job it is doing in gathering and reporting news of interest to those who are opposed to war. . . .

L. DORIS, *Editor-in-chief*.

2 Stone Street, Room 413, New York, N.Y.

LANSBURY'S WILL

The will of the late Mr. George Lansbury, M.P., was proved, on Friday, August 30, at the comparatively small sum, considering his activity and opportunities, of £1695.

He directed that his remains should be cremated and the ashes thrown into the sea somewhere off Land's End. His explanation was typical of the man and defined his dreams. Lansbury stated:—

"I desire this, because, although I love England very dearly and consider this lovely island the best spot in the world, I am a convinced internationalist and like to feel I am just a tiny part of universal life which will one day break down all divisions of creed and speech and economic barriers and make mankind one great eternal unit both in life and death."

LONDON COMMENTARY

By Annesley Aldred

For some months now I have been intending to bring up-to-date my comments on activity in London. Now that I find myself able to do so, it would probably be more appropriate, in a grimly humorous way, to call it "Coal-hole commentary." For with Total War in full force, with every member of the working-class in the front line, and with the East End of London already a shambles, the first question asked when a new flat is sought is "what is the cellar like?"

London has always seemed to me to resemble a rabbit warren—for one can travel from one's home to one's work for years without ever seeing more than a few hundred yards, at most, of the town. Now the resemblance is even more exact, for even one's eating and sleeping is done underground.

In point of fact the situation is full of paradoxes, for one cannot but deplore the wholesale bombing of the working-class districts of the East End, yet those are the very slums which should have been demolished years ago; one cannot help feeling that the ordinary organisational activities are trivial and unimportant, and yet at the same time one feels that this is the proof, if proof were needed, that our pacifist and socialist ideals are right, and serves to strengthen our beliefs and to stress the importance of the need for ensuring that this shall never happen again; and finally amidst the noise and turmoil caused by falling bombs and exploding anti-aircraft shells one can find opportunity for that "quiet contemplation" which is necessary if one is to keep things in their proper perspective.

It is, however, the ability to accept the opportunity that is the priceless asset, for otherwise in the long dark hours of the night it is easy to to be overcome by despondency and despair—and we have no time for either if all that we have to do is to be accomplished.

The immediate concern seems to be to weigh up the reactions of the "bombees" not from the military machine viewpoint of "morale," but from the anti-militarist viewpoint of the possibility of preventing this war-horror from recurring.

Let us consider firstly the pacifists themselves. On the whole my impression is that, in so far as this is precisely what we have foretold, this phase of the war does not really affect our outlook. But there are certain elements who, although previously quite uncompromising, feel that from the humanitarian viewpoint they should undertake such work as ambulance driving or stretcher bearing. What to do at this hour is, momentarily, a difficult problem and, so long as it involves no serious compromise, a matter of comparatively small ultimate importance. But the main point is that there does exist a determination to continue the struggle against war—which, in most cases, is combined with an understanding of the causes of war.

But what of those who, however grudgingly, are giving support to the war. For at least the first six months of the war the vast majority of these people were indifferent and apathetic. They had no enthusiasm at all for the war and, for the most part, agreed that war, in the abstract sense, was terrible. But their standard excuse was "what else could we do?"

But this attitude is no longer tenable and those who thought thus are split into, roughly, three sections. (a) Those who know only an intense hatred of everything German and who only know that they want revenge and want to completely crush Germany. To these people that is the only important thing, and if you pin them down they will tell you that German militarism is inherent in all Germans and that to crush Germany will, and is the only way to, stop war. (b) Those who realise to the full the horrors of war and in general understand its cause but feel that the only thing to be done at the moment is to crush Hitler and Fascism and then try to rebuild society in such a way as to prevent a recurrence in another 20 years. (c) Those who realise the futility of war and who realise, too late, that they have everything to lose and nothing to gain. Many of these have made no deep study of the question, and have no great understanding, but they sense, instinctively, that it is not the workers who want war, but it *is* the workers who pay for it.

What the relative strength of these groups is is a difficult question to answer. But it is certain that the last group is a very large minority which, if it can be aligned with the existent socialist-pacifist objectors, and strengthened by these members of the Labour and Trade Union movements, who are realising, belatedly, that once again they have been sold out by place-hunting leaders (and who will, certainly, be potential opponents of any future war-mongering efforts) will form the virile vanguard of a workers' movement which will sweep the decaying capitalist system, and the symbol of that decay—Fascism—to its final end; and will establish the beginnings of the new social order in which war will be no more because it will be unnecessary.

COLD FACTS

Some months ago we made a personal appeal for £166 13s. 3d. to cover losses on *The Word* prior to Christmas, 1939, and for the Free Speech case in Hyde Park. The total acknowledged up to last month was £83 4s. 10d. Since then we have received £2 7s. 2d. This makes £85 12s. received and leaves a sum of £81 1s. 3d. to come. *We ask comrades to rally this amount this month.*

We make a further appeal. *The Word* is the best paper produced in the Labour, Socialist, Pacifist, and Radical or Liberal Movements. Despite the cost of paper, it maintains its size and quality. It carries no paid advertisements. *But there is a boycott placed upon it in every section of the so-called "advance" movement. We ask for the removal of this boycott. We appeal to every reader to make a new reader and to handle hustle orders. Persuade your friend to become an annual subscriber. The monthly loss on the paper is very heavy and we cannot carry the burden ourself any longer. Every reader must help.*

Apart from *The Word*, the *Strickland Press* has issued nine pamphlets in *"The Word" Library*, first series, and two in the second series. These are large pamphlets and cover a range of study. Each one is produced at a loss. In the *Strickland Classics* we have published six pamphlets, including our latest, the "life" of *Thomas Paine* by *Richard Carlile*. Will comrades not help to circulate these splendid 2d. pamphlets. *Paine* should be a best seller.

Since December 1939, the loss on this printed propaganda has been £1,890 10s. It should be the duty of every comrade in a spirit of fair play, to end this loss at once. We shall publish full acknowledgements of donations received. This is a direct appeal to your solidarity. He who responds immediately doubles the value of his gift. Please help.

Send your donation to the editor at: *Strickland Press*, 104 *George Street, Glasgow, C.1.*

Comrades who are unable to send money could help our work by donations of Socialist and Freethought books. Send all parcels to *The Strickland Press*, 104 *George Street, Glasgow, C.1.* Such gifts would be welcomed.

TO YOU!

A cross at this paragraph means that your subscription has expired. Or we may have been sending you the paper free, feeling that you were interested. This paper is produced at a loss and we have had to reduce the amount printed each month to preserve the size and quality of the paper. If you like the paper and cannot afford to pay, we will send it still meantime. But we would like a word from you anyway. The annual subscription, owing to postal changes, is now 3s. 0d. Send to *The Word*, 104 George Street, Glasgow, C.1.

Reproduced from *The Sunday Mail*, July 28. Block lent and reproduced by courtesy of the proprietors.

FINDLAY LANGMUIR

Do you recognise Procurator Fiscal Langmuir? The "Sunday Mail" photographer snapped this ordinary seaman of the British Navy in Glasgow, on Sunday, July 27. If Mr. Langmuir had been a "Socialist" and ex-conchie, he would have been wearing the robes of Lord Provost instead of a seaman's uniform.

Our essay on Findlay Langmuir, published in the October *Word*, contrasting the conduct and record of the non-Socialist Glasgow Police Procurator Fiscal against that of Glasgow's "Socialist" Lord Provost, brought us shoals of letters. Very few were critical. Most correspondents appreciated the contrast and emphasised their agreement. It was realised that every citizen, who expresses courage and integrity of living is contributing to the evolution of a new social order of peace, liberty, and commonweal. A large number of letters expressed gratitude to Findlay Langmuir for services rendered to the person writing. Folk who have never been in a jam cannot appreciate exactly what such services mean. Only those who do foolish things, or suffer, can value sympathy and understanding. Often a police official can render more social service than a recognised public philanthropist.

The letters received told how, in many cases, when he might have prosecuted, Findlay Langmuir enquired into the conditions that caused the offence, and so helped the offender out of his trouble, and even helped him to obtain a suitable job. Instead of aggravating sorrow by addition, the procurator fiscal tendered aid and wisdom.

It would be a breach of faith to publish such letters or to detail the facts they relate. We summarise the record because we honour and respect all bravery and every expression of human sympathy. Our regard for social service takes no account of social, legal, or political status. It is irrespective of race, creed, or position. This is true democracy and makes for progress. In these columns, we are prepared to pay tribute to conscientious objectors and to soldiers alike; to Catholics, Protestants, and Atheists; to Britons and Germans, wherever their conduct advances human understanding and well-being. We have one aim: to liquidate our criminal anti-social society in a higher and happier social order.

One letter received was different from the others. It was dated October 3. The writer was, and is, a prominent public official in Glasgow. The letter was non-political. Its writer, also, has, to our knowledge, rendered considerable service to anxious and troubled citizens of Glasgow: soldiers' wives, widows, etc. All manner of poor folk needing advice and assistance. He has assisted smiles to take the place of tears on many weary faces. Such service has been given readily and spontaneously. For this we honour the writer, although we are unable to give his name or position. We quote his letter:—

"Glasgow, October 3, 1940.

"Your article in *The Word* interests me very much. For a man who has succeeded and perhaps tasted all the good things of life, to start again at nearly 40 years of age, in the lower deck, just for an ideal—to serve his country, shows his sterling worth; but that is typical of Jimmy Langmuir, who I am honoured to know. Courtesy therefore demands that at least I can write and say thank you!"

We endorse this tribute: and we recalled its terms the other day when we saw a group of alleged "Socialist" leaders, including the Lord Provost and Neil Maclean, M.P., photographed flirting with militarism. This was not because they believe in a war for freedom, but from servitude to the conventionalism of the day. Their aim is not to serve on the "lower deck," and to start all over again, but to exploit the idealism of the people in order that they might keep as far from the "lower deck" as possible, without rendering any service at all.

(*Concluded from Column 3*)

although he will speak in the chamber in due course, and probably with more radical understanding than the rationalist Labour peer, Lord Snell. He aims to address the common people with his pen. His challenges to them are direct and simple: "*Why Not Think?*" and "*Where there is no vision, the people perish.*"

What the Duke of Bedford must come to realise, as he contacts the common people more completely, is that, if the workers think, and if they develop vision, they must turn to Socialism and the social revolution it involves. Capitalism has given us a surfeit of bloodshed and destruction. Only social revolution can bring peace and construction. Society needs radical economic change.

It has been announced in the press that among the first to respond to the appeal for country houses to be equipped as nursery centres for babies who have been bombed out of their own homes was the Duke of Bedford. He has given his house near Rickmansworth, Buckinghamshire, for this purpose.

BAKUNIN HALL
29 CASTLE STREET, GLASGOW,
Every Sunday, 7 p.m.

Speaker: GUY ALDRED.

Questions. Discussion. Collection. All Welcome.

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD

In our next issue we shall publish an essay by the Duke of Bedford, addressed to all Socialists, entitled: *An Examination of Some Criticisms of The Capitalist State.*" With this essay, we expect to begin the publication of several articles from this writer's pen, all submitted to and for Left Wing criticism. The Duke of Bedford will contribute these articles, knowing quite well the character of this journal, and the principles for which it stands, because he is a pacifist and not a fascist, and because he is concerned with problems of social reconstruction that must arise out of the war.

The Bedford family is a family of wealthy landowners, dating back to the time of the Tudors and the seizure of the monasteries. The family is also the Russell family and includes Bertrand Earl Russell, with whom the Labour and Freethought movements flirted during the last war. Earl Russell is descended from Lord John Russell, born in 1792, first Earl Russell, and third son of the then Duke of Bedford.

Lord William Russell—son of the 5th Earl of Bedford, who was created the first Duke of Bedford—was executed in company with that famous Republican and tyrannicide, Algernon Sidney, for high treason. The fourth Duke of Bedford adopted the same attitude towards war, at a time of crisis, as the present, twelth Duke of Bedford. At that time Britain was at war with revolutionary France and not reactionary Germany. British statesmen said exactly the same things about revolutionary France as is said to-day about reactionary Germany.

In the House of Lords, on January 25, 1795, the Duke of Bedford moved the following resolution concerning Britain's relations with France:

> "That no form of government, which may prevail in France, should preclude a negotiation with that country, or prevent a peace whenever it could be made consistently with the honour, interest, and security of this nation."

Only one bishop supported this mild and reasonable resolution — the celebrated Dr. Watson, Bishop of Llandaff. From then on, notwithstanding his replies to Gibbon and Paine, the bishop was suspected of sedition, blasphemy, and infidelity. His successor knew better than to associate himself with the political attitudes of the Bedfords; and when, on October 8, 1831, the fifth Duke of Bedford voted with the House of Lords minority in support of the Reform Bill, the then Bishop of Llandaff voted with the reactionary majority.

The Duke of Bedford does not expect much from addressing himself to the House of Lords,

(Concluded at foot of Column 2)

HAMMERSMITH C.O.'s SUICIDE

A verdict of suicide was recorded at Hammersmith on Saturday, September 21, by Dr. Broadbridge, the coroner, on David Hubert Edward Hurst Hill, aged 20, a junior clerk, employed by the Hammersmith Borough Council.

Hill was one of the most active members of the P.P.U. Group associated with Oaklands Church, although not a member of the church. He instituted the Hyde Park P.P.U. Stand, that was afterwards taken over by the P.P.U. Forward Movement. He was active in the Hammersmith Youth Parliament and was one of the two secretaries of that organisation.

In June, he was given exemption from military service by the Bloomsbury Tribunal on condition he remained in his occupation as junior clerk in Hammersmith Borough Health Department.

Mrs. Eva Ockenden, Hill's landlady, of Aycliffe Road, W.12, said he had been a lodger at her house since the end of March. She understood that he suffered from nerves. On September 19 he was going out to post a letter, but as there was an air raid warning she asked him to go to a shelter. He declined, saying he would return home. When she returned home at six o'clock the following morning she found him on the floor of the scullery. There was a smell of gas.

Witness said he was lying full length by the gas stove, which had all six taps full on.

Dr. Keith Simpson, pathologist, said the cause of death was coal gas poisoning.

Albert Henry Hill, a watchmaker, of Salisbury, identified his son, whom he last saw alive at Portsmouth last December.

P.s. 38F said he was called to the address at Aycliffe Road on the morning of September 20 and found the boy on the scullery floor. The gas had been turned off; the oven door was open. A doctor who was called in said life was extinct. Witness did not find any letters from deceased. No special preparations had been made and there were so suspicious circumstances.

Mr. Alan Mackay, Superintendent of the Mortuaries at Hammersmith and Bloemfontein Road, said he first met the deceased two days before his death when he was sent to him to do some clerical duties. Hill did not make any complaint, did his work well and they got on well together.

Councillor Mrs. Elizabeth Cox of the Hammersmith Public Health Department, living at Curwen Road, W.12, said she had known the deceased since March, 1939. She last saw him at 6 p.m. on September 19, and he then seemed to be worried about deaths which had happened owing to air raids. She thought it was wrong for Hill to have been put on mortuary work.

Dr. Broadbridge (to witness): We are not here to listen to people air their grievances but to hear evidence.

The coroner said a possible cause of death might be the effect of air raids. Hill was nervy but had never threatened to take his life. The evidence of Mrs. Cox was a disgraceful exhibition of her own opinion. The verdict would be death from asphyxia from coal gas poisoning, and that Hill had taken his life when the balance of his mind was disturbed.

On October 4, the *West London Observer* published two letters of protest. One was signed by J. Chaloner Wood, F.I.B.R., of 20 Rivercourt Road, London, W.6, and read, in part, as follows:

"It is difficult to feel any confidence in the A.R.P. organisation of Hammersmith when one learns from the inquest on David Hill that a junior clerk was ordered to do whole-time duty at the Mortuary.

Hill's age and temperament were well-known to the Council, also the fact that a legally constituted Tribunal had decided, in accordance with the law of the land, that Hill should be exempted from military service and should continue in his job as a junior clerk to the Health Department.

"The duty which Hill was ordered to perform at the Mortuary would distress the most hardened man of mature age.

"The Borough Council must make the fullest investigation of the whole organisation of the Health Services, and, if necessary, re-organise the department."

The second letter was signed "*A Clergyman of The Church of England.*" It defended Councillor Mrs. Cox and proceeded to protest against the ill-treatment Hill had received, on account of his conscientious opinions. The letter continued:

"He was appointed to work at the Mortuary upon the instructions of the Medical Officer of Health. The result was a breakdown, in the course of which Hill took his life. Such was the evidence which Mrs. Cox sought to tender, and the investigation of which was refused by the Coroner. Nobody in possession of the details can doubt that it is evidence directly relevant to the purpose of an inquest—the ascertaining of the cause of death.

"I understand that this nervous and sensitive boy of twenty was given work which involved his viewing the corpses of air-raid victims. A hardened and experienced man of twice his years would shrink from such a task, yet it was given to a boy already under medical treatment for his nerves. . . .

"The Health Committee owe it to their constituents that they undertake drastic enquiry."

Annesley Aldred writes from his new address, 10 Poplar Grove, London, W.6, as follows:

"The matter of David Hill is being taken up at the Borough Council Meeting, and a letter is being sent to the B.M.A., who state that, although there is nothing in the matter which brings it within their scope, there are sufficient grounds, if a formal protest is made to them, for them to write asking Howells (the Medical Officer of Health) for an explanation. The case was reported to the Secretary, without names, and he said that he certainly thought that it was disgraceful and liable to cast a slur on the medical profession."

IN THE UNITED STATES

Conscription—and Conscientious Objectors.

[*Culled from "Unity," Chicago, Ill., Sept.*, 16, 1940.—Ed.]

In our August 19th issue, we commented upon the conscientious objector's problem in relation to the pending peacetime conscription bill. We reported that, in the original version of the bill, the provision for conscientious objectors was exceedingly inadequate, since it recognised only those who are members of "any well-recognised religious sect whose creeds or principles forbid its members to participate in war in any form." It is gratifying now to report the improvement made in this regard in the later version of the measure. As the matter stands now, at this writing, conscientious objectors are exempted from military service on their own merit as individuals; see this clause:

"Nothing in this act shall be construed to require any person to be subject to combatant training or service . . . who, by reason of religious training or belief, is conscientiously opposed to participation in war in any form."

Those claiming exemption under this provision must prove their character and good faith before local boards set up by the Department of Justice, which is only right and proper, though the problem of passing on the sincerity of individual conscience still remains one of the unsolved problems of ethical jurisprudence. Another excellent provision of the bill is the offering to the sincere conscientious objector of "work of national importance under civilian control," if he objects to alternative non-combatant service. Summing up the whole law on this question of conscientious objectors, we find these advantages: objectors are recognised; they are classified on a separate list; they are rated on the basis of individual religious conviction, as contrasted with sectarian membership; they are heard and judged by a civilian board; they are offered not only non-combatant service, but, if they object to this, civilian service; and they are granted, equally with the government, the right of appeal on any disputed point. All this is to the good! Yet the bill still remains woefully unsatisfactory in the fact that it recognises only *religious* conscientious objectors. There are other objectors, quite as sincere, oftentimes more intelligent in their understanding of war, whose conviction is based on secular rather than spiritual grounds. These should not be ignored. Also, it must be said that, whatever the provisions of the law, much depends upon its administration, as was tragically proven in the last war. Legal martinets, patrioteers, and sadists may work havoc with any law.

The Workers' Oppression, 1940.

Adapted from a cartoon published in *Organizacion Obrera*, Buenos Aires, August, 1940. Fascism, Nazism, Bolshevism—apparent extremes—unite in one common oppression.

OUR LETTER-BOX

Dear Aldred,—Many thanks for the book on Josiah Warren. It is an interesting specimen of pioneer thought.

Warren had a sound appreciation of the need of relating the supply of claims on real wealth to the output of real wealth and of refusing to tolerate restrictions on production and consumption when the physical essentials for production and consumption are present.

It is interesting one hundred years ago to find a reformer writing of "the system of finance that creates an artificial scarcity of the medium of exchange"—interesting, yet depressing, seeing that nothing has been done in one hundred years to remove that artificial scarcity!

Seeing the time at which he lived, it is not to Warren's discredit that his theories are out of date, in so far as they fail to deal with the problems of a labour-destroying, power-using age which compels a modification of the work- for-all, no-work-no-play philosophy.

Yours sincerely,

BEDFORD.

Newton Stewart, Oct. 3, 1940.

Dear Guy Aldred,—I have only heard vaguely of George Martin apart from your pamphlet. Some years ago, about 1935, I knew a priest-vicar at Southwark Cathedral and he had heard of Martin and knew him a bit. He was alive of quite recent years and still working away. He must have been a very sincere character.

By the way, in *Dogmas Discarded* you are incorrect in thinking that the Theistic Church did not outlive Voysey. It is still going. Voysey was followed by Walter Walsh who split with the congregation in 1916 and founded the Free Religious Movement on the pacifist issue. There was a period of supply preachers and then a Unitarian Minister, Rev. J. Tyssul Davis, became preacher. I knew him a bit. His main interests were mysticism and occultism and he had no sort of political outlook. Davis left in 1932 and was followed by Magnus Ratter, an admirer of Ghandi, who wrote a good book on Schweitzer. He is now the Unitarian minister at Rawtenstall in Lancs. The present minister is Dr. Kaufmann, who comes from Australia. The church meets on Sunday mornings in the Aeolian Hall, Bond Street. It is an interesting body.

I have always found Voysey's books of interest though I think that he is hopelessly off the track over the Synoptic Gospels. He was really pre-critical and knew little of any modern criticism. I encountered E. A. Voysey a bit.

I see a good deal of your son, who is quite a near neighbour. We are having a row locally at the moment about a young C.O. who was driven to suicide by being put on to mortuary duty.

Yours fraternally,

F. H. AMPHLETT MICKLEWRIGHT.

Hammersmith, London N 6, Oct. 4, 1940.

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Liberty! Equality!! Fraternity!!!

THE WORD

To Rouse The People, To Combat Fascism, and To Speed Commonweal.

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CHRISTENDOM, 1940

We published the accompanying picture of God as a War Lord King, thus depicting the blasphemous war concept of Christendom, in *The Spur*, for December, 1915. We adapted a verse of the famous hymn. Christendom was then, as it is now, a wilderness of war, and ammunition was being turned out at the Bethlehem Steel works. We believe the Bethlehem Steel works are busy still.

Hark! the herald angels sing
Glory to the war-lord king,
Strife on earth, and orgie wild,
God and sin are reconciled.
Hateful, all ye nations, rise,
Join the triumph of the skies;
With the Angelic host proclaim,
"Guns are made in Bethlehem."
Hark! the herald angels sing
Glory to the war-lord king.

—*After Charles Wesley.*

"WHY JESUS WEPT"

A REJOINDER BY

THE REV. HENRY J. ADLARD

(Minister of the Trim Street Chapel (Unitarian), Bath, England; formerly Pastor of the Adams Memorial Church, Dunkirk, New York, U.S.A.; Minister of the First Unitarian Church, Des Moines, Iowa, U.S.A.; Minister of the First Unitarian Church, Sioux City, Iowa, U.S.A.; Minister of the First Unitarian Church, Minn., U.S.A.).

I have read through carefully the pamphlet, *Why Jesus Wept*, which Mr. Aldred has been kind enough to send to me, and asked for my reactions. In some places I am in overwhelming agreement with his main contentions. In others I disagree vigorously. I cannot see what strict relation obtains between the first essay and many of the latter ones, hence I confine my friendly criticism to the first-named.

It is amazing to me that a man of Mr. Aldred's undoubted critical ability, research, information, and powers of expression, should be so un-critical of Jesus and the sources from whence we derive our knowledge of him. Like almost every other writer within my ken, who writes about Jesus, he actually writes *his* life of Jesus. As my friend, the Rev. John Deitrich says, "This is what has constantly been done through the centuries of Christian history" and further "It is the duty of everyone to resist the attempt to hold the world bound in the thought of one man."

Mr. Aldred crowds out, or ignores, what does not fit into his picture of Jesus. He builds a sort of stereotype of Jesus, and everything must fit in its place or be ignored. The Gospels are our only sources of information about Jesus. The Synoptics and the Fourth Gospel are poles apart, and the Synoptics are, at best, fragmentary matters, and reveal marked evidence of having been tampered with by interpolations, additions or deletions. Of all these things, Mr. Aldred should be well-informed, but if so, he disregards them. But Mr. Aldred here, as elsewhere, is out to make a case, a complete, unanswerable, absolute case. He is that sort of man, whether it be Bakunin or Jesus. He is an absolutist whatever he puts his hand to. That is his strength and his defect.

Why Jesus Wept is a stirring dramatic title. It has great homiletic values, and Mr. Aldred preaches a ripping sermon thereon. It is pathetically true that Jesus has been sold out by the majority of preachers and churches; and it is enough to make him weep. There are two occasions when Jesus is reported to have wept. Once over Jerusalem, the other at the grave of Lazarus. Setting aside the latter as wholly unhistorical, it might be added, that if Jesus wept on that occasion he well might, seeing that he had delayed coming to Lazarus whom, he had assured the sisters, was not sick unto death. With regard to the moving scene when Jesus wept over Jerusalem, to it I think may be added the portentous words of Jesus when he said on his way to the cross, "*Weep not for me but for yourselves and your children*," as though he realised what the neglect of his principles would mean, and actually does mean, in every bombed area in Great Britain to-day.

There is another thought that bothers me. It is strange that Mr. Aldred, who is, I gather, a militant atheist—which is his own affair—should ignore the undoubted theistic side of Jesus. Jesus was not a theologian, and he never *argued* about God—he had more sense. But, if we take the gospel at its face value, it was the same kind of heart which made him weep over the folly of man, and simply believe in, and call God father, and all men brethren. To Mr. Aldred the very idea of God is nugatory, yet he embraces one whose life in its crucial moments was controlled by it.

I am a great admirer of the heroic spirit of Jesus, as far as I know it, but I cannot agree that his "teachings make a consistent whole." It is just what they do not. At times they are most baffling, esoteric, eschatological, and contradictory. It is for this very reason that every society, order, cult, goes to Jesus and claims him as one of them. *E.G.*, Jesus said "Love your enemies." The 23rd chapter of Matthew with its sizzling invective against the Pharisees does not reveal much love. The Pharisees may have deserved it. That is not the point. Other instances might be cited. Jesus prayed for Peter that his faith might not fail. He *knew* that Judas would betray him. Why did he not pray for, and advise, Judas?

Mr. Aldred says that Jesus "Did not need solitude." I should think he did if ever man did, and the records show that he sought it frequently. We are told he "allowed no limitation to Brotherhood." No doubt world brotherhood was implicit in, and can be deduced from his teachings, but he explicitly said he came to his own people, "the lost sheep of the house of Israel."

The matter of Dickens being a Unitarian has been much thrashed over. I think the claim is extremely slim, and the publication of his *Childs Life of Christ* a few years ago, reveals little of the Unitarian attitude to Jesus. In *Why Jesus Wept* there is no well built-up discriminating regard for the twenty three actual days we have of the Life of Jesus. Mr. Aldred has oversimplified his case in order that he may use Jesus as a leader for the proletarian revolt. Not that there is not much that cannot be so used, but I will refer to that in a concluding remark.

As a polemical writer Mr. Aldred is nothing if not vigorous. He says that much of this pamphlet was written in prison. As I told him, there are times when all good men should be in prison—This may account for touches of asperity here and there. They strike a weak and false note, and add nothing to the argument. He vilifies an opponent with unpleasant and questionable adjectives. The opening paragraph contains an onslaught on Robert Blatchford as "disgustingly hypocritical." I do not know whether this is true, I should much doubt; and I still honour him for his magnificent Socialist propaganda which brought me into the fold. Be that as it may, such things are no help: they alienate all men of reason, and damage a good cause.

But all this said, and in the most friendly spirit, is not to detract from the main purpose of this pamphlet, its splendid social passion, its cry for economic justice, for a new and clean world.

The biggest shock which could be given to the Christian churches on any Sunday morning would be for a man to arise in every pulpit, preach the essential message of this tract, show *Why Jesus Wept* and why he would weep, and why all good men should weep. The plain fact is that the vast majority of Christian churches are scared stiff at the teachings of Jesus, and even in the present catastrophe, they do not seem to realise that war is an utter negation of his temper, outlook, and teaching. If the churches were honest they should declare a moratorium on God, Jesus, and prayer for the War. In times of peace Jesus is kept on a shelf, all mummified

and dusty. In times of war he is not only kept there, but to make doubly sure, he is covered up completely. If Jesus has nothing different to offer, better than the ordinary yardstick of human affairs, if he is to be dragged in as support and backer of every war, well, I for one, fail to see why we have any use for him at all.

If this is Jesus, he and I part company. If this is Jesus he is no leader, he is a distant follower of the pioneers of humanity. But this is NOT Jesus..

Jesus is all right in a stained-glass window. He is all right frozen in a statue. He is all right so long as he remains fixed. But, as G. B. Shaw once said, you drag Jesus off the pedestal, pull him out of the window, fling him into the market place of human affairs, on "Change" or where you will, there's going to be trouble.

It doesn't seem to enter into the reckoning of war-mongering parsons that Jesus said, "*My kingdom is not of this world, else would my soldiers fight for it*" . . . It seems clear to my mind, quite clear, and difficult.

Mr. Aldred runs a rum combination. He has two gods, small "g" please. Jesus and Bakunin. One who believed in God, the other ruled out God with scorn; but perhaps there is more between these two than meets the eye.

THE CHURCH AND CONSCIENCE

(*concluded from page* 44).

Western Morning News, Plymouth, for May 22, 1940, published a letter from the Rev. B. C. C. Pratt, Rector of Peter Tavy, protesting against a paragraph in the paper for May 17. It said that a letter was read from him supporting the application before the C.O. Tribunal, of Leslie Thomas Rice. The latter was exempted. Mr. Pratt wrote :—

"I wrote an ordinary character for Mr. Rice, a copy of which I enclose. It in no way supports his application for exemption. I entirely disagree with his views, as I told him when he asked me for the reference.

"Since this character was used to influence the opinion of the tribunal in favour of exemption, I shall in future refuse to give a character to anyone with pacifist tendencies."

If his reference was true, why should Mr. Pratt run away from its conclusions?

A heated protest by the Rev. Guy F. Waddington, Vicar of Christ Church, Bradford, was made at the Conscientious Objectors' Tribunal in Leeds on June 10.

Mr. Waddington stood close to Fred G. Mountain, of 104 Toftshaw Lane, Bradford, while the tribunal was deciding whether he had made satisfactory attempts to obtain non-combatant work ordered by the tribunal when his application was heard.

When Judge Stewart announced that Mountain had not satisfied them, Mr. Waddington exclaimed: I am asked to stand here all this time as if I am a criminal.

Judge Stewart: I am not aware you have anything to say.

Mr. Waddington: I strongly protest against the lack of courtesy of this Court.

Judge Stewart: You have no right to interfere with the course of justice in this Court.

Mr. Waddington: This is not a court of justice. I object to being treated like a criminal.

On July 8, Pastor Truswell, of the Wrenthorpe Mission, told the same Tribunal that all the young men of military age at his mission would eventually appear before the Tribunal.

Pastor Truswell appeared as a witness for Albery Holler, aged 27, a motor driver, of Shillito Road, Wrenthorpe, Wakefield.

Judge Stewart: How many more members of your mission are there of military age?—Upwards of a dozen.

How many have been dealt with?—This is the third.

Is it fair to say that they are, as it were, led in this direction by your ministrations?—I am the minister there and I teach them.

Are the other twelve likely to be coming here?—Yes.

There is no doubt about what the effect of your teaching is?—I cannot see any other effect as a result of Christian teaching.

In June, two church magazines, published in Highgate, on the northern outskirts of London, expressed opposing views of the character and attitude of the conscientious objector.

The Rev. F. M. Tapply, vicar of All Saints', Church Road, Highgate, in his *Parish Magazine*, stated that "*there can be no peace until the brute force of Germany is utterly defeated.*" He added: "*Civilization is at stake.*"

Referring to "conscientious objectors," he said that the phrase was "*a long word for a simpler term*" and declared that they left "*to the manhood of the nation the task of protecting the lives which they have not the desire or the will to do themselves.*"

The vicar then asked :—

"*What right have they to accept the protection of a country they refuse to defend? They are ready to be saved, but they dare not risk their lives as the thousands of real men are doing even for their own salvation.*"

The Rev. David Mace, minister of the Archway Central (Methodist) Hall, wrote in his *War-time Letter* of the "splendid idealism" that was kindling within the young folk, and making them pacifists. He insisted that they were quite willing to "take their place in the danger zone alongside the fighting men" to serve humanity but not to destroy it. He spoke of his conversations with young pacifist men and women, and added :—

"They are tortured by the misunderstanding and unjust persecution they suffer day by day; and they long for a chance to show that they are willing to brave any danger or make any sacrifice in the service of Christian compassion."

"Most Protestant ministers in New Zealand are pacifists" said the Rev. John Gibson Inkster, D.D., pastor of the Knox Church, Toronto, when he arrived in Sydney, Australia, in an overseas liner, on Saturday, June 1. He had been preaching at St. John's Church, Wellington, during the previous eight months. His visit to New Zealand was for the Centenary Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand. Dr. Inkster added :—

"Most New Zealand ministers do not preach pacifism, but none are actively militant for the prosecution of the war. They do not seem to realise we are fighting for our existence. Canada has pacifists among her clergymen, but there are not as many there as in New Zealand. . . .

"Among the young people in New Zealand I found a widespread tendency to question our fundamental religious beliefs. I was told that half the students at Victoria University, Wellington, are inclined towards Communism."

In peace-time, Secularists attack the Church for supporting war. This is a perfectly fair attack. But the Freethinkers also believe in war. Here is an extract from the *Freethinker*, London, for June 23, 1940 :—

"A considerable number of 'Conchies' are, or profess to be theological 'students' who have recently acquired an ambition to become ministers-of-the-gospel. This new hypocrisy is distinctly due to the total exemption of the clergy from active service—but not from getting snug billets outside the danger-line at salaries far beyond that of soldiers who offer their lives in defence of civilisation. We no more condemn genuine C.O.'s than we condemn conscientious people in any other sphere, and in any case a man who 'hath no stomach to this fight had best' be allowed to 'depart'—an army is better without than with them."

To be Reviewed next issue. *The Philosophy of Anarchism* by Herbert Read. Price 1s. Postage extra. *Freedom Press Distributors*, 9 Newbury Street, London, E.C.1.

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JOHN MORRISON DAVIDSON

In chapter X, of Part II. of *Dogmas Discarded*, we mention our meetings with John Morrison Davidson, during 1904 to 1906, in the famous Farringdon Road office, under the Holborn Arches, of the *Agnostic Journal*. Davidson, who was a reformer, journalist, author, and pamphleteer of renown in his day and generation, deserved more notice than the fleeting reference accorded to him.

John M. Davidson was born at Fetterangus, in the parish of Red Deer, Buchan, Aberdeenshire, Scotland, on July 31, 1843. He died at Honor Oak, London, S.E., England, December 16, 1916.

Davidson was one of the most vigorous champions with his trenchant pen of the oppressed land peasants and labourers. For a number of years he was the foremost writer for "*Reynolds's Newspaper*." Radical thinking people all over the English-speaking world used eagerly to read his famous "Politics for the People," which were a feature of "Reynolds's," and gave it an international standing.

Davidson was both a Republican and Anti-Authoritatian in character. In his later writings and years he became strongly Anti-statist and Anarchist, wrapped up in the ideals of Tolstoi.

Davidson, as a boy, was not physically vigorous, but what nature lacked in that way was made up by mental activity. We find him at the age of 16 years obtaining a scholarship by public competition, which enabled him to enter Aberdeen University. He was not long there before he collided with authority in the shape of one of the leading professors, whom he publicly defied. His continuation at the University became impossible.

After leaving the University, he mixed in radical circles, and sympathised with the "Patriotic Poles" when they insurrected in the year 1863, in order to make Poland a nation. He endeavoured to join them. Davidson was only 20 years of age at this time. Those at the head of the Polish Insurrection refused to allow the young liberator to join them. The leaders of it were "National," not Cosmopolitan.

After being discarded by the Poles' leaders, the same year he returned to Scotia (1863) and married Rose Fowlie, a girl schoolmate, who afterwards became the devoted mother of 11 children (six girls and five boys). The young couple went to Glasgow, where Davidson became a teacher in several schools. After a time he was appointed headmaster of a school at Berwick. From thence he went to Edinburgh as one of the masters of the famous Circus Place School.

Davidson's heart was not in teaching, and he resolved to try and qualify for the Scottish Bar. He obtained a complete mastery of legal principles, and was a distinguished law student.

In 1869, Davidson began to write for the newspapers. His first contributions appeared in the *Peterhead Sentinel* as leaders. Later he was leading writer to the *Daily Review* of Edinburgh, and subsequently editor.

When Davidson came to London he entered at the middle temple, and was called to the English Bar in the year 1877.

In the year 1880 he visited the Western States of America, notably Montana and Nevada, investigating cattle-ranching and mining, for a syndicate of British journals. His "Letters from the Far West" attracted much attention from their vigorous setting and practical character. The then President, Rutherford B. Hayes, the leading statesmen and literary men of the United States, entertained and received him with utmost consideration.

On his return to Britain, Davidson became hon. secretary of the People's League for the Abolition of the House of Lords. In *Reynolds's Newspaper* he published his famous "The Book of Lords."

To the *Weekly Times and Echo* Davidson contributed his most successful work, "The Old Order and the New," introducing the five periods of human servitude.

For *Reynolds's Newspaper*, Davidson wrote

"The New Book of Kings," the "Annals of Toil," "Scotia Rediviva," and his great historical research work, "The Book of Erin."

For the *Weekly Despatch* he wrote "Eminent Radicals in Parliament," "Apostles of Democracy" and numerous other essays.

These serial works were reprinted and circulated widely in book-form.

It cannot be said that Davidson pursued a logical or a consistent course. He was Liberal and Radical. His outlook was anti-authorian and therefore, Anarchist. He was not opposed to revolutionary struggle, but he favoured all reformist courses. His view of Jesus as a man and a master agitator, a genius of Freedom, was much opposed to the approach of his agnostic friends. He tolerated what he felt was their ironies and frivolous cynicisms and blasphemies with a shrewd and humorous tolerance. We remember many discussions between him and Ernest Pack, whose forte was ridicule. Pack used to describe Davidson's *The Gospel of the Poor* as *The Gospel on the Floor.*

War—and the First Christians

By Rev. F. M. AMPHLETT MICKLEWRIGHT, M.A.

[*The Early Christian Attitude To War*, by the Rev. C. J. Cadoux, D.D. (Allen & Unwin, 1940, 5s. 0d.)

Who's Who records that Professor Cadoux was born at Smyrna, Turkey, on May 24, 1883. After mentioning his various posts, it includes in his publications the following works besides the one reviewed by Mr. Micklewright in these columns:—*The Guidance of Jesus for To-day*, 1920; *The Christian Crusade*, 1924; *The Message about the Cross*, 1924; *The Early Church and the World*, 1925; *The Resurrection and Second Advent of Jesus*, 1927; *Catholicism and Christianity*, 1928; *Deuteronomy in Colloquial Speech*, 1932; *Roman Catholicism and Freedom*, 1936; *Ancient Smyrna*, 1937.—Ed.]

This well-known book by Professor C. J. Cadoux was begotten out of the midst of the struggles of the last war. It bears a preface by Dr. W. E. Orchard, whose name will be familiar to those who recall the religious opposition voiced during the four years of conflict. It is essentially a work for the student and scholar but it is now republished at a popular price in order that its message may still be available to those engaged in resisting another universal holocaust. There can be no excuse now for the minister who does not seek to learn the facts which Dr. Cadoux presents in an orderly and scholarly form.

The thesis of the book is quite clear. The preaching of Jesus was a gospel of non-resistance. This teaching transmitted itself to the primitive church and, for many generations, the church was a body predominantly pacifist. The main strand of Christian teaching was represented by Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Hippolutos, who set forth Christianity in terms of extreme peacefulness. Arnobius, Lactantius, Eusebios, adopted the same standpoint. Certain facts underline this teaching. No Christian soldier is known to have existed between A.D. 50 and 170. Later on, a certain number filtered in but Tertullian advised baptized Christians to leave the army as the profession of soldier was difficult to reconcile with their religious creed. To Origen, all war was illegitimate for Christians. It may be claimed in all fairness that there was a long tradition of non-resistance which shaped a good deal of the moral teaching of the primitive church. It was not a mere passivity which condoned evil but a feeling that war was a greater evil than anything which it set out to suppress and that it must not be allowed to divide Christians from Christians.

There were other tendencies which, however, in time proved the stronger. The use of military metaphors by Christian writers from Paul onwards was really non-committal and implied nothing definite but it had dangers of its own. The wars of the Old Testament and the apocalyptic wars of the Maccabaean period led to a feeling that war might, under certain circumstances, be justified and used in the cause of God. The Christian philosophy of the state was uncertain and could be turned to lower ends. There was the practical experience of good in the character of some soldiers. Gradually there was an infiltration of the world into the church. A moral compromise was reached and, from about A.D. 170, the Christian soldier became more and more common. Finally, with the conversion of the Emperor Constantine, in A.D. 313, the pacifist cause was lost to the main body of the Christian Church. It is worth recalling however that it was never entirely forgotten. As the Quaker, Dr. Rufus Jones, has shown in a valuable book, "*The Remnant*," there were many small pacifist sects throughout the Middle Ages. Erasmus revived the primitive Christian attitude to war. It entered Protestantism through the Anabaptists of Munster. In spite of its apparent defeat, it was never wholly lost.

From one point of view, Dr. Cadoux's book is a learned historical study. It is an arsenal of fact which no student of Christian morals or of early Church history can afford to neglect. It has never been answered nor have its facts ever been disproved. But it is also a warning to the Christian of the present time and a challenge that he should clarify his views on the matter. The Archbishop of Canterbury has recently allowed that the pacifist has a place within the Christian Church and cannot be displaced as a heretic. The Pacifist reply is not to seek to coerce every Christian to take his point of view. It is to make clear that the church is a comprehensive body in the sense defined by the Archbishop. It is the duty of the Pacifist to illustrate his views as the more ancient in the church and to show that the non-Pacifist Christian is, in reality, the stranger within the gate. Likewise, he has a right to demand that the Church should safeguard itself against the dangers which, in the first Christian centuries, led to the lowering of the standard upon the whole question of force and war.

The first and obvious lesson is that the Christian must be firm in his highest loyalty. It is not without significance that the period which saw the lowering of standards over war and the Christian attitude to it likewise saw a departure when Christians started to appeal to the Roman law courts in disputes with fellow-Christians. This was the case at the end of the third century when the Church sought to expel an undesirable bishop, Paul of Samosata, and to regain possession of the Episcopal residence. A confusion had arisen with regard to the relative positions of Church and world. It is a confusion which still continues. The average Christian is not a conscious hypocrite who seeks lower standards than those which he professes with his lips. He is a man who has got himself into a moral muddle. He has not made up his mind upon a question of divided loyalties. The many moves made within recent years to secure a coherent Christian philosophy of the state are to be welcomed. They are the necessary preliminary steps in the solution of a difficult moral problem. But the Christian of to-day would do well to recall that the Church lost its original moral impetus by neglecting to retain a distinction between the implications of its membership and the claims of the secular state. By merging the one into the other, it caused an entanglement which has continued until this day..

Likewise, the use of military metaphors in the early Church was a source of weakness. This has continued until the present day. Helen Waddell's work, "*Mediaeval Latin Lyrics*" contains many examples of verse, beautiful and touching in itself, but of definite military methaphor. Popular hymns, such as "Onward, Christian Soldiers" or "Soldiers of Christ, arise." fall into the same error. The result is that they tend to become regarded as fact rather than analogy and allow the evolution of idea of the Christian soldier and the identification of Christianity and militarism. There are indications that a better day is dawning. Such a hymn-book as the late Dr. Dearmer's "*Songs of Praise*" not only reaches a high standard of verse. It eschews many of the trite and warlike metaphors of Mediaeval and mid-Victorian hymnology. But the point must be pressed. Because Paul talked of "the whole armour of God" and soldiers of Christ, it does not excuse the continued use of such metaphors. Pauline theology has certain obvious meanings. The meaning of the more trite hymnology is not always so clear.

The background of religion contains large areas which have been coloured by war. The wars of the Old Testament and those of the Maccabaean period were of religious purpose. At this distance of time, it is clearly impossible to discern how far they were analogous to the Crusades in whitewashing lower motives, such as the seizure of land or mere plundering. But, even if it be assumed that they were fought from the highest motives, it neither discredits religion nor does it justify war to-day. Every progressive religious thinker, from Principal Caird to Alfred Loisy, would agree that religion is a growth and an evolution. The grown man cannot be forced back into his cradle. Moral perception has likewise evolved and it would be a slur on Christian thought of the present time if it had not outgrown and developed beyond Old Testament conceptions of the purposes of God. If these old-time conflicts be used to justify war to-day, it merely implies that the exponent of such an argument has not grown up, whether in his religious insight or his moral perceptions.

In a useful work, "*The Moral Damage of War*," the late Dr. Walter Walsh quoted the eulogy of the Christian soldier of to-day by the former Chaplain-General to the Forces, Bishop Taylor Smith. He showed how it was just so much humbug and cant. The profession of soldier is all but impossible to reconcile with the earliest or purest forms of Christian discipleship. It is impossible to conceive of a sudden revolution which will eject all non-Pacifists from Christian bodies. Indeed, it would not be desirable. The Church is not a home of the elect. It is a school for those who are striving to be better. But there is a moral duty laid upon the Christian teacher to enforce the lesson that Christianity, both in its primitive state and at the moments of its highest moral perception, has always denied war as a rightful method of settling disputes and the profession of the soldier as suitable work which a Christian can adopt. The lesson needs to be enforced that the non-Pacifist Christian, who is sincerely seeking the light of truth, has put himself to school in a tolerant community whose highest forms teach the duty of non-resistance and the power of non-violence. He is the new-comer and this is a fact which makes non-Pacifist attacks on Pacifist ministers from within the Church particularly out of place.

A fact of vast importance emerges from the whole discussion. Modern war is totalitarism and the conscription of the nation by the state is a necessity in order that it may be waged successfully. At the same time, Christianity teaches the supremacy of the moral conscience as of the individual. It views the individual personality as of supreme worth and does not put the claims of the state above it. Its social teaching of "the Kingdom of God" and the righteous society does not overrule this view of conscience and of personality. It remained unaffected by the great Augustinean apostacy which identified the Kingdom of God with the Catholic Church as it exists here and now. The Christian Church must stand in opposition to anything which implies the conscription of the individual conscience, whether it be in the interests of "Right" or of "Left," whether it be a temporary expedient or a permanent demand. It is therefore committed in theory to an opposition to the conscription policy of the government. It is likewise opposed of necessity to modern warfare which must deny the Christian view of man not only from other causes but by the denial of freedom implied in its totalitarianism.

There are many approaches to this question, such as the moral and the doctrinal. But the historical is of equal importance and, for those who desire to assess the matter from this angle, we cannot do more than commend Dr. Cadoux's excellent book.

LEO TOLSTOY'S

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DID THE TORY PATRIOTS LISTEN?

Did the Tory patriots listen to the United Socialist Movement in 1936?
Did they listen when the Tory Prime Minister aided Fascism and Nazism to make war on democracy?
The Tory Premier then made the present world war inevitable—and the United Socialist Movement appealed in vain!
And now—what was sown in Barcelona is being reaped in London, Coventry, Birmingham, etc.

[We have reproduced in *The Word* leaflets Nos. 4, 6, and 10, of the *Regeneracion* series. We now publish No. 11. This open letter was reprinted by *The Workers Monthly*, a local Labour Party paper, published at Guildford, in its issue for November, 1936].

REGENERACION!! **Workers' Papers and Organisations are asked to reprint and to circulate widely this open letter.**

No. 11. August 26, 1936. Sub. Voluntary.

THE CONSPIRACY AGAINST SPAIN. RECALL PARLIAMENT! RESIGN!

Being an open letter to The Rt. Hon. Stanley Baldwin, M.P., H.M. Principal Secretary of State for Great Britain.

Sir,

This is the sixth week of the civil war in Spain. During the whole of this period Parliament has been on holiday. No attempt has been made to recall the House of Commons which should be in continuous session at this period of European crisis. This fact censures not only you as Prime Minister but also the leader of the Opposition and every M.P.

It is true that your government, like that of Belgium, France, and Switzerland, has agreed to neutrality and actually implemented an embargo. This action recognises both sides as belligerents and is therefore a blow to the authority of the recognised government of Spain. There is reason to suspect that this embargo does not operate against the Fascist rebels but only against the properly constituted government. Such conduct is entirely contrary to the law of nations and in direct conflict with the will of the British people. Arms should and must be supplied to the government of Spain and none to the insurgents. That is the will of the common people of Great Britain.

Your government agreed to neutrality after much delay. Meantime, the Fascist governments of Italy and Germany, to your knowledge, were arming and equipping Franco and his Moorish and alien armies with airplanes and all the requirements and machinery of war. For six weeks the government of Spain has been starved and its enemies equipped. I cannot congratulate you, sir, on our neutrality, which seems to my mind to be so much calculated diplomatic hyprocrisy, and destined to bring His Majesty's Government into deserved contempt.

The Italian and German governments have agreed (sic) to neutrality, but have made it clear that they will not permit a Socialist government in Spain. Soon after the outbreak of civil war, the Portuguese Foreign Minister visited London and was received at the Foreign Office. It was announced that he insisted that Portugal would not stand for a Red Spain. The present government of Portugal is a Fascist one. Under these circumstances what becomes of your pose of neutrality?

The German government states that she has not dropped the Kamerun incident, when a Spanish cruiser insisted on stopping the German boat; and maintains a hypocritical protest against the very proper seizure by the Spanish government of a German transport plane in Madrid. *The Kamerun was engaged in supplying oil and munitions to the insurgents.* In the issue for August 25, the *News Chronicle* special correspondent published an account of a visit he paid to Lisbon. He saw the Kamerun unloading her cargo of 1,800 tons of "agricultural machinery" and "sanitary supplies" alongside the Santa Polonia Quay. Another cargo was unloaded at Lisbon from the German steamer Wisbert, containing arms and oil. No customs officers were present and Portuguese artillerymen watched the unloading. The cargoes were placed on boxed cars on the quayside. Twenty three of these left for Badajos and Salamanca on August 22, and thirty were dispatched two days later. The *News Chronicle* correspondent discovered that *the General Headquarters of the Spanish military rebellion operates in Lisbon.* This headquarters is in active relations with the Portuguese government while the Embassy of the Spanish Government is in a state of siege and cut off from Madrid. Your government received the Portuguese Foreign Minister and gave him assurances. Is it going too far to conclude that the National Government, of which you are the head is engaged in an actual conspiracy to overthrow the government of Spain, and to replace it by a Fascist dictatorship? Your conduct is involving European violence and revolution.

Your government has permitted Campbell Black and Cathcart Jones to engage in commercial adventures for the rebels. The supine Popular Front Government of France and the futile counter-revolutionary government of Russia — more distinguished for murdering Socialists at home than aiding Socialism abroad —insist on their neutrality. Which again confers equal status on the rebels and the govern-

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Regeneracion!! WORKERS' PAPERS AND ORGANISATIONS ARE ASKED TO REPRINT AND TO CIRCULATE WIDELY THIS OPEN LETTER.

No.11. August 26, 1936. Sub: Voluntary.

THE CONSPIRACY AGAINST SPAIN.

RECALL PARLIAMENT! RESIGN!

BEING AN OPEN LETTER TO THE RT. HON. STANLEY BALDWIN, M.P., H.M. PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE FOR GREAT BRITAIN.

Sir,

This is the sixth week of the civil war in Spain. During the whole of this period Parliament has been on holiday. No attempt has been made to recall the House of Commons which should be in continuous session at this period of European crisis. This fact censures not only you as Prime Minister but also the leader of the Opposition and every M.P.

United Socialist Movement Leaflet Against Fascism.

Issued August 1936. Title and opening sentences. Reproduction is a little smaller than the original typed leaflet.

Concluding portion same leaflet.

With these precedents before you I request, as a citizen, that either you support the recognised and legally elected and properly constituted government of Spain or resign immediately.

In the cause of Democracy, I have the honour to be, Sir, your opponent,

Guy A Aldred

.....

We wish to circulate 250,000 copies of this open letter to Baldwin. A copy will be sent to every M.P. Quantities will be supplied to every section of the Labour and Socialist Movement at little more than cost of postage. Immediate financial help is required to do this. The 1847 discussion in parliament on the duty of the British government to uphold materially and with arms an established government against its rebels will be published later. From all over the country requests are pouring in for issues out of print. Our desire is to collect and print in pamphlet form for wide circulation all these leaflets. Send your donation to our 2,000 shillings fund now. Action in Britain aids the Spanish struggle. Send donations to G. Aldred, 145, Queen St., Glasgow. All donations will be acknowledged in the next issue.

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Issued by G. A. Aldred, on behalf of the U.S.M, 71 Stirling Rd., Glasgow

.....

ment. This neutrality is a crime against democracy, an offence against the law of nations, and an outrage to Spain. I therefore urge the recall of Parliament, its immediate dissolution and an appeal to the electorate. I ask the citizens to transform their political associations into public vigilant committees and to see that the Government of Spain is recognised and supported in its heroic democratic struggle against Fascist banditism. I ask the workers' industrial organisations to prepare for a general strike to enforce the will of the people.

The mind of a statesman revels in precedents. Let me call your attention to precedents for intervention on behalf of an established government against its rebels. These precedents relate to the affairs of Spain and Portugal and occurred under the ministries of Canning and Russell.

George Canning was Foreign Minister, 1822-1827, and Prime Minister, April to August, 1827. In 1822 he shilly-shallied in his attempt to defend the constitution of Spain, with the result that France was permitted to do police duty in her own interests and Fernando VII was enabled to overthrow the 1814 constitution of the Cortes and reassert his despotic power by the aid of French bayonets in 1823. A year later Canning recognised the independence of the revolted Spanish colonies and treated them as separate nations. Canning was definite in the matter of Portugal and supported the government against rebellion aided by foreign armies. In 1826, he sent a British force to Lisbon to uphold the constitutional power against the reactionary despotic movement supported by France and assisted by direct intervention by Russia, Prussia and Austria. Canning resolutely opposed a *coup d'etat* such as Franco is attempting to-day, although menaced by an European coalition of reaction.

Britain concerned herself again with the affairs of Portugal in 1833 when a British fleet maintained the infant queen Maria on her throne and crushed the rebel fleet. Maria remained ruler until 1853 and there were constant insurrections to demand the democratic constitution that the people had formulated in 1824. Maintaining that Britain must uphold an established and legally constituted government, the first government of Lord John Russell interfered to defend the Portugese crown, knowing it was a reactionary regime, against the constitutional rebels. The British Government avowed its sympathy with the rebels but defended the established regime. This led to much debate in Parliament and I refer you to *Hansard*, 3rd series, vol. XCIII, where, Macaulay participating, this point of supporting the established government of a country as opposed to its rebels is held to be the guiding policy of British politics.

With these precedents before you I request, as a citizen, that either you support the recognised and legally elected and properly constituted government of Spain or resign immediately.

In the cause of Democracy, I have the honour to be, Sir, your opponent.

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Issued by G. A. Aldred, on behalf of the U.S.M., 21 Stirling Road, Glasgow.

STRICKLAND'S ADOPTED SONS

Tamil Students Educated in Europe

[Essays by and on the late Sir Walter W. Strickland, Bt., B.A., have appeared in various issues of *The Word*. Most of these issues are obtainable still. The following essay from our pen appeared in *The Malton Messenger* for August 5, 1939.—Ed.]

At different times during his travels, Sir Walter Strickland drew up Wills. He named various persons known to the Socialist and Freethought movements as his executors. In 1929 he drew up what was intended to be, and as regards its main bequests, proved to be his last Will. In this he named as his executor Dr. Chempakaraman Pillai.

Behind this appointment is the story of Sir Walter Strickland's travels in Ceylon and of his adoption as his sons, as far as that is possible, of two Tamil boys named Pillai. Sir Walter was given to spelling their names differently; in the one case Pillai and in the other case Pillay. His purpose was not only to distinguish between the two youths, but to indicate that they were in no way related. Both seemed to have proved excellent scholars and each met with an untimely end.

Dr. Chempakaraman Pillai, as he afterwards became, belonged to a respectable Tamil Hindu Vellala family in Trivandrum, Travancore State. He was born in 1889 and educated in the Maharaja's High School, Trivandrum. Sir Walter Strickland visited Trivandrum at the time that Chempakaraman was matriculating. He took an interest in the youth and was impressed with his capacity for scholarship. Sir Walter proposed to take him to Europe and educate him at his expense in the universities of Paris and Heidelberg. Sir Walter obtained the consent of Pillai's parents and also those of his maternal grandfather, E. Padmanabba Pillai, his guardian, a retired medical officer of the Travancore Service.

In 1908 Sir Walter left India for Europe and took young Chempakaraman to Naples and then had him admitted in a Civil Engineering College in Switzerland. Why Sir Walter changed his plans and fixed on an engineering career in Switzerland was explained by him fully in his letter dated December 16, 1908, to Pillai's parents and grandfather. When the war broke out in 1914, Chempakaraman was living in Switzerland, where he was closely identified with the Indian Nationalist movement and, apart from his engineering studies and work, was conducting the paper "Pro India," a weekly journal to which Indians and Swiss contributed. He was the President of the "International Committee Pro India" and at the same time a member of a number of political, literary and cultural societies. This activity met with Sir Walter Strickland's full endorsement because of Strickland's opposition to imperialism and his belief in the right of self-government in India.

Representative in Berlin.

In 1914-15, Pillai went to Berlin and settled down at Charlottenburg, first at Goethestrasse and later at Jaochimstrasse. In 1919, when the war came to an end, Pillai concentrated his attention on economic questions with particular reference to India. In 1931, Pillai was appointed by the Federation of the Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industries as their representative in Berlin. He was a master of many languages and he was held in great esteem in political and commercial circles in Germany. A number of Travancore students went to Germany and were organised by Pillai.

Sir Walter Strickland visited Germany after the Armistice. He was acquainted with many German Socialists but slowly parted company with Pillai because of the latter's association with what he termed the reactionary elements. Pillai became more and more identified with the Nazi movement and when he fell ill early in 1934 was closely identified with the propaganda of the Nazis to undermine British Rule in India in favour of the Nazi regime.

Sir Walter Strickland objected to this campaign on the ground that British Rule was objectionable but Nazi Rule was not preferable and Indians had no right to be made the tools of European imperial politics. Pillai died in Berlin during a trepanning operation for tumour on the brain. He actually died on May 26, 1934, which was Strickland's birthday. Lengthy obituary notices of Pillai were published in the German papers and reproduced in the India and Ceylon papers. Reuter broadcast the news of his death throughout the world, so great had become his influence among the Nazis.

Following upon his death, Strickland discovered that Pillai had been responsible for what Strickland deemed the illegal seizure by the Dresdener Bank of Commerce, Berlin, of seven valises belonging to Sir Walter Strickland. These valises contained accounts of Strickland's world travels, his correspondence in several languages with various political characters throughout the world, including the founders of the Czech Republic and Dr. Sun Yat Sen, etc. When Sir Walter wrote to the Bank to return his property, it refused to do so. Pillai, in an evil hour, wholly without Strickland's consent and without his even being informed of it, had placed these valises in the Dresdener Bank instead of forwarding them to the Swiss Bank where Strickland deposited his property. The Dresdener Bank stated that it was impossible to return the valises to Strickland since they had been deposited by Pallai and could only be returned to his heirs. As Strickland said, this meant the appropriation of his property sine die.

At the same time that Sir Walter adopted Chempakaraman Pillai he also adopted the other Pillay boy, who afterwards became Dr. T. P. Pillay and following upon a European education at Sir Walter's expense, obtained various governmental posts in India.

The fate of this youth was described in the London evening newspaper, "The Star," for December 17, 1923. We cannot do better than reproduce the report:—

"MISSING DOCTOR MYSTERY.

"SIR WALTER STRICKLAND'S ADOPTED SON "VANISHED FROM LINER.

"Sir Walter Strickland, Bart., who recently discarded his title, and who is well-known for his Socialistic views, is much worried about the disappearance of his adopted son, Dr. T. P. Pillay, formerly Government mycologist in India.

"Dr. Pillay, in May last, paid a visit to Sir Walter, who is staying in Lower California. He was returning home to Colombo via America and Japan, and cabled to his father-in-law the date on which he would reach Colombo.

"Dr. Pillay's father-in-law is Dr. Sankaramunti Pillay, deputy-surgeon at the Cantonment, Trivandrum, S. India, and Court Physician to the Maharajah of Travancore. When the ship arrived at Colombo, Dr. Pillay's things were on the boat, but he was not there.

"The captain reported that he had no knowledge of Dr. Pillay's whereabouts, and suggested that he may have left the ship at Penang.

Fruitless Enquiries.

"Since then his family have been unable to discover anything concerning his whereabouts, and his wife and two children are greatly upset at his disappearance.

"Sir Walter Strickland has had enquiries made in England and India, and is afraid that his adopted son may have committed suicide from fear of political arrest. In a letter written to Sir Walter from the ship, the Andre Lebon, between Penang and Singapore, Dr. Pillay complained that after leaving Hong Kong a person introduced himself as a Scotland Yard detective and told him it would take him (Pillay) 'a long time to reach Colombo even after leaving Singapore.'

"Dr. Pillay seemed to fear that this meant that some political charge was being framed against him, and spoke of committing suicide if menaced with arrest.

"Sir Walter Strickland describes his adopted son as being 'a charming and socialable companion, and a devoted husband and father,' who was also a most original and gifted naturalist and well-trained man of science. He held totally aloof from any form of politics."

Dr. T. P. Pillay's widow wrote me from India in June, 1939. Since his disappearance in 1923 she has neither heard from nor yet of the missing doctor.

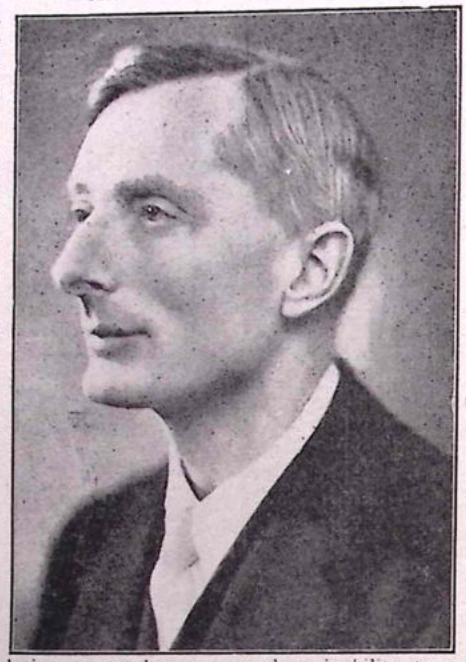
With the death of Dr. Chempakaraman Pillai in 1934 Sir Walter Strickland reappointed me as executor, thus ending a political quarrel which had arisen between us over the question of Socialism in the Soviet Union. In this way I became Sir Walter's executor.

ARE SOCIALISTS RIGHT?

An Examination of Some Criticisms of the Capitalist System

By THE DUKE OF BEDFORD

[*This article has been submitted by the author for publication, in a spirit of democracy. He has requested the editor to reply to its points; and he invites the widest and severest criticism, with a view to speeding the triumph of Truth, and the consequent well-being of humanity.*—Ed.]



One of the main troubles afflicting this country at the present time (September 1940) is the fact that its people are suffering from an overdose of dope, mainly dope in connection with the war; but when hostilities cease and we address ourselves to the task of building a new and, we trust, a better world, it will be above all things necessary to rid our minds of all forms of dope and erroneous thinking. It is because I believe that much of the Left-wing criticism of the Capitalist system contains a considerable amount of faulty reasoning, that I am writing this article, hoping not only to rid the minds of others of certain illusions, but also to have my own mind similarly freed, if able critics can point out to me where I have gone wrong. I should like to add that I have absolutely no bias against people with Left-wing sympathies. Many of them, I know, are very intelligent and sincere and are actuated by the highest motives. It would be well, indeed, for the country if more people of other schools of thought were equally intelligent and had equally fine aims and ideals. Other adherents to a Left-wing philosophy are, again, living under conditions of great and undeserved hardship, the relief of which would be the first task undertaken by an intelligent Government.

What I wish to analyse clearly in my own mind and to assist my readers to analyse clearly in theirs, is the exact amount of harm which one of the most prominent and most criticized features of the Capitalist system, i.e., profit, inevitably does to the economic position of the weekly wage-earner. My own view is that profit, when paid to persons who have done little or nothing to deserve its financial blessings, is unfair to weekly wage-earners mainly in so far as it gives to its recipients a very definite advantage in the matter of acquiring, by purchase, certain articles of a "luxury" character, *the natural supply of which is, and perhaps must always remain, restricted.* If the object of desire be, for example, a bulldog capable of winning prizes at all the leading shows in the country, it is obvious that the man with a large income (who is likely to be the recipient of profits), will be at a great advantage, as far as securing possession of the animal is concerned, by comparison with the weekly wage-earner of more moderate means.

My Socialist friends will, however, agree with me when I say that inability to compete on equal terms in the matter of acquiring prize bulldogs and similar things, is not regarded by critics of the Capitalist system as one of the *most* important burdens which it imposes upon the poor!* These other burdens, as I hope to show, are, however, not imposed by the Capitalist system, per se, at all, if we define "Capitalism" as a system which permits the private ownership of land and industry and also production for profit.

Nearly four fifths of the evils popularly ascribed to Capitalism as above defined are in reality due to the defective monetary system; to out-of-date ideas on the subject of income in relation to employment; and to inability to see that the deserving unemployed can, and should, be supported, adequately, with money not derived from taxation. This is not the place to give a detailed description of the monetary system, although it is by far the most important factor in the economic field—more important, even, than the so-called greater realities of the physical production of goods and services, *because it is allowed to control them and, for good or evil, in every civilized community will continue to control them whatever theoretical economists may say or think.* Unfortunately, however, the ignorance which prevails in regard to the monetary system, even among Left-wing reformers, is not only collossal but also to a great extent wilful and obstinate. Apparently they do not *want* to study or understand it, fearing that if they do so they may be compelled to abandon, or modify, some of their most cherished Socialist or Communist theories. Mankind may to a great extent be divided into two classes: those who cling to error because the acceptance of new truth would interfere with their privileges; and those who cling to error because the acceptance of new truth would interfere with their prejudices. I am inclined to think that the latter class does even more harm than the former, not because its attitude of mind is more blameworthy—in many ways, indeed, it may be less blameworthy and more understandable—but because its members are far more numerous! Among those who would build a new world, however, there can be no place for men and women who hate and reject new truth, whatever may be their reasons for doing so.

The main defects in the monetary system, which are among the fundamental causes of evils popularly ascribed to Capitalism, are the non-regulation of the money supply by the maximum output and import or real wealth in the form of desired goods and services; the creation of money solely to enable banks to buy gold, purchase themselves Securities and make loans, and for no other purposes whatever; and the practice whereby the State obtains its revenue by taxation and by borrowing at interest, either new money created by the banks, or existing sums of money lent to it by the general public. Under a sensible system a large sum of new money would be created annually, not for lending at interest, but for spending. The total amount would be regulated by the country's production and import of real wealth and of this total the State would earmark for its own use whatever percentage was required to pay for its services, finance useful projects, or provide incomes for certain classes of deserving people including the unemployed. Taxation would be employed for one purpose only—the collection, for cancellation and destruction, of money which, if left permanently in circulation, would eventually pile up and cause inflation, inflation being a state of affairs where there is more money than can be backed by desired goods and services.

We now come to consider the harm done by out-of-date ideas on the subject of income in relation to employment and, by what is sometimes termed by progressive economists, the "work-complex." In the matter of the work-complex, the adherents both of Left and Right-wing policies are to a great extent, in a strange and hideous accord of error, the only difference being that, whereas the Right-wing supporters believe that everyone, in order to be entitled to receive an income, should be employed on paid work with the exception of a privileged few, the Left-wing supporters would permit no exceptions whatever, save of course in the case of persons who are physically unfit. What builders of the new world need to get into their heads, however, is the fact—a very startling and even unwelcome fact to many—that the "no work, no income" maxim began to get out of date when the first labour-saving machine was invented and has been getting steadily more and more out of date ever since. Far from it being the case that no one should receive an income for which he has not worked, we are gradually approaching a day when everyone should receive, anyhow as part of his income, money which he has not, in the strict sense, "earned." The reason is that to an increasing extent all members of a civilized community are recipients of "unearned" wealth or amenities, partly as a result of the work of scientists and inventors who are now dead, and partly as a result of the natural forces of heat, electricity, etc., which have been harnessed in man's service and which now perform, to a colossal and ever-increasing extent, the tasks formerly carried out by the strength of human muscles and the muscles of domestic animals.

For example, a new multiple automatic drilling machine with eight men has been estimated to do the work of two thousand men, each operating a single drilling machine.

The largest modern turbine in the United States had, some years ago, a capacity of 30,000 horse-power—that is to say, three million times the energy of a man on an eight-hour basis. Hence its total energy equalled that of nine million men, and four of such turbines would have a greater energy capacity than the entire working population of the U.S.A.

Facts like these cannot fail to produce an absolutely revolutionary effect, and it is one to the full significance of which very few people are yet awake.

Of course when asking Left-wing thinkers and others to accept what at first may appear to many of them to be the truly dreadful and immoral maxim that people are entitled to incomes which they have not earned, and when asking them to believe that the permanent provision of paid work for everyone is not a possible ultimate goal, I realise that there are a number of important qualifications and modifications which must be added. Even if paid work for all be not a permanent possibility, *useful creative occupation for all* is both possible and morally necessary. Some of the finest work, however, done even under the present system, is unpaid work, and to those whose leisure is adequately endowed from a financial standpoint, arts, crafts, hobbies, research, etc., will always provide useful fields of service of the community, especially when improved education (again calling for more money) provides the right mental and spiritual equipment.

Again, new inventions meeting new desires tend to create fresh employment and to slow down the effect of the general labour-destroying tendency of modern machinery. Reduction of hours can, and should, enable employment to be spread more widely, but there is little chance of

Note.—*If a war were continued until the bulk of the working population had been killed; most of the industrial plant destroyed; or most of the raw materials used up; a *true* shortage even of the essential commodities might arise, a situation that would have to be dealt with by rationing combined with the provision of sufficient money to enable the poor to buy their full ration. By way of contrast to this "true" shortage we have the artificial shortage of normal peace time which is due solely to lack of money.

a widespread reduction of hours unless an increase in the money supply enables consumers to meet, in prices, the increased wage-costs due to the taking on of more employees at the same rate of pay for the same output.

After the war, not only will there be war damage to be made good, but also an enormous arrears of work held up on account of the war, and these two factors, together, may temporarily reduce unemployment to an extent which it is difficult to forsee exactly. But do not let us run away from the fact that this reduction, however great, can only be temporary. You cannot introduce labour-saving devices and not expect to save labour, and the process of labour-saving will continue until a point is reached when further reduction of hours to ensure work for all must involve inconvenience and absurdity. We are compelled, therefore, to reach this very important conclusion, that if half-a-dozen men operating a machine for short hours and under ideal conditions can produce enough goods for one hundred men, the ninety-four as well as the six must be given enough money to buy their share of the goods. This arrangement need not in any way preclude giving the six workers extra money as a reward for their services nor need it prevent persons known to be refusing work for which they are still needed from being disqualified from receipt of income, if such coercion be necessary in order to discourage idleness.

With these somewhat lengthy introductory remarks, we can now approach the main point of our enquiry, which I can sum up as being the claim often made by Left-wing speakers and writers that the sum of money retained by Capitalist employers and investors in the form of profits deprives weekly wage-earners of goods to the same value and is the main cause of the widespread poverty, distress and inequality of economic opportunity which we see around us.

When an employer or an investor receives money, there are four things he may do with it: he may hoard it; he may invest it in Government Securities; he may invest it in industry; or he may spend it.

If he hoards it, in spite of the eulogy of thrift which we so constantly hear, he is, for the time being at any rate, performing an anti-social act, for hoarded money gives no employment and assists in the satisfaction of no human need. The number of misers, however, who simply hoard their money, is too small to constitute an economic problem of any importance.

If the recipient of profits invests his money in Government Securities, he also performs an anti-social act, although the dope propaganda of Finance and of war governments may seek to deceive us into believing the contrary.

As indicated earlier in the present article, the State should not, and need not, borrow any money at all, nor encourage either private individuals or banks to lend it money. It should earmark for its own use whatever percentage of an annual debt-free creation of money it really requires, using taxation only as a means of collecting, for destruction, surplus money for the prevention of inflation. Although Government Securities are represented as being, not only a patriotic form of investment, but also an extremely safe one, they are, in point of fact, an arrangement which is both stupid and parasitic and one which can have no place in an enlightened order of things. Government Securities are a foolish and parasitic form of investment, because the interest on them is paid out of *taxation*. In so far, therefore, as a holder of Government Securities is also a taxpayer, the State is taking away from him with one hand the money which it is handing back to him with the other. He would, in fact, be just as well off if he had no taxation and received no interest on his Government Bonds! No wonder Government Securities are a "safe" investment—they are just as "safe," sure and regular as the taxation which provides them!

In so far as holders of Government Securities are *not* also taxpayers, one section of the community is being increasingly burdened with taxes to collect a tribute of interest to be paid to another section. This tribute is particularly unfair when it is paid to banks, which possess the right, within certain fairly wide limits, of creating, by a stroke of the pen, *new* money herewith to buy themselves Securities.

The best way, however, of dealing with the investment of profits, in Government Securities, is to do away with the National Debt and the Government Securities themselves, as being a most pernicious and socially useless form of investment, not only for profits, but for all other money as well. This is a reform which can be accomplished without any difficulty whatever and without robbing any investor of the money which he earned or acquired in a normal way and used to purchase his holdings of Government Stock.

If the recipient of profits invests his money in industry, he does, it is true, under the present system, create a shortage of purchasing-power for goods (usually consumable goods) to the sum so treated. This, however, as I shall proceed to show, is not his fault, nor is the investment necessarily an anti-social act. The trouble which arises is the fault of the monetary system. When a person invests money in industry, that money is paid out for various purposes, including wages, to finance an increase in the production of goods or services, and, seeing that the investor will hope to receive a return for his investment, *goods or services which the public are likely to require*. Now there is absolutely nothing harmful or anti-social about financing an additional output of goods or services if they are of a kind which the people of the country desire, but when new goods and services are put on the market, *additional to the regular output, new money must be created and put straight into consumers' pockets to enable them to buy that additional output*. If this is not done, money formerly used to buy the regular output will be diverted to buy the new goods or services, and the industries concerned with producing the regular output will suffer. *The creation of new money solely for the purpose of financing the consumption of new goods, the present monetary system does not, however, permit.*

Incidentally, seeing that this article aims at the de-bunking of some popular fallacies, it may be well to point out that the idea that the Capitalist recipients of profits invest their money because they "cannot" spend their incomes, has little foundation in fact. Human desires and interest and the capacity of modern civilization to meet them are alike so vast that no one, if he desires to do so, is likely to experience much difficulty in spending even the largest sums, either on his own interests, or on the promotion of human welfare.

Finally, the recipient of profits may spend the money he receives. Here we come up against the most devastating Left-wing fallacy. It seems to be almost always assumed that when the recipient of profits spends his money, in some way or other he personally consumes and devours either the whole of the money or the whole of its equivalent in goods and services, or both, *without in any way assisting other and poorer people to relieve their needs*. Nothing, however, is further from the truth. Let us take as an example the case of a recipient of profits who uses a large sum of money to buy an expensive car. When he pays for the car, automatically he starts a process whereby the money is broken up and widely redistributed, enabling innumerable persons, very many of them belonging to the poorer classes, to satisfy their needs. The money goes, in varying proportions, to all who are engaged in the car industry, and from the car industry to those ancillary industries which supply the materials from which cars are made. In process of time, also, the money travels further, reach-those engaged in the car industry and the ancillary industries and, via the retailers, the money passes to the middlemen and primary producers who supply them with goods. It may be objected that a considerable proportion of the money paid for the car goes as profits to the owners of the car industry, but this money, again, will be subdivided as soon as it is spent. The total charge which the recipient of profits has been enabled to levy on the community amounts therefore to one car which he has been in a position to induce it to provide for his benefit; *but he has not been able to make this charge without handing back to a large number of other members of the community the means of satisfying their own needs.*

Now when the object of purchase was a prize bulldog, we saw that the recipient of profits was able, by what he secured for his money, to prevent other people from gaining possession of a similar object, owing to the inevitable extreme scarcity of prize bulldogs. If, therefore, a critic of the Capitalist system were to maintain that this is unfair to the poorer man who may be an equally enthusiastic bulldog fancier, I would not venture to dispute the justice of his opinion and would study with interest any recommendations he might make for the fairer assignment of prize bulldogs. But if the critic went on to claim that the same argument holds good in regard to cars and thousands of other articles which form the necessaries or ordinary amenities of civilized existence, I should be compelled to tell him that he was talking through his hat. In peace time, at any rate, there is sufficient raw material, labour and industrial plant available to make a car for everybody who wants one, *provided he has a sufficient amount of money to pay for it*, nor is there any lack of desire on the part of those engaged in the car industry to meet an increased demand, so long as the price does not fall from lack of money in consumers' pockets.* And why should there be any lack of money? There is no physical limit to the amount of money which can easily be created and new money for the purchase of cars would not be inflationary, seeing that we are assuming that the real wealth, i.e., the cars, would be available to back the new money and give it value. It has been pointed out, also, that there is a fairly strict physical limit to the amount of things which any one human can consume personally. He cannot sleep in more than one bed at a time; nor wear more than one suit of clothes at a time; nor can he eat more than one dinner without risk of indigestion; and in the age of potential abundance in which we live, when industry can produce on so large a scale, while there may be a *moral* problem connected with the right of certain individuals who receive large profits to arrange what one may term "first direction" of these sums of money, *there is no serious economic problem at all which is really due to this cause.*

What has been said with regard to the employer or investor receiving profits, applies also to a very great extent to the landlord receiving rent. If the landlord spends his rent money, or if he invests it in industry, he must, willy nilly, to a great extent restore it to rent-payers. Keeping land required for a socially desirable purpose unutilized, in the hope of selling it at some future date at an increased price, is undoubtedly an evil comparable to the hoarding of money and legislation may be desirable to deal with it; but again it is not so common a practice as to create an economic problem of any importance and it would probably be even less common under a system where the supply of money was adequate. The main reason why people lack the goods which can be produced from land is not that selfish landlords keep it out of use. *It is that so many persons lack the money to pay a fair price for the goods which could be obtained from land where no barrier to increased production even now exists.* In spite of the growth of the world's population and of widespread damage done to land in certain foreign countries by improvident and foolish methods of agriculture, there is still a tendency (which may become more marked when certain very recent scientific discoveries, promising phenomenal results, have been given a fuller trial), for it to be possible for the world's total requirements in respect of food to be produced from a smaller area of ground rather than a larger one. Before the war, adverse criticism was often passed in regard to the large increase of British land which was being used for pasture and sometimes neglected pasture at that. While not denying that the criticism had a considerable amount of justification, I would remind readers that in a sane world-economy

*I am ignoring the traffic problem which a multiplicity of cars might create as this is irrelevant to the main argument.

the different agricultural products required for the world's consumption would be produced in those parts of the world, and those parts only, where they could be brought into being with the minimum of labour and expense and possessing the highest standard of quality. It is, for example, foolish to struggle with an adverse soil and climate to produce, laboriously and expensively, indifferent crops or livestock on a Highland deer forest, if *all* that we need in the way of corn and meat can be imported from Australia or Canada or grown and raised in the more fertile portions of our own land.

In conclusion, we may examine certain economic and social evils or injustices which are popularly supposed to be inseperable from the Capitalist system, but which, in reality, are due to defects in the monetary system and to the work-complex. The complaint is often made that the power and advantage enjoyed by the Capitalist employer who receives profit enables him to compel the weekly wage-earner to choose between unemployment and semi-starvation and the acceptance of a hard, dangerous, unhealthy and probably ill-paid job. Furthermore, it is claimed that employers cut the wages of their work-people to the lowest minimum in order to increase their profits and that they even like to maintain a large body of unemployed as a kind of reservoir for cheap labour.

Under a reformed financial system, however, which created and issued to consumers an adequate supply of money, no employer would be able to compel his work-people to accept bad conditions or unreasonably low rates of pay. At the present time if it be suggested to an employer that he should reduce hours and take on more work-people, he may reply, and in some cases with considerable justice, that he cannot afford to do so, because, if he increased his prices by adding to his wage-costs he would no longer be able to sell his goods. He may raise a similar objection to the suggestion that he should increase his rates of pay, adding, perhaps, that he cannot do so at the expense of his profits as his rate of profit is already cut as low as he can afford. If it be suggested to an employer that he should carry out certain structual alterations in his works for the greater safety or better health of his employees, he may again reply that he cannot afford to do this since his credit for new capital expenditure is already strained to the uttermost. None of these objections, however, need be accepted by the State under a reformed financial system. The State would say to the employer "You can perfectly well afford to take on more workpeople, as, even if you do have to increase your prices, we are arranging that your customers shall have enough money to meet the increase. The same argument applies if we require you to pay better wages. With regard to structural alterations in the interests of the health and safety of your employees, if you can show us that you really cannot afford to execute these at your own expense, we will arrange to lend you the necessary money on extremely reasonable terms, possibly with no interest-charge at all."

The power of the weekly wage-earner to stand out indefinitely against a bad employer would also become immensely strong. It will be remembered that the deserving unemployed would be maintained in comfort with money not obtained from the taxpayer, and the definition of a "deserving" unemployed person would be one who was not known to be refusing work for which he was needed; of which he was physically and mentally capable; and the pay and general conditions of which were good. An employer, therefore, who tried to offer jobs in connection with which the pay and conditions were bad, would never get anyone to work for him and would be obliged either to mend his ways or to go out of business.

The above does not pretend to be a comprehensive survey of the entire Capitalist system in all its aspects, nor does it claim to provide adequate answers to every weighty and legitimate criticism. It covers no more ground than it attempts to cover, but such points as are raised are of immense importance and should not be set aside from mere emotional prejudice or a blind loyalty to the doctrines of old-time leaders, which need careful revision in the modern world.

OUR LETTER-BOX

Dear Comrade,—If goodwill be the starting point for world peace, surely all men and women should set about now to make all children firm pacifists. Despite the times the chances are unique. The material is sensitive, reslilient and strong. On this foundation we can build if we will, firm fair structures for world stability. Foresight, faith, and courage would be our allies.

Teachers feel they cannot teach pacifism just now. Do they realise that their very presence in the schoolroom militates against militarism. The very way in which you take a child's hand can move him to rebel, or obey, and many chances occur to "set the points" in a child's mind.

Even if the teacher loses his or her post, the influence remains, and if already friendly with the parents, the pacifist teacher can continue his work for peace. If parents, teachers and writers would but unite, they could form youth movements which could not be adapted to the needs of War; and so great is the dynamic power of truth in the hands of those who are "wise as serpents and harmless as doves," that one can easily hope for the children's newspaper, text books and entertainments provided by the pacifist writer and organiser. For not till the music of pacifism is *ringing* in the ears of youth shall War's "Pied Piper" play for them in vain.

AGNES W. MACKAY.

Liverpool L., September 15, 1940.

Dear Guy Aldred,—To-night, reading *The Word*, the query has again crossed my mind, can a C.O. possibly remain a school teacher? How about teaching the children to sing "God save the king"—send him victorious, etc., etc.—and "Land of Hope and Glory" wider still and wider still our bounds be set?

Hearing of the death of Neville Chamberlain, I am wondering how many men have died since war was declared, either due to a broken heart that war should ever have come again upon us after our promises to those ten million men twenty-five years ago, or to mental strain causing physical illhealth, through supporting the war against the conscience for one reason or another, *e.g.*, lack of courage or love of wife and children.

Yours in Fellowship,

FLORA COLLAR.

Ruskington, Lincs., 10th November, 1940.

Dear Aldred,—Your attitude towards the ethical side of Jesus' life and teaching I regard as extremely valuable. The deification of Jesus has put him on a pedestal where his moral influence has not been effectual.

The modern stress, even by orthodox theologians, of the catastrophic and apocalyptic elements in the Gospels detracts from the moral work of Jesus. Your analysis always seems to me to select these principles which have value in every age.

Conditions here, Sunday work, overtime, and the British totalitarian propaganda make one feel a voice crying in the wilderness. Yet every week that passes seems to make the foul business madder than ever.

Believe me,

Your friend and fellow-worker,

(Rev.) RICHARD LEE.

Coventry, September 27.

Dear Mr. Aldred,—I want to thank you for your pamphlet, "Why Jesus Wept." It is an ingenious, dramatic title and can, I see, be used very effecitvely. I have read it all with interest, most of it, if not all, very familiar ground. That you "invite criticism" shows that you believe you may not be altogether right every time, although at times you verge on the dogmatic and final. I have abjured all finalities and absolutes. The human mind is not geared to deal with them. As Hamlet said they are "Words, words, words."

Trying to assess what you really are by the reading of your booklet, I'll be hanged if I know. It doesn't matter much. Whether you are Anarchist, Atheist, Materialist, Unitarian or heaven knows what, you are on the right road in general.

Atheism and Theism, to me, are futile battles. Someone said that Atheism is simply Fundamentalism turned round. You seem a bit severe on Immortality, and not always consistent. Your opening words are "No man or woman ever became immortal" (whatever immortal means). Then on page 5, "Jesus *is* immortal." Then you give reasons why. But the reasons don't matter in view of your earlier affirmation. I, too, am an admirer of Jesus, but I think you are *too* uncritical of the records which are our sources of Jesus. Mentioning Voysey, whom I used to read with interest, I recall how he said most people, Unitarians too, picked out the nice parts about Jesus and left the others.

Unmistakably, if we take the Gospel records, this Jesus was a revolutionary, taught principles which, if applied, would overthrow society. It is spiritual TNT. Tolstoi was quite right in this respect.

I agree too wth you, that the Hyde Park Secularist of the Old School, is simply ridiculous. Once allow the Bible as a human, very human record of the Jewish people, it is a delightful, as well as a most dramatic text book, or to use a phrase of my own, it is a great Human Picture Gallery of all types which are walking about our streets to-day. Whether the folks actually lived doesn't matter two pins, any more than Antigone or the great Greek heroes. Neither the orthodox nor the heretic has this view of the Bible. Once allow it is a human derived book which took fully a thousand years to accumulate, all the wordy stuff, pro and con, falls to the ground.

However, I must not go on, but you see how provocative your *Jesus Wept* is. I see you were in prison. There is a time when all good men ought to be in prison. I think of a lecture, "The men who have been in prison, and the men who ought to be."

Yours sincerely,

H. J. ADLARD.

Bath, October 24, 1940.

In a letter, dated November 8, Mr. Adlard writes:

"I admire Voysey for his courage; but I see that much of his liberalism was academic and abstract, and that though he was personally human and solicitous, he had no human, social gospel. Man and this world, whatever gods there be, is our First care. Your *Life of Bakunin* is a splendid affair, and to me, I admit, was most informing. Kropotkin I knew, and had read. He was a lovely soul.

"Atheism to me, as far as it interests me, is philosophically unsound. I wont waste time in its defence or attack. Philosophical anarcy has much appeal to me, but I also realise in a complicated machine society, there is need for organisation—Socialism."

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HOW IT HAPPENED

Showing how the Anti-Comintern Pact became the Russo-German Pact.

November 25, 1936.

The Anti-Communist Agreement between Germany and Japan is signed in Berlin.

Von Ribbentrop, German Ambassador to Britain, and Count Mushakoji, Japanese Ambassador to Germany, sign a document whereby their two Governments agree to

"inform one another of the activities of the Communist International, to consult with one another on the necessary preventive measures and to carry these through in collaboration."

Von Ribbentrop warned the Soviet Union in a public statement:

"Japan will not suffer the expansion of Bolshevism in Eastern Asia. Germany is bulwark against this pestilence in the heart of Europe. Finally Italy will carry the anti-Bolshevik banner in the South."

November 6, 1937.

The Anti-Comintern Pact is signed in Rome.

Count Ciano, Herr von Ribbentrop, and the Japanese Ambassador, Mr. Hotta, were the signatories to the new pact.

An official communique issued in Berlin declared:

"The world has shown unmistakably that three great powers, and with them 200,000,000 people, are not prepared to come to terms with Communism nor to relinquish for political or other considerations the vitally essential fight to combat Bolshevism."

March 17, 1938.

On behalf of the Soviet Union, M. Litvinov proposes a conference between France, Britain, U.S.A and U.S.S.R.

Iitvinov states why Germany, Italy, and Japan are not invited. Because:—"*We do not wish to discuss aggression with aggressors.*"

April 7, 1939.

Franco Spain joins the Anti-Comintern Pact. The members now are Germany, Italy, Japan, Manchukuo, Hungary, Spain. The German and Italian Press acclaim this as "the final victory over 'Communism' in Spain."

April 15, 1939..

Anglo-Russian negotiations begin in Moscow.

May 3, 1939.

Litvinov, Soviet Foreign Commissar, resigns.

Molotov becomes Foreign Commissar.

May 6, 1939.

Russian proposals reach London.

military alliance.

May 7, 1939.

The Rome-Berlin axis becomes a formal

May 8, 1939.

Russo-British negotiations in Moscow.

The British Ambassador presents the British counter-proposals in Moscow.

June 2, 1939.

Soviet replies to British counter-proposals.

June 29, 1939.

Zhdanov, of the Soviet Affairs Commission, complains that negotiations have occupied 75 days. 16 days have been taken by the Soviet and 59 by Britain.

July 1, 1939.

New British proposals handed to Moscow.

July 31, 1939.

Announced that Franco-British Military Mission is to go to Moscow to begin staff talks.

August 11, 1939.

Franco-British Military Missions arrive in Moscow. Negotiations begin. Talks postponed for want of plenary powers.

August 19, 1939.

A Russo-German trade pact is announced.

Germany agreed to grant credits to Russia for the purchase of machinery.

August 21, 1939.

Nazis agree to sign a non-aggression pact with Soviet Russia.

August 23, 1939.

Von Ribbentrop flies to Moscow.

He signs the pact the same night.

August 24, 1939.

The terms of the pact are announced.

These were the terms:

"(1) The two contracting powers undertake to refrain from any act of force, any aggressive act and any attacks against each other or in conjunction with any other powers.

"(2) If one of the contracting powers should become the object of warlike action on the part of a third power the other contracting power will in no way support the third power.

"(3) The two Governments will in future remain in consultation with one another in order to inform themselves about questions which touch their common interests.

"(4) Neither of the two contracting powers will join any other group of powers which directly or indirectly is directed against one of the two.

"(4) In case differences or conflict should arise between the two contracting powers on questions of any kind, the two partners will solve these disputes or conflcts exclusively by friendly exchange of views or, if necessary, by arbitration commissions.

"(6) The Agreement is concluded for the duration of ten years, with the stipulation that unless one of the contracting partners gives notice to terminate it one year before its expiration it will automatically be prolonged for five years.

"(7) The present agreement shall be ratified in the shortest possible time. The ratification documents are to be exchanged in Berlin. The Treaty comes into force immediately after it has been signed."

Von Ribbentrop stated:

"The Fuhrer and Stalin have decided for friendship. The non-aggression and consultation pact has established a firm and unshakeable foundation on which both States will build and develop."

Joachim Von Ribbentrop, who flew to Moscow to sign the pact, was born in 1892. He became Nazi Commissioner of Disarmament in 1934. He then became Ambassador at Large and built up an Anti-Communist Front with Japan and Italy. In 1936 he came to London as German Ambassador. He was welcomed by the Tory-Fascist as the champion of Anti-Communism. Until his flight to Moscow on August 23, Ribbentrop was working to change the anti-Comintern pact into a full military alliance.

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STRICKLAND, JAPAN and BUDDHISM

By A. A. MORTON

[The following criticism of Sir Walter Strickland's essay on Buddhism has been addressed to us by Mr. Morton from The Hill House, Surrey. It is published because we believe in full and free discussion and democracy.—*Ed.*]

A copy of the September number of *The Word* has only just come to my hand. I am glad to see that its columns are open to discussion for I should much like to comment on the article "Imperialism in the Orient."

Though I sympathise with Sir Walter Strickland in his strictures on so-called Christianity and its stultifying effect on the moral advancement of its votaries, I claim that his exposition of Buddhism is untrue and unfair. It *is* true that there is a Buddhism that has wandered as far from the ideals of the Buddha as Christianity has from the teaching found in the Christian Gospels. The statesmen of Japan do not represent what real students, or ardent truth-seekers know as Buddhism. That is as rare in Japan as real mysticism, inner spiritual perception, it., in so-called Christian Europe. But it exists.

When Sir Walter says "the Orient is no more" he speaks in a loose manner. It is true that the pernicious materialism of the West has been eagerly assimilated by a parvenue Japan, with irreparable harm to her people. But equally, the coming to the West, since Britain went to India, of knowledge till that time witheld, has undermined the mighty power of that religious mould, the Christian Church the crumbling away of which will be a service to humanity. His picture of Buddhism is a travesty of the real thing, and the crimes and imbecilities laid to its score remain in the imagination of Sir Walter who seems almost wilfully to misrepresent the real teaching of Gautama the latest of the Buddhas, of which I claim he has only touched the fringe. For he is evidently unaware of what Buddhists gave to the world at the end of last century when he says "Buddhism has no idea of evolution," for the "new" teaching of a threefold evolutionary process helped to explode the mouldy. Darwinian ape-man theory now discarded by advanced anthropologists. Nor, in the face of the mass of information then broadcast can it be said that Buddhism is opposed to science, except in the sense of a passive resistance to that materialistic aspect which is insidiously disintegrating modern civilization. For, of real science, the knowledge of realities it holds the keys and can teach a pupil, willing to undergo the ardous preliminary training—and what advanced scientist has not come through such? —short cuts to ends, to reach which materialistic science exhausts its brain power.

One can almost smile at the virulence of the attack on Buddhism, as if the writer were fighting some inner self that once had vision, but had lost it.

"Buddhism in power" is non-existent and Buddhism cannot be compared with that Christianity which *was* in "power" initiating the crusades and other wars. *No war has been made in the name of Buddha*, but crusades, religious persecutions and wars have been waged in the name of Christ, by professing Christians with the sanction of the church. Here is a fundamental difference. Nations whose form of religion has been Buddhism have no doubt fought to defend themselves, may even have fought for supremacy, but not *as* Buddhists. Compare this with, for instance, the Spanish Conquerors who carried the cross as their standard and excuse for delivery unspeakable in the Americas.

While Sir Walter's indictment of so-called religion, whether it be Buddhism of Christianity is not only deserved, but necessary at the present time, this indictment deals only with the outward results coming from religionists who adhere to one form or another, knowing nothing of the

inner fount which has become frozen by priest-craft and mere wordly ambition.

Has Sir Walter probed to the significance of the title of your paper? *The Word* proclaimed by all religions as that which touches the spirit of man to life, that real life-chain which links the invisible to all known and unknown-as-yet LIFE? Volumes could be written on it.

If any of your readers are interested to know what I mean when I say "what Buddhists gave to the world at the end of last century" I shall be very glad to explain the matter.

WELSH ABSOLUTIST

The *Manchester Guardian*, in its issue for August 10 last, published the following report:

"ACT OF COURTESY TO TRIBUNAL

"C.O.'s ATTITUDE.

"From our North Wales Reporter.

"At the North Wales C.O. Tribunal at Wrexham yesterday, Douglas Maurice Wolff, 29, who lives with his wife on a lonely mountain farm near Llangwen, Corwen, said that for four years he had been actively engaged in the propagation of peace ideals. Under the pen-name of Paul Sheridan, by which he was also known, he wrote, without payment, articles for Welsh and English papers on the subject of peace. He said he refused to accept food from a State with which he was in complete disagreement. In 1936 his conscience compelled him to leave the Roman Catholic Church because that church bound him to give aid to the State if and when engaged in war. In answer to questions he was growing his own food.

"Asked what work he was prepared to do for the the State in the present crisis, the applicant said that though his conscience did not stop him from performing humanitarian duties his conscience could not accept any conditions from the Tribunal.

"CHAIRMAN—Why come here then?

"APPLICANT—I have come here as an act of courtesy, and I think it is my duty to avail myself of every opportunity to propagate my views.

"CHAIRMAN—In effect, what you say is this: 'I am going to take advantage of the Court but. I am not going to do anything to carry out the decision of the Court!' You want to have your cake and eat it. To be perfectly consistent you should have ignored the Tribunal and let the law take its course.

"Applicant was registered as a C.O. on condition that he undertook work on the land."

Comrade Wolf has filled in Form C of *The C.O., The Tribunal, and after*, as follows:

"Result of Local Tribunal—

"NAME—Douglas Maurice Wolff, living as, and known as Paul Sheridan.

"The above name, Sheridan, is recognised on my Identity Card, thus: 'D. M. Wolff, commonly known as Paul Sheridan.'

"ADDRESS—'Fron Uchaf,' Ty-Nant, Corwen, N. Wales.

"RESULT OF CASE—Class B Land Work. (Unconditional Exemption demanded).

"YOUR REMARKS ON CONDUCT OF CASE—Fair hearing Judge.

Sir Thomas Artemus Jones (North Wales C.O. Tribunal) said that my case was so logical as to virtually demand that I ignore the Court and make no appearance or acknowledgment whatsoever. His Honour thought that I 'wanted to eat my cake and have it.'

"HAVE YOU APPEALED AND ON WHAT GROUNDS—Yes, most emphatically I have appealed, on the grounds that I hope to make the Judges of the Appellate Tribunal see what the ditto of the Local Tribunal could not, namely, that as a Pacifist it behoves me to take any and every opportunity of broadcasting pacifist views, and particularly take all opportunity of carrying my banner into the camps of those who are most *against* my ideals. I regarded the Local Tribunal as my platform. I shall regard the Appellate Tribunal in the same way for, though I hope to convince the latter where the former refused to be convinced, I am not affected by any possible ups or downs in their final judgment of my conscience. This, my conscience, is my own, intact, God-given, *mine*.

"Secondly, I have appealed on the grounds that there is no individual judgment of cases at the North Wales C.O. Tribunal. All the cases for the afternoon session on the day I attended were examined, six in all, and *then* the judges retired, returning with six verdicts. I consider this *most* undesirable, as important details must inevitably be forgotten as case follows case.

"ANY FURTHER PARTICULARS—No. I have not yet received word to attend my Appellate Tribunal.

"P.S.—It is important to note that though I am using the name Sheridan, I am still registered at the Labour Exchange as D. M. Wolff, and in the name I was examined as a 'conchie.'"

HITLER AND STALIN

Many foolish people objected to the fact that we reprinted in the October *Word* three of Hitler's English Leaflets attacking Bolshevism, without making comment on each leaflet. They overlooked the fact that we reproduced the Bolshevik 1936 denunciation of Hitler in the same issue, also without comment. In the same number, we published two essays under the title, "*Good Neighbours*," exposing the Soviet-Nazi Pact. It must be clear therefore that we did not endorse Hitler's criticisms, but were exposing the Hitler propaganda, and the Hitler-Stalin pact. If the Bolsheviks were serious in their attacks on Hitler, if Hitler was serious in his opposition to Stalin, then the pact ought never to have come into existence. As it is, the parties to the pact are self-exposed as hypocrites. The few remaining issues of the October *Word* ought to be bought up and circulated widely. The Hitler and Bolshevik reprinted essays make sound understanding propaganda.

From the front page of *The Scottish Daily Worker*, for November 11, 1940, we reproduce the following news-gem:

MOLOTOV TO VISIT BERLIN

The following announcement has been made in Moscow:—

On the invitation of the German Government and in answer to last year's trip of German Minister of Foreign Affairs, Von Ribbentrop, to Moscow, the Chairman of the Council of Peoples Commissars, U.S.S.R. and Peoples Commissar of Foreign Affairs, M. Molotov, will visit Berlin in the near future in order, by renewing personal contact, to continue and deepen current exchange and opinions within the framework of friendly relations existing between the two countries.

Study this item—then turn to the manifestos and denunciations reprinted in the October *Word*. Form your own conclusions—and recall the Reichstag fire trial!

'COMRADE' MAISKY

The Soviet Ambassador to Britain was present at the tribute paid in Westminster Abbey to the late Neville Chamberlain. His colleage, Molotov, wined and dined in Berlin with Hitler.

The *Daily Worker*, for Saturday, November 9, carried an advertisement of *The Labour Monthly*, headed, "Soviet Union, War and Peace," and including excerpts from R. P. D's "Notes of the Mouth" in the November issue. Here is one excerpt:

"The revolutionary struggle in this war against Hitler, against Churchill, against all the imperialists, is the struggle of the working people in all countries, the united international struggle, conducted by each people in the first place against their own imperialists

What hypocrisy!

And here is an extract from *The New Leader*, for Thursday, November 7, 1940:

"This story seems to have a moral both for Britain and for Russia.

"In 1912 Maisky, the present Soviet Ambassador, came to this country as a political exile. He travelled (naturally) third class. There was a regulation that third class immigrants could be admitted only if they had £5. Maisky had only £3. But he pleaded that he was a political refugee needing asylum. As proof he produced a letter from the Russian Social Democratic Party. He was admitted.

"The Britain of 1912 was more liberal than the Britain of 1940. And one of the least pleasant features of the Soviet Government, whose members (when they were alive) owed so much to the tradition of asylum, has always been its contempt for that tradition.

"But, of course, 1912 and the days when the exile Maisky had only £3 in his pocket are a long time ago.

"A far cry indeed to the Soviet Ambassador who can afford £1,600 for his private air raid shelter."

Dr. Howard K. Beale, Professor of American History at the University of North Carolina, dealing with conscription in the United States, and the conscientious objectors' clauses, states:

"You can not conquer Hitlerism if you let it conquer you in the process. If at the first step we destroy liberty of conscience, you have already lost the battle for freedom. In Germany such freedom is impossible. In England it has been meticulously preserved in a draft law. I don't want to see America adopt Hitler's method. I want it to adopt the British and true American method."

CYRIL McGOVERN

Cyril M'Govern, 416 Amulree Street, Glasgow, E., son of Mr. John M'Govern, M.P., appeared before the Conscientious Objectors' Appellate Tribunal in Edinburgh on Friday, November 15, and declared that "*if a Government was in power with a real mandate from the people I would support them in a just war.*"

M'Govern appealed against a decision of the local Tribunal in Glasgow that he be removed from the register without qualification.

The appellant declared—"This is not a just war."

He believed that the Spanish Government had a just cause in the struggle against Franco.

Asked whether we in this country should lie down to the aggressor, M'Govern said that in this war both countries were aggressors. They were aggressors in their own interests.

John M'Govern, M.P., father of the appellant, said that if the case was decided against his son "*he is bound to go to prison, and he will go.*"

The war would never have taken place, John M'Govern added, had the selfish interests pooled their resources and called a world conference to distribute these resources.

The Appellate Tribunal registered Cyril M'Govern conditionally, provided he left his employment in the Glasgow Corporation Public Assistance Department, and took up work in agriculture or forestry.

He claimed that the Government did not have a majority of the people of this country behind them in prosecuting the war.

John M'Govern admitted that the case of his son was really a political one, but, from his knowledge of debates in the House of Commons he insisted that provision had been made for a political objector.

SCOTS NATIONALIST C.O. JAILED

A Scottish Nationalist, Ernest Alfred Garden Pirie, c/o Galvin, 65 Garmouth Street, Glasgow, appeared before Sheriff Berry at Glasgow Sheriff Court on Monday, November 18, on a charge of having failed to register under the National Service (Armed Forces) Act, 1939.

Pirie stated that he was a conscientious objector, but had no religious reasons for not registering. "My reasons are purely political," he added.

He submitted that the Act of 1939, under which the charge was brought, applied to Scotland only by implication and reference and that it was contrary to the Treaty of Union.

Officers of the Ministry of Labour and National Service gave evidence. One said that Pirie told him he did not recognise the Armed Forces Act nor did he recognise English law.

The gist of Pirie's statement was that he had no religious grounds against war or national service, but that he made up his mind that because of his political opinions he preferred to go to prison rather than to register.

Witness added that he had ascertained that by trade Pirie was a butcher, so that he did not come within the exempted classes.

A fine of £5, with the option of 30 days' imprisonment, was imposed on Pirie.

Sheriff Berry ordered Pirie to be detained for seven days for the purpose of having him brought to the employment exchange for registration.

Pirie said he was not going to pay the fine.

The point taken against the *National Service* (Armed Forces) Act, 1939, Section 1 and 22 is a sound legal argument. Also, there is a section of the Act, under which Pirie could have been registered by the Ministry of Labour without being jailed. Surely this section ought to have been applied under the circumstances. The result would have been less wasteful in every way.

WHY JESUS WEPT

12 Striking Essays. 150 Ministers of religion have written to the author criticising this work. Their letters will be published. Read and circulate this striking impeachment of complacent orthodoxy. 72 pages. Price 6d., Post Free 8d.

HENRY J. ADLARD

PULPIT LIBERTARIAN

UNITARIAN—ANTI-MILITARIST AND ANTI-FASCIST

In *Letters to the Editor* (*Word Series*, Vol. I, No. 4) we reproduce a letter written to the *Evening Times*, Glasgow, in 1935, urging the need for a common citizenship between the United States of the American and the countries representing the British Commonwealth of Nations. The same view was advanced by the late Sir Walter Strickland and is summarised in one of the essays we contributed to the *Malton Messenger*, in 1939. We may have pioneered the suggestion but the Rev. Henry J. Adlard, at present Minister of Trim Street Unitarian Chapel, Bath, has lived the idea. Mr. Adlard's challenging criticism of *Why Jesus Wept* is reproduced in another column. The purpose of this article is to tell the story, in part, of the man himself, and of his work.

Rev. H. J. ADLARD From a Portrait published in the *Duluth News Tribune*

Henry J. Adlard has been a member of the R.P.A. for 25 years. One of his dearest friends was the late F. J. Gould. He has been interested in Socialist thought from the palmy days of Robert Blatchford, and feels that, for all his recantations, Blatchford did magnificent work for "the bottom dog," in the *Clarion*. In the United States, Mr. Adlard came to know Upton Sinclair, and found him a charming personality. Whilst minister of the Duluth Unitarian Church, Mr. Adlard reviewed Sinclair's works, as published in the columns of a Duluth paper, and was impressed by Sinclair's *They Call Me Carpenter*.

Henry Adlard was born in England. He began his preaching career as a Wesleyan local preacher in Leeds. Although married and past the ordinary age when men are accepted for the ministry, he was urged to offer himself. Did so, and was rejected on the grounds of age and marriage. He was accepted by the Canadian Methodist Church . At that very time he was caught in the toils of the New Theology which was the beginning of his spiritual emancipation. R. J. Campbell was then Adlard's God, and he once gave Adlard a short interview after a Temple service. Campbell went back and Adlard went forward, but the latter, recalling the city Temple episode and period, feels that he owes Campbell a debt.

In Canada Adlard had a year at Battleford, Sask, 600 miles west of Winnipeg. He spent 6 weeks in Winnipeg on the way up—This was an old prairie town. His New Theology views began to leak through and he had read widely, Huxley, Arnold, Spencer and the great Unitarians. It was a lonely cold spot, terrific winters, once 57 below zero. Every Sunday afternoon he drove ten miles out over a trail to school houses to preach. He got so disgusted with the whole outfit, that in desperation he preached "Six Appeals to Men of Reason." He got small bills printed, delivered them himself in a place of 1,500 people. They aroused the whole place. "Men of Reason" forsooth! Years later Adlard laughed. There were none. But many came! In a Methodist Church, Adlard took for his subject (1) God—Is there one? (2) The Bible—Is it true? (3) Sin—What is it? (4) Salvation—Do we need it? These addresses set things in an uproar. One of the congregation, a damned old rogue, as crooked as a lasso, took issue with Adlard, and tried to get him fired for heresy. The unsettlement and intense loneliness, caused Adlard to return to England. Here he went back into business but kept on preaching in a Lincs. market town. On the eve of an election he created another uproar by a sermon—"We are members one of another." He became Chairman of the Labour Party branch. One night he took in an protected a Socialist speaker who was being harrassed by a number of yokels. They knocked him off his box. All this was noised abroad in a Tory soaked town. Victimisation followed. So Adlard went back to Western Canada.

More battles, this time on economic grounds. He encountered another Goliath who "ran" the small church and had a pitched verbal showdown with him. This man, the local banker, controlled Adlard's salary. All the church finances were under his thumb against loans. The last night Adlard preached the Church had 12 there. The number of the disciples. He told them he had emptied the church simply by preaching the gospel of Jesus. But he found a good pal, a lad from Lancs. who ran the weekly paper. He was a Socialist, and backed Adlard through thick and thin. Adlard left the Methodist Church at the end of that year.

Adlard made contact with Boston, Unitarian headquarters. With their backing he went to Moose Jaw, a town of about 18,000 where he began preaching in a picture theatre in the Main Street. Continued here for three summer months, while his wife and three small children lived in a large tent, a mile from town, by the river. In October he hailed off to Pennsylvania, 1,500 miles, where he went to Theological School (Unitarian). He remained here a year living on next to nothing and working at any old thing. He was satisfying his gluttony for learning.

Adlard got a call to Dunkirk, N.Y., on Lake Erie, near Buffalo. He was there six years, happy, wonderfully successful. He had found his stride. He was there most of the World War, and had some stirring times. Two sermons he delivered then he has preserved. "The Two Bethlehems" Christmas Bethlehem, Palestine. Bethlehem Pa.—steel mills. The other defended the C.Os. This was 1913-1918.

From there to Ottawa, Canada, 1918-1921. He received a call to Niagra Falls, N.Y., but did not go. 1921-1924—Duluth, Minn. Duluth church had been actually closed nine months. No Sunday School. He started at zero. Started Book Talks. Reviewed a lot of books for *Duluth Herald*. Spoke at all sorts of things. Slowly developed a thought centre.

Des Moines Ia., 1924—1928, the biggest church he had. At the end of that time Duluth invited him to preach for a Sunday, just for old times sake. He went and was begged to return. He did so, and had another seven years. One year in Duluth he spoke 60 times outside the church. Adlard wrote for *The Labour World* in Duluth.

Sioux City, Ia., 1935-1936.—After visiting England in 1935 and 1936, he preached at Bath, and was called to Trim Chapel, and here he is in an ancient Tory ridden, Church of England ridden city.

Mr. Adlard was minister of the Duluth First Unitarian Church for a number of years. In Duluth, he lived at 1921 Greysolon Road, and made his home a centre from which to develop widespread love of thought and culture. He lectured on Charles Dickens' Gospel of Laughter and Tears, on John Bunyan and his Pilgrims, the Friendship of Books, Wanderings on a Wheel Through Literary England, Walls of Prejudice and Bridges of Understanding, Modern Books and Plays, Modern American and British Poetry, etc. In Duluth he published a book of poems, *Duluth Days and Dreams*. Before the Twentieth Century Club of that city he gave a book review lecture that roused much interest, on *Margaret Fuller—America's Most Remarkable Woman*. At Coleraine, Minn., he held the complete attention of a critical audience to whom he read *Green Pastures*. He read *Journey's End* to the Hibling Fortune Club and the audience felt that it had seen the play.

To the *Duluth News Tribune*, Mr. Adlard contributed a history of Unitarianism and of the Duluth Church in particular. The bond of Union in that church, drawn up in 1895, read as follows:

> *"An association where people without regard to theological differences may unite for mutual helpfulness, the uplifting of character and religious culture, by writings and such other educational, social, and charitable work as shall be agreed upon."*

Mr. Adlard's description of Unitarianism read, in part, as follows:

> "The name Unitarian, in its theological sense, implies a belief in one God, the unity of God, in contrast to Trinitarian, commonly avowed by most Protestants and Roman Catholics, wherein the nature of God is conceived of as triune, a God who is three persons in one, and yet one person who is still three.
>
> "The most important conflicts over this matter of the Trinity have been around the person of Jesus and his relation to God. It is the verdict of many eminent scholars that the early Christians knew nothing of such a Trinity: that it was imported with many another idea from Greece and elsewhere about 200 A.D., and became very definitely accepted at the famous council of Nicea in 325 A.D. This discussion caused a split in the Church which has continued to this day.
>
> "Unitarians maintain that present conventional Christianity follows the teaching of the fourth Gospel, of Paul and Augustine, rather than the simple teaching of Jesus as found in the synoptic gospels. For so believing, Unitarians have suffered persecution, civil disabilities, martyrdom. Adam Duff was burned in 1326 and Servetus in 1553.
>
> "The name Unitarian, as such, was first used by a group in Transylvania in 1563 and shortly afterward in Poland and Hungary. . . . In England, Unitarianism by that definite name, made its first appearance in 1773; but in all these countries it must be understood that anti-Trinitarian views had appeared prior to the dates mentioned. The same applies to the United States, where isolated groups held essentially Unitarian principles from the middle of the 18th century; but the American Unitarian Association was not formed until 1825. It resulted from a division in the Congregational church over the question of the Trinity. A famous name in this connection is William Ellery Channing, who delivered an epoch-making sermon, *Unitarian Christianity*, in the Baltimore church at the ordination service of Jared Sparks in 1819.
>
> "The Unitarian church in America is purely democratic or congregational in government. Each church is a law unto itself. It adopts its own bond of union and rules for admission of members, calls and recalls its own ministers, and owns its own property. The union into state or national groups is purely voluntary, and the larger groups have no power to control the policies or beliefs of members or parishes. The church has no creed. The pulpit is absolutely free. The minister preaches what he honestly regards as true without fear or favour. . . .
>
> "Many of the Eastern churches make the term of their church covenant read as follows: 'In the love of truth and in the spirit of Jesus we unite for the worship of God and the service of man.' . . .
>
> "In general, Unitarians believe in the immortality of the soul; that the development of individual character is the surest guarantee of continued growth after death; but that emphasis should be placed on life here and now. 'Hath man no second life? Pitch this on high.' Each Unitarian may define for himself the terms of God, the soul, eternity, duty. No rigid standard is set. No test of belief is laid down at any point. The Unitarian church does not fear heretics, it welcomes them. . . . Unitarianism accepts implicity the evolutionary principle right along the line. It regards man's history as a gradual climb; his chief duty to better the race here and now, confident in the fact that the moral idea is imperative, that the universe is on his side; and that whatever be hereafter, in the word of Socrates, the good man has nothing to fear in death. Unitarians declare that their religion is the simplest to state, the hardest to live, and never genuine without character. With regard to Jesus, Unitarians believe that he was one of, if not the greatest of the sons of men, an inspired dreamer who taught love, fellowship, service, brotherhood, a noble way of living. . . .
>
> "Marching with the times belief amongst Unitarians ranges from a mystical theism to what is now called humanism. The Unitarian glories in the fundamental plank of freedom. He is able to realise a spirit of unity and purpose midst such diversity. Such diversity has never led to serious schism or disruption. He believes in the everlasting search for truth from all quarters, and believes that this alone can 'make men free.' There are those who regard the Unitarians as having no religion, no church and not to be accounted Christians. These things form matters of opinion which have no place in this article, but it may be added in conclusion, that the Unitarians do not regard themselves primarily as a sect or a church.

They claim to represent a Spirit, an Attitude; to be an Influence and a Movement tending in the direction of Freedom, Beauty, Truth and Goodness."

The titles of Mr. Adlard's addresses, as minister of the First Unitarian Church, Duluth, merit preserving. Here are sets of his addresses, for the years 1929, 1933, and 1934 respectively, at Duluth.

FIRST UNITARIAN CHURCH.
Eighteenth Ave., East and First St.
DULUTH

1929 Addresses
VITAL QUESTIONS

If you will draw the outline of a man's head and neck, omitting the face, you will find it takes the shape of an interrogation mark ?—That is indicative of a man and his progress in the scale of evolution. He is the question asker. Therein lies further promise of his development. On the following Sundays at 11 A.M. Mr. Adlard will discuss the following grave and important questions of the day.

Sept. 29 Is Progress an Illusion?
Oct. 13 Is Man a Machine?
Oct. 27 What is Civilization, and where is it going?
Nov. 10 Is the Younger Generation better than its Fathers?
Nov. 24 Is Democracy a Failure?
Dec. 8 Shall we have Sanity on the Sex Problem?
Dec. 15 Is a Supernatural Religion doomed for Men?

The Unitarian Church is a place where Reason and Religion meet, and where a Rational Worship provides an inspiring atmosphere.

1933 Addresses
Alternate Sundays at 11 a.m.

MODERN APOSTLES OF REASON

Jan. 15 VOLTAIRE — **The Destroying Angel of Superstition.**
Jan. 29 ROUSSEAU—**Who preached Equality and the Return to Nature.**
Feb. 12 THOMAS PAINE — **The All Round Rebel-Abused, Unrewarded.**
Feb. 26 JOHN STUART MILL — **The Saint of Rationalism.**
Mar. 12 HERBERT SPENCER—**Who made a Synthesis of All Knowledge.**
Mar. 26 THOMAS HENRY HUXLEY—**The Apostle of Veracity.**
Apr. 9 CHARLES BRADLAUGH — **The Militant Rationalist of England.**
Apr. 23 ROBERT G. INGERSOLL—**Who would forego Heaven to abolish Hell.**

This series is in honor of Bradlaugh and Ingersoll, whose joint centenaries are celebrated this year.

1934 Addresses
SOCIAL PROPHETS OF THE 19th CENTURY
DULUTH
Following Sundays at 11 o'clock

Jan. 28 THOMAS CARLYLE.
Prophet of thunder, "born in the clouds and struck by the lightning.
Feb. 11 JOHN RUSKIN.
A discouraged but inspiring "Apostle of Beauty.
Feb. 25 KARL MARX.
The Darwin of Economics, who wrote the Socialist Bible, "Das Kapital."
Mar. 4 HENRY GEORGE.
A Galahad who fought for the Land for the People.
Mar. 18 WILLIAM MORRIS.
Artistic, social Idealist, author of "News from Nowhere."
Mar. 25 EDWARD BELLAMY.
Who dreamt of a Utopia of Right and Justice.
Apr. 8 EDWARD CARPENTER.
Practical Mystic who wrote, "Towards Democracy," "Civilization, its Cause and Cure."
Apr. 22 PRINCE KROPOTKIN.
Saint and Anarchist, The Apostle of "Mutual Aid."

Following Sundays at 11 o'clock

SINCE CALVARY
Studies in Historic Christianity.

Jan. 17 Why Christianity Prospered.
Jan. 31 Mithraism—The Great Rival of Christianity.
Feb. 14 Why and How the Trinity Arose.
Feb. 28 Paganism and Its Symbols in Christianity.
Mar. 13 The Three Great Creeds of Christendom.
The Apostles—Nicene-St. Athanasius
Mar. 20 Why the Church in Rome became Supreme.
Apr. 3 The Two Sacraments of Protestantism and the Seven of Rome.
Apr. 17 How Much Is There Left We Can Honestly Use?

Regarding Historic Christianity as something apart from the simple teaching of Jesus, these addresses are not, primarily, attacks on any particular church. They are scholarly, informing studies of the way in which Christianity, as a system, has come about. Written questions will be answered the following Sunday.

At Sioux City, Iowa, his subjects were equally interesting. Here are his announcements for 1936, only omitting his name to avoid repitition:

"The root of religion is to reverence one's own faith and never revile the faith of others."
Buddhist Scriptures.

FIRST UNITARIAN CHURCH.
Tenth and Douglas Sioux City, Iowa

GREAT RELIGIONS
Alternative Sundays at 11 a.m.

Jan. 12—CONFUCIANISM.
The Religion of Moderation.
Jan. 26—ZOROASTRIANISM.
The Religion of Purity.
Feb. 9—BUDDHISM.
The Religion of Self Denial.
Feb. 23—JUDAISM.
The Religion of Righteousness.
Mar. 8—CHRISTIANITY.
The Religion of Redemption.
Mar. 22—ISLAMISM.
The Religion of Submission.
April 5—UNIVERSAL RELIGION.
Is it possible or desirable?

"Religions are different and many, but reason is one. The broad-minded see the truth in different religions; the narrow-minded see only the differences."
—Confucian Scriptures.

"OBSTINATE QUESTIONING"
SUNDAYS at 11.00 A.M.

Oct. 4—Is the Pulpit Played Out?
11—Is the Decalog a Sufficient Code of Ethics?
18—Autumn Leaves—Futility or Achievement?
Nov. 1—Supposing Jesus Had a Vote?
8—Was Erasmus a Humanist? (400th Anniversary.)
22—How Human is Humanism?
15—Will Knowing the Truth Make Men Free?
29—What's the Use of Praying?
Dec. 6—Shall We Be Good or Intelligent?
13—Do Unitarians Starve the Emotions?
20—Shall We Abolish Christmas?
27—Can We Grow Old and Keep Young?

"Let Truth and Falsehood grapple; whoever knew Truth put to the worse in a free and open encounter?" —John Milton.

From the titles of these addresses, it can be seen that Henry J. Adlard should be ranked with the humanists. He knew, intimately, Dietrich of Minnieapolis, but felt that his humanism was rather bold. It was without colour, beauty, emotion, poetry, all of which are part of the human make-up, and must find both place and expression.

An expression of Adlard's humanism is to be found in the following announcement of a meeting held in Duluth:

Anti-War and Anti-Facist
UNITED FRONT
PLEDGE MEETING
Sunday Evening, Nov. 11th
ARMISTICE DAY, 8.00 P.M.
Among the Speakers—
MARGARET CULKIN BANNING
THEODORE K. VOGLER
H. J. ADLARD
ALMA FOLEY
L. L. DUNNINGTON
H. J. GRIFFITH
ANN GRANT McEWEN
HOMER J. ARMSTRONG
VIENA P. JOHNSON
and Others.
Moose Temple Auditorium
418 WEST SUPERIOR STREET

We have before five pamphlet reports of addresses delivered by Mr. Adlard in the United States. Each of these addresses is worthy of being reprinted and circulated widely. One was delivered by him as pastor of the Adams Memorial Church, Dunkirk, New York. The subject was *"Where Was God When The War Broke Out."* The First Unitarian Church, Des Moines, Iowa, published his: *"The Old Bible and The New."* The Unitarian Laymen's League, Des Moines, published his address: *"Is a Universal Religion Possible or Desirable?"* The Unitarian Laymen's League, Duluth, published: *"What Unitarianism Means To-day."* The First Unitarian Church, Duluth, published his address: *"Christianity, The Religion of Redemption."* We hope to reissue these American addresses later.

(To be concluded)

OUR APPEAL

Last month, under the heading, "Cold Facts," we made an appeal for funds to meet the losses on this journal. As stated, *The Word* is the best-produced paper in the Labour Movement. It carries no advertisements, retains its size, is illustrated, and it is produced on the best paper. It is fearless and thought-provoking. Because of its quality, it is disliked and boycotted. Our readers must increase its circulation. They can become subscribers. They can sell quantities. They can persuade their comrades to subscribe. *One Glasgow Comrade brought in eight subscribers in a week by lending the last issue to his friends.*

The response to last month's appeal does not merit record this month. We expect to publish a decent response next month. Four-page contemporaries, printed on news-print, have acknowledged good donations from persons who have asked for free copies of *The Word*. Is that fair?

On the special appeal, connected with Hyde Park Free Speech struggles, we are short: £81 1s. 3d. On the press—the paper and pamphlet production—we are short £1890 10s. Our total appeal is for £1971 11s. 3d. This does not take into account our postal mission work.

Every comrade who reads this journal should subscribe to this fund. Send your donation at once. Every comrade in difficultiesa who visits our office for advice should donate to the fund. It should be possible for our readers to donate this sum in one month. *The work must go on.* It is up to you, comrades.

Send donations; subscriptions, bundle orders to:

Strickland Press,
104 *George Street, Glasgow, C.1.*

Complete acknowledgments next month. Comrade, let us put your name or *nom-de-plume* on the list.

The need for immediate response is urgent.

A CHRISTMAS HYMN OF PEACE

Tune .... Antioch

Joy to the world! for hopes of peace
Which daily grow more strong.
For streaming tides of righteousness
To end the night of wrong.

Joy to the world! for brotherhood
With friendly, outstretched hand,
For bugle calls of fellowship
Which sound from land to land.

No more shall war its furies fling
Across the human mart;
Supreme good will shall hold its sway
And reign in every heart.

All hail! all hail! thou glorious day
When dreams of fairest hue,
Long cherished in the human breast
Shall build the world anew.

HENRY J. ADLARD.

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Liberty! Equality!! Fraternity!!!

THE WORD

To Rouse The People, To Combat Fascism, and To Speed Commonweal.

An Organ of the United Socialist Movement, Edited and Published by Guy A. Aldred, for the Bakunin Press and the U.S.M. at Bakunin Hall, 29 Castle Street, Glasgow, C.4. All unsigned matter is from the pen of the Editor. Annual Subscription, 3s. 0d.

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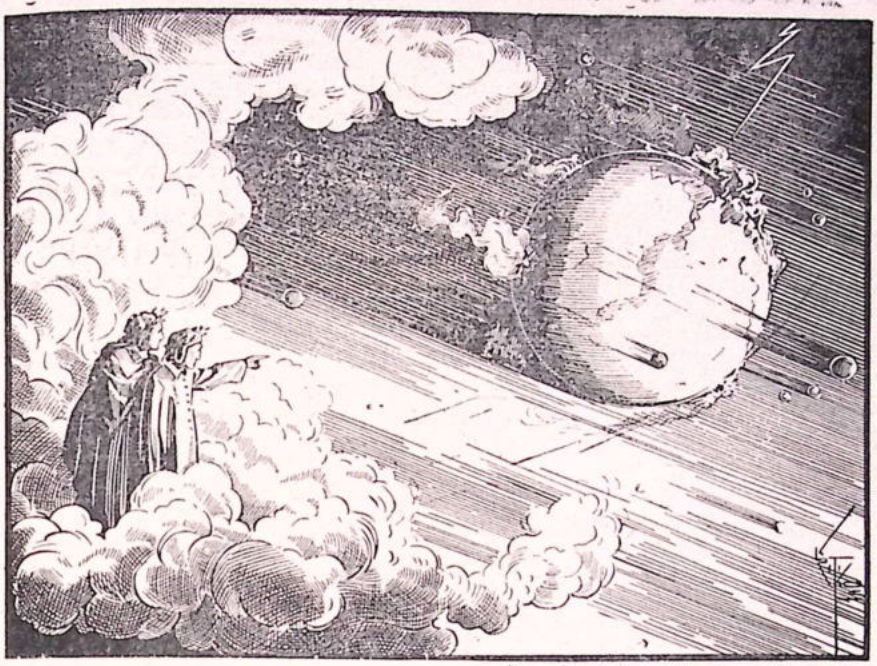

—Reproduced from *The Spur*, May, 1917.

INFERNO.

"On the right hand I saw new misery, new torments, and new tormentors."

"O blind cupidity, both wicked and foolish, which so incites us in the short life, and then, in the eternal, steeps us so bitterly!" *Dante*

BAPTISTS & CONSCIENCE

The Rev. M. E. Aubrey publishes an interesting and most self-revealing signed "leader" in the *Baptist Times*, London, in its issue for November 21.

Referring and replying to some of his pacifist correspondents, he writes:—

"Some of my correspondents are obviously pacifists of an extreme type and write to me in a somewhat hectoring and irritating manner. They know all about what the Baptist Union and its Secretary ought to do. I am tempted to reply to some of them to ask whether they are willing to do as much to stop the Germans killing and maiming thousands of women and children in London—to say nothing of our airmen and seamen who are protecting us all—as they wish the Secretary of the Baptist Union to do to prevent a small body of men from suffering injuries, which by comparison are trivial, at the hands of a little gang of military hooligans."

Mr Aubrey admits that to put this question would be evading the issue, but he thinks that it might be a real test of the sincerity of his correspondents. But have not Germans been killed in Berlin and Hamburg? Facts seem to cancel facts, and bombings to answer bombings. The truth that emerges is that war is wrong, and that the skies are being employed, not to proclaim the glory of God, but the supremacy of hell.

Mr Aubrey continues:—

"... the Baptist denomination as such is committed to freedom of conscience. We have stood for it in the past; we demanded it before this war broke out. We believe in it even if it be abused. Some pacifist memories appear to be short, or they would recall my speech at the Birmingham Assembly in 1939 and the fact that Free Church leaders met and discussed with Mr. Neville Chamberlain the question of conscientious objectors and secured definite guarantees from him long before this war began. We must defend conscience as one of God's most precious gifts to men, and must stand by those of whose sincerity we have no doubt.

"I may say that recently I myself attended, for the first time, a tribunal, so as to stand by a young man who wished to be exempted from combatant service. I was greatly struck by the fairness of the tribunal. . . . The applicant in whom I had a special interest had his letter read, with two supporting letters which he presented. The tribunal were so satisfied that they did not ask him a single question nor was I called upon to give evidence.

We say nothing against the fairness of this particular Tribunal. We know nothing about its decisions. We have known Tribunals to reach fair and just decisions. The Manchester and Bristol Tribunals have repeatedly gone out of their way to reach just decisions in difficult cases. But they have failed often to be just also. We have appeared before the Glasgow Tribunal and also before the Edinburgh Appellate Tribunal. We have no ground for complaint in these cases. But the same Tribunals have recorded other decisions that we consider wrong. In the mass of cases, granting all the difficulties, we believe that they must tend to uphold militarism rather than advance anti-militarism. For they *feel* that anti-militarism is an amazing and wondrous large-scale heresy, something most dangerous to society, and thoroughly reprehensible. To reach as many favourable conclusions as they do, the Tribunals must make terrible internal war against the barricade of their own prejudices.

Mr Aubrey, in the name of the Baptist denomination, and from zeal of conscience, appears as a witness for someone who asks for non-combatant military service! That is, for someone who does not seek to be placed on the C.O. register. And the Tribunal asks Mr Aubrey no questions! So, being a Christian, and a student of conscience, he comes away pleased! Does the man not know that, to the mass of conscientious objectors, non-combatant service is trifling with conscience?

Mr Aubrey concludes his article as follows:—

"I believe that most of these tribunals are honestly trying to do their best at a very difficult task. It is impossible for them to be right every time, of course, but the number of errors is, I think, small and, in comparison with the treatment meted out to conscientious objectors in Continental countries, their friends have a great deal for which to be thankful."

Mr Aubrey should know that Christian teaching is harsh and uncompromising in its assertion of the right of conscience. It is the function of conscription to commit error, to sin against conscience. It is clear, therefore, that militarism and conscription are anti-christian. On this matter there is no room for doubt.

Mr Aubrey appearing before the Tribunal, to support a plea for non-combatant service, in all the glory of his ministerial garb, is a quaint figure of sombre pretence to impose upon the angels. There must have been some sad smiles in the neighbourhood of the celestial throne when he sat down before the tribunal.

SOLDIERS & CONCHIES

The *Church of England Newspaper*, London, for September 20, 1940, published the following interesting letter:—

"Sir,—I cannot speak with the authority of a governorship of four Public Schools, but only with that of a field officer, bred to fair play at one, who was invalided at the end of the last war after a short career of twenty years. The combined services of my father and two grandfathers, however, was close on a century and a quarter, so I can speak with the voice of one with a soldier's pedigree.

"'Patriot' condemns conscientious objectors. Does he also condemn draughtsmen or any of the many others who have been exempted from military service? If not, why does he condemn another class which the Government sees fit to exempt? Conscientious objectors, whose bona fides have been proved by the tribunals, possess an attribute most essential to right government as well, the waging of war, and that is moral courage. Compared to the rest of the population, their number is so infinitesimal that the Government is undoubtedly right in carefully preserving them against the days when peace-making will be necessary. —Yours, etc.,

"A. H. STUART-MENTETH,
Major (Ret.).

"19, Palace-gate, W.8."

On October 3, the Scottish Appellate Tribunal granted conditional exemption to George Drummond, c/o Miller, 286 Carlisle Road, Kirkmuirhill, Lanark. He served four years in the Royal Artillery (T.A.), but was converted to Christian Pacifism while in the Royal Artillery. He was a skilled engineer, but refused to work at this trade during war-time, because it assisted killing.

Six days later, wearing Air Force uniform, the father of John D. Walker, Manthorpe Road, Grantham, accompanied his son when he appeared before the North Midlands Conscientious Objectors Tribunal at Derby.

The applicant declared that he would rather go to prison than take up military service, and the father, saying they had had long arguments on the subject, added: "If there is any killing to be done, I am quite prepared to do his share as well as my own."

The Tribunal registered Walker for non-combatant duty. His father said his son would

appeal, and that he upheld his son's stand for conscience.

Two V.C.'s of the great war defended a conscientious objector at a general field court martial at Liverpool on Tuesday, November 19.

The objector, Private R. C. Johnson, of the Non-combatant Corps of the Auxiliary Military Pioneer Corps, was charged with disobeying an order on October 25 to put on uniform.

Replying to Lieutenant J. J. S. Hobson, his advocate, Johnson admitted disobeying the order because he objected on religious and conscience grounds as a follower of the teachings of the Society of Friends and the spirit of Christ.

Colonel H. Greenwood, V.C., D.S.O., M.C., said he had dealt with conscientious objectors in the last and the present wars, and had taken a personal interest in the men. In his opinion Johnson was a genuine conscientious objector. He was not afraid of undertaking dangerous work, so long as he was not asked to do so as a member of the forces. Johnson had been engaged in the extremely hazardous work of the rescue of bombed civilians from one of the most heavily bombed areas in this country since the war began, namely, the East End of London.

Rev. G. H. Woolley, V.C., late Chaplain of Harrow School, stated in a letter that Johnson was the type of conscientious objector the Act was intended to protect.

Lieut. Hobson asked the Court to pass a sentence of three months' imprisonment in order that he might apply for the case to be reheard by the Tribunal.

Col. Greenwood won his V.C. for attacking machine-gun posts single-handed near Ovillers in October, 1918; Rev. G. H. Woolley for defending a heavily attacked trench on Hill 60 in in April, 1915.

This Court Martial, and the manner of its conduct, does great credit to the two V.C. officers who gave evidence; to the Lieutenant who defended; and to the military authorities concerned. The proceedings express fairness, justice, and understanding.

The same comment must be applied to a Court Martial held in North Wales on December 6. Here, also, an army officer defended a conchie-conscript with great understanding and eloquence, and asked for a sentence of not less than three months' imprisonment so that the accused could qualify to appear before an appellate tribunal for conscientious objectors. The case was that of John Herbert Sinclair, of the Royal Corps of Signals.

Sinclair, who is aged 22, was a commercial artist in civil life, and his home is in Manchester. He was charged with absenting himself from camp without leave, and with disobeying the command of a superior officer to put on his military uniform when ordered to do so. Sinclair, who pleaded not guilty, had appeared before the court-martial on a previous occasion on two similar charges, and he was then sentenced to 56 days' detention in a military barracks. His application to be registered as a conscientious objector was dismissed by the North Wales tribunal.

Major W. L. Roseveare, defending officer, said that Sinclair's case was an unusual one. When he appeared before the tribunal he had no opportunity of proving that his objection to military service was genuinely and honestly held. His behaviour since, however misconceived it might have been, had proved beyond question that his convictions were genuine and honest. He had stuck to his point throughout and had endured military detention without flinching and without in the least becoming embittered. Major Roseveare added:

"In the last war it was proved that a long term of imprisonment had no effect in shaking a man's convictions that he was doing right, and does not deter others from adopting a similar course. Whilst I plead for mitigation of sentence, that sentence should be one of imprisonment, not of detention, and should be for a period of not less than three months. If it is for less Sinclair will not have the right to appear before the tribunal to try again to satisfy it of the honesty of his views. Detention would mean his appearance before a court-martial again. Such procedure is known as 'cat and mouse' treatment, and is rightly discouraged in this country."

We extend our thanks and admiration to both Major W. L. Roseveare and Lieutenant J. J. S. Hobson for what might be termed their attitude of gallant and sympathetic understanding.

CONCHIES: VARIOUS VIEWS.

The question of consciientious objectors was ventilated during 194' in papers published in almost every part of the English-speaking world. Surveys of some of the letters published by editors were made in the August and Navember *Word*. We extend the summary in the present issue.

Councillor W. W. Crabtree, of Salford, writing from the Town Hall, Salford, Manchester, to the *Manchester Guardian*, for April 24, criticised the Tribunals in the following trenchant letter:—

Sir,—Hansard records the long debates in Parliament on the clauses of the Military Service Act dealing with the functions of the tribunals for conscientious objectors. This led one to hope that the mistakes of the last war would be avoided, and that the persons appointed to the tribunals would endeavour to administer the Act in its truest implication. It is a fact that in the last war more than 5,000 appellants who were refused exemption and were given various forms of punishment were later adjudged by a special court set up at Wormwood Scrubs to be genuine objectors.

One is astonished at the attitude of many members of the present tribunals, for they take advantage of their position by making personal attacks, and in several instances the chairman has become a prosecuting counsel. Apart from personal observation, the press reports prove that members of these tribunals are out of sympathy with that part of the Act which gives them their position. Such persons are bringing our laws into contempt, and it would be well if many of the present tribunals were reconstructed, as there cannot be any confidence in people who "bang on tables" during a case or lose their tempers. Were some of the appellants to answer as I should be inclined to do they would be guilty of contempt of court.

To-day many persons are losing faith in the tribunals, and in the older groups liable for service one finds a tendency to decline to appear before them. This will result in many arrests later on.—Yours, &c.,

W. W. CRABTREE.

The following pertinent letter appeared in the *Western Morning News*, Plymouth, on May 10:

"Sir,—Councillor R. E. Narracott, who proposed the extraordinary resolution adopted by Torquay Town Council that no conscientious objectors be employed by the Council, is reported as stating that:

"'The sort of conscientious objectors we cannot respect are those, who, under the cloak of religion, are willing to take some cushy job and then benefit by other brave men fighting their battles.'

"If the councillor carries his objection to an honest and logical conclusion, he must include all divinity students, all priests, and all other ministers of religion who are automatically exempt from military service. Many priests have obtained first-class and remunerative 'cushy' jobs as military chaplains.

"CHARLES SPELLER.

"3, Fairwater-terrace, Taunton, May 8."

The Rev. Richard Lee, M.A., was attacked bitterly during June and July in the columns of the *Midland Daily Telegraph*, for his defence of conscientious objectors, and his own firm opposition to war. He wrote firmly, defending his position, in the columns of our contemporary, for June 7, as follows:—

"I have suggested in your columns methods of getting the world out of the horrible mess into which the various Fuehrers have brought us. The way out is not easy, and the longer the war the more difficult, but the work of peace can go on without withdrawing a single soldier until security is guaranteed by deeds.

"The alternative policy of sheeplike surrender to circumstances is not mine, but of those who go blindly on: 'Theirs not to reason why; Theirs but to do and die.'"

The Rev. Fred H. Wiseman, pastor of Sherwood Congregational Church, Edward Lane, Nottingham, wrote in the columns of the *Nottingham Journal*, for June 14, protesting against the proposal of the City Council to dismiss conscientious objectors. He concluded:—

"The Government announced long ago that there would be no attempt on its part to persecute C.O.'s and I hope the people of Nottingham will not let their local government take a less tolerant attitude."

The *Christchurch Star-Sun*, New Zealand, attacked several ministers in that city who organised a committee to aid and to advise conscientious objectors. One of the attacked ministers, the Rev. N. R. Wood, replied in the *Sun-Star's* columns for June 29 in a long letter, from which we cull the following excerpt:—

"We have committees to aid soldiers, and this new committee will aid those who avail themselves of their legal right to appeal when conscripted. This is in line with what has been done in England. There the churches issued leaflets for the guidance of conscientious objectors, but so far no committee is in existence in Christchurch. . . . The English regulations are so fair that even some who here are summarily dismissed for subversive activity would be granted exemption. A London tribunal recently totally exempted a young anarchist."

The *Bournemouth Times* for July 5 published the following amazing declaration:

"In your issue of June 28 there is a statement that John Rigler was registered for agricultural work on condition he sent the Tribunal further evidence to support what he said about Christian Science. . . .

"A Christian Scientist would not claim exemption if called upon to register his name for military service, because Christian Scientists believe in obeying the law of the land.

"Mary Baker Eddy, the discoverer and founder of Christian Science has written in '*First Church of Christ, Scientist, and Miscellany*, p.220: *I believe in obeying the laws of the land. I practise and teach this obedience, since justice is the moral signification of law. Injustice denotes the absence of law.*'

"F. TATTON BROWN.
"Christian Science Committee on Publication for Hampshire.
"40, Portchester-road, Bournemouth.
July 3, 1940."

The question, *"Are all C.O.s enemies of the State?"* was answered in a following letter from Fred French, of Duston, published in the *Northampton Echo*, on July 9. The writer objects to those C.O.s who refuse to render ambulance, hospital, or A.R.P. work. He concludes:—

"The Society of Friends, although opposed to war, give voluntary aid in many ways. But I have nothing but contempt for those of military age themselves who sneer and persecute C.O.s whilst themselves sheltering in reserved trades, as munition makers, etc. . . .

"I was an objector during the last war, but I did massage and orthopaedic work in three hospitals for the wounded, and although offered remuneration, refused it."

The *Baltimore Sun*, U.S.A., for September 3, published a vigorous letter, attacking conscientious objectors, from the pen of Thomas E. Street, Enfield, N.C. We make the following excerpts from Mr Street's letter:—

"The conscientious objectors, who would have us do nothing for defense, have much in Christian teaching to support them, but they don't have it all. About the best answer to them was given Dr. Fosdick by the Congressman who said the one with no sword is apt to perish with the other fellow's. . . .

"War is certainly contrary to the Christian spirit; but since we can prove almost anything by the Bible, we might recall that the Israelities were continually at war to save their country, and God frequently commanded them to kill their enemies."

The *Philadelphia Public Ledger*, U.S.A., for September 25, published a vigorous letter from Florence R. Myers, Prospect Park, Pa., denouncing *"this funny conscientious objecting."* Urging that conscientious objectors ought to *"be deported to a desert island somewhere,"* she concludes:—

"I believe all school children should be taught to salute the American flag at every opening day of school, or else they, too, with their so-called religious parents, should be sent somewhere else. Everybody in this country should be American and stand for American traditions or else get out!"

The *Toronto Globe*, Canada, for September 25, published an interesting, though somewhat reactionary editorial, headed "PACIFICISM AS VOCATION." It refers to a phrase used in July, when the Archbishop of Canterbury and York received a deputation of clergy belonging to the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship. The Archbishop of Canterbury said: *"Pacificism is a genuine vocation for some."*

This utterance was challenged by the Dean of St Paul's, Dr R. W. Matthews, who declared that the two Archbishops supported the appeal

to arms.

Dean Matthews defined a pacifist as follows :—

"A pacificist is one who holds that it is wrong in any circumstances to fight, and consequently that it is his duty to dissuade others from fighting."

The *Globe* makes an interesting comment :—

"'Pacificist,' which is very often in this country wrongly called 'pacifist,' is obviously derived from two Latin words which mean 'to make peace.' The word is comparatively new. In the great Century Dictionary and in the old Standard Dictionary neither of these forms is to be found, and yet most of us have a very good idea in general terms what is meant by this word which has become universal in the last twenty years."

The editorial concludes :—

"Probably the great majority of our sailors, soldiers and airmen, whose courage and humanity have won the admiration of the world, desire the abolition of war as much as any pacificist. War cannot possibly be the permanent heritage of man. Speaking for ourselves, if we believed that, we could say with Philip Gibbs : 'It would be better for the Almighty to touch our planet with a star and end the horror of it all.'"

We quite believe that sailors, and soldiers, and airmen desire the abolition of war. But what are the upholders of recourse to war doing to make it certain that war will not be the permanent heritage of man? If statesmen, politicians, divines, and journalists have their way, and the voice of conscience is never heard in practical protest, war must go on, generation after generation, without any promise of conclusion.

The Rev. Ian A. Auld writes powerfully from the Manse of Neuton, by Dalkeith, in *The Scotsman*, Edinburgh, for September 30. We quote the concluding part of his letter :—

"As a minister of the Church of Scotland I wish to protest most emphatically against those who have been declared by a properly constituted tribunal to be genuine conscientious objectors and who have been granted exemption on the understanding that they continue in their present employment being either deemed or treated as disloyal, or penalised. . . .

"Let us be in no doubt about those who are declared to be genuine conscientious objectors by the tribunals. I have attended the Edinburgh Tribunal, and have come away convinced that in no other country in the world could there be found such fairmindedness combined with plain-speaking, such justice combined with humanity. We may be very sure that those the tribunals declare to be conscientious objectors are in very truth conscientious objectors, and as such are upheld by Government and by Act of Parliament, and no Corporation or any other body has the slightest right or title to dismiss, deprive of privileges, or victimise them in any way on such a score."

The United States objectors are referred to in the *New Republic*, New York, U.S.A., for October 28, under the heading, "The First Objectors." Our contemporary says :—

"So far as we are told by the newspapers, only a few theological students and socialists in New York refused to register, for conscientious reasons. They have accordingly been arrested and will be tried for disobedience of the law. The *New Republic* favours the widest possible latitude for conscientious objectors; we hope conscription will be administered much more intelligently in this respect than in 1917. But we do not see how any court can fail to convict a person who violates the law by deliberately failing to register. We hope that the courts will make clear the law, and that the students will change their minds and be given another chance. For conscientious objectors, whatever the errors in their reasoning may be, should not be treated as criminals."

HYSTERIOTS

Our Chicago contemporary, *Unity*, carries as its slogan the phrase : *He hath made of one all nations of men.*" An important gem of wisdom to preserve during these trying days of fear, clamour, and tension.

In its issue for Monday, August 19, last, it coined a new word, "hysteriots," to describe the people who lose their heads and so go plumb crazy for war : the victims and fomenters of hysteria, politicians, intellectuals, and college professors. Academic minds that see "Fifth Columnists" everywhere. Mob-orators who mistake political climbing and ranting for statesmanship. Popular writers and novelists who spread a plague of disease and misery and count the havoc their contribution to patriotic effort. Men and women of conventional mind and of as little worth, totally devoid of an original idea, and as equally devoid of capacity for any real social service.

In a word, the miserable products of a world dwelling in darkness : hysteriots.

HITLER'S ADMIRERS

In the September *Word*, we reproduced the 1932 and 1934 prophecies of the late Lord Rothermere. As the Tory press pays so much tribute to him for his patriotism, it is interesting to recall Rothermere's own tribute to Hitler published in the *Daily Mail* in May, 1938 :—

"Great numbers of people in England regard Herr Hitler as an ogre, but I would like to tell them how I found him. He exudes good fellowship. He is simple, unaffected, and obviously sincere. He is extremely intelligent. . . . There is no man living whose promise given in regard to something of real moment I would sooner take. . . . Herr Hitler has a great liking for the English people. He regards the English and the Germans as being of one race."

Beaverbrook, who controlled Government propaganda in the last war, and is a leading member of the present War Cabinet, wrote in the *Daily Express* in October, 1938 :—

"We certainly credit Hitler with honesty and sincerity. We believe in his purpose stated over and over again, to seek an accommodation with us and we accept to the full the implication of the Munich document."

No attention was paid to the Socialist Anti-Fascists who maintained that every word of the Rothermere eulogy was false. Beaverbrook knew of Spain and still applauded Hitler. To-day's war and misery are the result of this false applause.

Churchill, who has no time for Hitler, and is the leader of the Tory-Socialist, Imperialist, Anti-Nazi combine, in his book, *Great Contemporaries*, declared that Hitler was not such a bad fellow. Here is the present Prime Minister's eulogy :—

"The story of his (Hitler's) struggle cannot be read without admiration for the courage, the perseverance, and the vital force which enabled him to challenge, defy, conciliate, or overcome all the authorities or resistances which barred his path."

We say that Churchill's estimate was wrong in every particular. We declare the publication of this erroneous view to be a dangerous mistake. It aided the growth of Nazism and favoured Anti-Socialist conspiracy throughout Europe.

Speaking on November 11, 1938, Churchill declared :—

"I have always said that if Great Britain were defeated in a war, I hoped that we should find a Hitler to lead us back to our rightful position among the nations."

When these words were uttered, Hitler's Spanish exploits were known to the world, and his concentration camps were notorious! How came such a speech to be made by a man who was aspiring to become the leading statesman in Britain?

Because of the Tory conspiracy with Hitlerism we are facing war and misery to-day. Anti-Fascists are imprisoned and persecuted by the very folk who applauded the concentration-camp bandits whom we are asked to destroy, together with their innocent victims. Only the innocent victims and we are being destroyed first.

CANADIAN CONCHIES

The *Toronto Star*, for September, 19, 1940, reports the appearance of the first conchies before the Toronto Tribunal :—

"The first conscientious objectors have been heard from by the Toronto Tribunal of the National War Services department, now sending out notices to men of the 21-year-old class to report for medical examination, preparatory to serving a 30-day period of military training. A dozen or more have been from Mennonites and a few from Christadelphians, according to Mr. Justice J. G. Gillanders, tribunal chairman.

"The Mennonites have already printed forms which they are furnishing members, it was stated to-day by the National War Services Branch here.

"The procedure, Mr. Justice Gillanders explained, is first to ask for a certificate proving membership in a religious sect. If this can be established the individual must then prove he individually objects to bearing arms and to combatant service. If the conscientious objector can prove he belongs to a faith whose tenets oppose bearing arms and combatant service, then he is absolved.

"The conscientious objector will be only a drop in the bucket,' the board intimated to-day.

"Already most of the notices in military district No. 2 to the 21-year-old class have gone out and all of the 6,000 will be in the mails to-day, Mr. Justice Gollanders said."

DOLLAN'S PORTRAIT

Alexander Ratcliffe's *Vanguard* is not only a very vigorous Protestant organ. It is also a very active journal of anti-militarism and strenuously opposed to war. In the December issue, the editor vigorously attacks Dollan, and reprints the main part of the article we published in *The Word* for October. Writes Mr Ratcliffe :—

"Our well-known Irish-Papist Lord Provost, Mr. P. J. Dollan, a violent Conscientious Objector when of military age at the last war, will soon be due to get his 'Portrait in Oils' as he retires from the Chief Magistracy of the City of Glasgow, misscalled by some Glasgow enthusiastics the 'Second City of the Empire.' In the meantime we learn of Mr. Dollan 'sitting' for a Polish artist, and the Poles also have been 'honouring' him by other means.

"And a much-photographed person 'Pat' has been during his term of Office! One Glasgow paper stated that he was the most publicised Lord Provost whom Glasgow has known, and none, not even 'Pat' himself, could seek to deny it.

"But we present to our readers a somewhat true portrait of Mr Dollan: Mr. Dollan who, as Councillor Dollan in the days before Labour procured civic power in Glasgow, attacked the "ruling classes" to the right and to the left, and aptly revealed what a bad lot the Tories and all other not Socialists were in those days. But now Lord Provost Dollan has become a Militarist: a Tory of Tories; and he would no doubt become an 'aristocrat' if that were possible.

"The following, reprinted from our contemporary *The Word* for October, 1940, refers to Mr. Dollan as an ex-Socialist. We disagree there. To our mind Mr. Dollan never was a Socialist. No person could be a Socialist and stand with the record of Mr. Dollan. Moreover, Mr. Dollan, being a Roman Catholic, is not, and never was, a Socialist. For has not the Pope declared infallibly that no Roman Catholic can be a Socialist?

"And who is Mr. Dollan to stand up to the Pope?"

The only item we object to in the above attack is the reference to Mr Dollan as "Irish-Papist." That savours of sectarianism and abuse and weakens the attack. We quite agree that Dollan was never a Socialist and have said so often. When we refer to him as an ex-Socialist, our use of the word "Socialist" is nominal and conventional, and not accurate. When we write exactly, we agree in the statement that Dollan was never a Socialist. We agree further that, according to the Papal declaration, no Roman Catholic can be a Socialist. Were we a Catholic, we would challenge the Papal declaration on this point. We believe that Socialism is inconsistent with churchianity, priestcraft, and ceremonial religion.

On another page, Ratcliffe returns to the attack on Dollan :—

FRONT LINE DOLLAN!

"The *Evening Citizen*, Glasgow (24-10-40) states 'Mr. Dollan going to Front Line.' Mr. Dollan is getting a trip to London for 'a close-up of problems arising out of air-raids.'

"At the last war, Mr. Dollan preferred going to prison rather than go anywhere near the Front Line!

"At the last War, our Papist Lord Provost was just plain Councillor Dollan, a conscientious objector, who did not believe in Front Lines!

"But Ah, how time, and creatures, change!

"To-day, for Mr. Dollan, War is a Righteous Thing!

"*How the Devil must laugh!*"

WAR!

I don't believe in war. I am ashamed of war, and I say so. I not only don't believe in this war; I don't believe in any war.

In Europe these days I'm looking for popular as distinguished from geographical or dynastic results. I care nothing for great empires. I care only for the crowd out of which great empires have been welded. The grandiose empires may dissolve to-day, and I'd not shed a tear over their remains.

I don't care how soon kings are gone; how soon all armies and navies are abolished. I want everything that comes between people got out of the way. I want to get the earth together.

—*Horace Traubel* (1915).

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FASCISM AND SPAIN: STALIN'S PART

—We have reproduced in *The Word, Regeneracion leaflets,* Nos. 4, 6, 10, and 11, issued in 1936, in support of the Spanish people's struggle for democracy against the Nazi-Fascist conspiracy that embraced and supported the Franco rebellion. In this number we reproduce leaflet No. 12, which denounced the part played by Stalin. This leaflet makes better reading to-day than when it was issued first. The Russo-German pact lends point to its conclusion.—Ed.

REGENERACION !!

No. 12 September 2, 1936. Sub Voluntary.

STALIN AND SPAIN

In 1931, Trotsky declared that the Spanish Revolution was in danger and demanded that it be defended by the armed proletariat. Five years later the Fascist uprising, financed and armed by Italy and Germany, and operating from the capital of Fascist Portugal, compelled the constitutional government of Spain to arm the workers, including the Anarchists, in order to defend democracy. The Stalin Government of the Soviet Union considered that this was the proper time to shoot, after a mock trial, Zinoviev and Kamenev and to arrest Zendl Muehsam, widow of the famous German martyred Communist and poet. Invited to Russia to enjoy pjolitical asylum, Zendl Muehsam is in prison, waiting possible execution for the alleged crime of Trotskyism. It is not an accident that these crimes against Socialism and Socialists are being practised in the Soviet Union at this time of world crisis, when the Communist International, if it were a communist international, should be in open session supporting the cause of the Spanish workers and peasants. Whilst murdering Socialists, Stalin adopts the attitude of the British National Government, of the leaders of the Parliamentary Labour Party, of the hopeless Popular Front Government of France: an attitude of treachery and betrayal, miscalled neutrality. Meanwhile, Lisbon remains the headquarters of the Fascist invaders with their Moorish troops and the Catholic Church enters into a peace pact with Hitlerism. The Trade Unionists endorse neutrality, forgetting that an injury to the workers of Spain is an injury to the world proletariat. The fatuous parliamentarians, headed by the communist, declare that the U.A.B. scales are of more importance than the struggle in Spain. It is known that the Fascist states are creating a complete bloc in Europe and should a workers' republic emerge from the Spanish struggle they will make immediate war upon it. Why, then, is the Soviet Union part of this socialist and fascist combination against the workers of Spain? The answer is very simple.

Zinoviev and Kamenev were executed because there came a time when they could no longer support the parrot cry of "Socialism in One Country." They were executed to realise the vanity of Stalin, who was not only jealous of the reputation of Trotsky, but also of the reputation of Hitler, Mussolini and Pilsudski. Stalin shot his old comrades by means of a firing squad in order to demonstrate that he believes not only in "Socialism in One Country" but also in "Anti-Socialism in One Country." He desires the Soviet Union to tower above Italy and Germany as the anti-socialist fatherland. This fact explains the shooting. It explains the betrayal of the Spanish workers. And it explains those activities of the Russian Government to adopt exactly the same callous attitude towards the workers of Spain as that adopted by other capitalist countries. This fact will be made clear to the student of the agreements made in May, 1933, between Russia on the one hand, and the avowed dictatorships of Italy, Poland, and Germany on the other. The *Monthly Review* of the Moscow Narodny Bank issued an official description eulogising these agreements at the time.

The Polish agreement was signed on May 2, when a delegation of six representatives of the Commissariat for Foreign Trade of the U.S.S.R. visited Warsaw at the special invitation of the Polish Government and received a very warm welcome. The Soviet Minister in Warsaw also visited Marshal Pilsudski who, up to that time, had made a point of not receiving foreign diplomats. The *Review* comments: "The Government seemed determined to utilise the existing friendly relations to the best advantage of both countries."

The German agreement was ratified three days later between Litvinov and the German Ambassador in Moscow, von Dirksen, by the exchange of notes. The agreement had been concluded actually on June 24, 1931. Litvinov and von Dirksen exchanged Protocols for the continuation of the Berlin treaty of neutrality and non-aggression between the U.S.S.R. and Germany of April 24, 1926, and the Convention of Conciliation of January 25, 1929.

The Protocols state that the two governments by prolonging the treaty intend to continue the existing friendly relations between the Soviet Union and Germany and to further collaboration which is in the interests of both countries.

The 1926 Treaty pledged the contracting parties not to participate in any economic or financial boycott against each other. Because of this agreement, the Communist International opposed an international working-class boycott of Germany, as a protest against the brutal suppression of Communists and Socialists in Hitler's concentration camps. Because of this agreement the Communist International dare not go into continuous session to protest against the German Fascist conspiracy against working class Spain.

For similar reasons, the Soviet Union must stand for the hypocrisy of neutrality and tolerate Italy's arming of Franco and the intended cession of Spanish Morocco. The day following the Moscow ratifications of the German agreement and treaties, the Soviet-Italian agreement was signed by Mussolini and Levenson, the commercial representatives of the U.S.S.R. and Italy. The *Review* states that this agreement was welcomed in both countries as demonstrating "the continued economic collaboration between the U.S.S.R. and Italy. . . . The Soviet-Italian agreement is a new proof of the desire of the U.S.S.R. to maintain normal relations with the rest of the world."

The official statements of the Moscow Narodny Bank draw a delightful picture of the Stalin Government making agreements with the Fascist Governments of Mussolini, Pilsudski and Hitler, and cultivating "normal" and "friendly relationships" with these jailers and persecutors of socialists. The Communists in the prisons and concentration camps of Italy, Poland, and Germany were expected to rejoice when they read of the Russian envoys receiving a very warm welcome; that Pilsudski graciously had condescended to receivce the Soviet Ambassador; and that Russia undertook "not to participate in any economic or financial boycott" of Hitlerised Germany.

When one considers that Pilsudski established Fascism by leading the so-called Socialist party of Poland into the bog of Polish nationalism; that Mussolini did the same thing in Italy; and that Stalin has ridden to eminence by the imprisonments and the murder of the Anarchists, Communists, and Socialists of Russia, and cultivates friendly relations with his Fascist fellow-dictators; it becomes very easy to understand why the Soviet Union stands for neutrality in Spain and refuses to champion the cause of the workers in that country who are fighting for freedom. Bureaucratic love of power, and compromise with the interests of world capitalism, explains Stalin's policy of non-intervention. When the Old Guard of the Bolshevik Revolution—a social democratic opportunism founded on Anarchism and betraying the Anarchist pioneers—were murdered by Stalin's firing party, Bolshevism was killed. The death of Bolshevism is the rebirth of Anarchism. And Anarchism means the world for the workers. The C.N.T. and the F.A.I.—the Spanish National Confederation of Labour and the Anarchist Federation of Iberia—are the advance guard of working class emancipation. The world workers look to Barcelona and not to Moscow for inspiration.

Stalin's attempted compromise with Fascism has made the crimson hand and not the crimson flag, the symbol of Moscow. Let us replace the pink flag of corrupted parliamentarianism and state-craft socialism with the incorruptible Red-and-Black flag of Anarchy. The workers of Britain, through their trade unions, industrial councils, and political groups and branches, must scorn the official gesture of worthless pauper charity and develop a determined forward movement of magnificent audacity and solidarity. If the parliamentarians will not unite at the ballot box on the issue of supporting Spain,

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Regeneracion!!

No.12. September 2, 1936. Sub: Voluntary.

STALIN AND SPAIN.

In 1931,Trotsky declared that the Spanish Revolution was in danger and demanded that it be defended by the armed proletariat. Five years later the Fascist uprising,financed and armed by Italy and Germany,and operating from the capital of Fascist Portugal, compelled the constitutional government of Spain to arm the workers,including the Anarchists,in order to defend democracy. The Stalin Government of the Soviet Union consider

United Socialist Movement Leaflet Against Fascism.

Issued August 1936. Title and opening sentences. Reproduction is a little smaller than the original typed leaflet.

Concluding portion same leaflet.

solidarity. If the parliamentarians will not unite at the ballot box on the issue of supporting Spain, then the workers must unite on the street in the workshop and in their councils of action, for the purpose of direct action.The Spanish workers must be supported by the British workers.

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Issued by Guy A. Aldred on behalf of the United Socialist Movement, Bakunin Hall, 71 Stirling Road, C.4.

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Issued by Guy A. Aldred on behalf of the United Socialist Movement, Bankunin Hall, 71 Stirling Road, Glasgow, C.4.

HERE AND THERE

Seeing that our Rationalist and Freethought Press has turned completely militarist in its old age and unhappy decline, the case of Albert Christian Brazier, of Villiers Avenue, Bilston, makes good reading.

Brazier appeared before the Midland Conscientious Objectors Tribunal in Birmingham on Tuesday, October 1. He said that he was a freethinker, that he did not trust organisations, and that he worked at window cleaning and limewashing. He had refused to camouflage or black-out works because that was war work, but he had blacked-out his home because he would be punished if he did not.

Judge Finnemore: Why shouldn't factories be blacked-out?—Brazier: Because they are centres of war activity.

The Tribunal decided to leave Brazier's name on the register of conscientious objectors.

Councillor Robert Mack, of 124 Gladys Avenue, North End, Portsmouth, and Labour Parliamentary candidate for that town, has engaged in controversy in the *Portsmouth Evening News*, with T. Barry Davies, the c.o. schoolteacher who was sacked by the Portsmouth Education Committee, by a majority vote of 13 to 4. Councillor Mack did not vote. Explaining why he abstained in the *Portsmouth Evening News* for December 3, Councillor Mack said:—

"For a man to be so unreasoningly absolute, I felt that one of us must be hopelessly wrong, and I was not prepared to be judge and jury on this man. . . .

"I have long suspected that many conscientious objectors are not conscientious objectors at all, but are political objectors, and this unjustifiable attack on me as a Labour Parliamentary candidate has done nothing to dispel that belief."

The very fact that he refused to protest against the injustice means that Mr Mack was party to the victimisation of Mr Davies. The man who objected to Mr Davies not fighting against Hitlerism remained neutral whilst Davies was being deprived of his living.

Writing from 84 Wadham Road, North End, Portsmouth, M. T. Barry Davies defended his position in the *Evening News* the following night.

Mr Davies stated:—

"Sir,—Two hundred and ninety years ago George Fox, the founder of the Society of Friends, declined a commission in Cromwell's army, the alternative being imprisonment, using these words: *'I live in the virtue of that life and power that takes away the occasion for all wars.'*

"In the three centuries since then, members of the Society have borne this testimony against war in whatever cause it was being fought. Though to some extent instrumental in bringing about the abolition of slavery, they did not support the wars waged on behalf of Abolition."

Explaining that each person must take his stand where his conscience allows him to compromise no further, Mr Davies added that, like George Fox, he must say then: *"Here I stand. I can do no other."* Davies continued:—

"We all compromise; the 'absolute' is an attribute of God, not of man; but where we draw the line depends on the individual conscience."

He reproduced this extract from his Tribunal statement:—

"I can take no part in the activities of the fighting forces, nor can I lend any support to those Forces, for they are designed to carry out objects which I believe are evil."

Davies certainly scored against Mack with his last word:—

"Lest it be thought that politics have any bearing on my conscientious objection, I may state that I have always supported the party of which Councillor Mack is a representative.

"I do not wish to comment on the resolution under which I am dismissed—my appeal was not against the resolution, but on the ground that the Education Committee were dismissing me for holding beliefs of which they were aware when they appointed me, a fact I can readily prove."

An interesting comment was contributed to the same issue of our contemporary by Mr H. R. Lee, of 13 Lawrence Road, Southsea. Describing the call to arms, and its need, Mr Lee says:—

"One lad has conscientious objections to this call. The City Fathers then consider that they can do without this lad's services altogether. There does not appear to be anything wrong here. The lad has still the right to the liberty and freedom of his conscience, and the Fathers have exercised the rights they possess in the liberty and freedom of their consciences."

Mr Lee adds that what is wrong is the failure of teachers to realise that:

"For the last 20 years there has been an army of between one and two million suffering the pangs and privations of unemployment."

He complained about people who become indignant *"because one of the teaching profession is likely to join this army,"* but also who never before uttered a protest *"at any time against these unnatural conditions."*

Mr Lee concludes:—

"Had the problem of unemployment been solved, it would have been no punishment to ask a conscientious objector to go, and there would probably have been no war."

Writing to the *Newcastle Daily Journal* on December 4, Judge Richardson said:—

"Sir,—As chairman of the local Tribunal I can state from my experience there that very few members of the Church come before that Tribunal as conscientious objectors, and that the few who do come, come for reasons quite unconnected with their Church membership.

"The majority of conscientious objectors belong to no recognised church or chapel. Many of our finest serving soldiers are devout and conscientious members of their respective churches or chapels.

"T. RICHARDSON.

"Cliffe, Corbridge."

The tone of which letter makes it clear that impartial judgment in the matter of conscience is beyond Richardson's capacity.

ARMS FOR JAPAN!

The *Sunday Express*, for December 22, last, published a special article from the pen of its city editor, Bernard Harris. This article was headed: "ARMS WORKERS 'NO' TO JAPAN ORDERS." The text told the following story:

"The night shift of the grinding department of the of Britain's largest engineering firms has refused to handle an order for Japan.

A foreman walked into the department recently, threw some blue prints on a table and shouted: "Look at these. They are marked subject to Japanese Army inspection."

"Immediately a deputation protested to the management. Because they believed their work was of national importance they said they had willingly given up their holidays and were working a 10½-hour shift in a blacked-out factory. But they were not going to work for any member of the Axis.

"The secretary of the company replied that this work was of national importance. The country badly needed the foreign exchange which Japan would pay for military equipment, and the Government had granted an export licence. The men would not accept this explanation.

"Not only did they refuse to have anything to do with the job, but they also sent a letter of protest to Mr. Bevin, Minister of Labour.

"No armaments of any kind can be exported unless a licence has been granted by the export licence department of the Board of Trade which usually consults the Ministry of Economic Warfare before reaching a decision.

"Apparently the Japanese contract was placed early in 1939 before the war and before the licensing system came in. Any work that had not been shipped when war broke out would need a licence from the Board of Trade approved by the Ministry of Economic Warfare.

Do the people who sneer at the axis, denounce Japan's activity in China, believe in workers working overtime—*to supply arms for Japan*: Is this not *Fifth-Columnism*?

SOCIALISM

What the United Socialist Movement Seeks to Establish

The following statement of aims and purposes will be accepted by all who call themselves Socialists. It is a declaration of what the members of the United Socialist Movement stand for.

Knowing that social, political, and economic equality is necessary to the development of human personality, the Socialist wants to remove class distinctions of all kinds.

There can be no 'upper and lower classes' no rich and poor, under Socialism. Socialism implies a classless Society where none have privileges and where ALL have equal status, equal rights, and equal opportunities.

The Socialist maintains that Labour is honourable service to the community and must cease from being bought or sold or exploited.

In the common interest the Socialist seeks to establish the social ownership and control of natural resources, substituting for their exploitation for private gain the organisation of their use as a public service to satisfy human needs.

By the social control and the workshop planning and administration, the practical democratic industrial organisation of wealth production and distribution, the Socialist seeks to make an end of present-day suffering from poverty. He would remove insecurity in all its forms from every home. He seeks to increase the actual personal, or *consumptive* property of every human being.

The Socialist aims to enlarge human freedom. He repudiates every form of coercion and dictated rule. Socialism is democracy and has freedom for its aim and liberty its working political method. The Socialist desires to effect a revolutionary change in society by the authority of a consenting and informed public opinion. Socialism objects to hereditary and to self-selected rulers alike.

Socialism is Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity in actual practice as the established order of life in a civilized community.

The United Socialist Movement is opposed to all capitalist war and militarism. It is opposed to those who would turn the class struggle within society, and within every nation, into a national struggle between nations. The United Socialist Movement is at once a revolutionary and an anti-militarist organisation.

If you accept this programme, join the United Socialist Movement. Found a group in your district. Become a member at large. If you live in Glasgow, attend our meetings and enable us to demonstrate our influence. Write *Ethel Macdonald, Secretary, U.S.M., Bakunin Hall, 29 Castle Street, Glasgow, C.4.* All comrades wishing to become members at large should send 1/- annual subscription.

PEEL INSTITUTE, CLERKENWELL.

Readers of *Dogmas Discarded* will be interested in an announcement made by the Peel Institute, Clerkenwell. It is proposed to establish a Gillett Memorial Room, at a cost of £300, to the memory of the Institute's Founder and President, Sir George M. Gillett, who was M.P. for Finsbury from 1923-31, and Commissioner for the Special Areas, 1936-39. The official opening of this room had to be postponed owing to the London bombings. The Quakers suffered equally with the militarists.

Henceforth, the first Saturday in October is to be known as the Gillett Commemoration Day.

Whatever Clerkenwell readers may think of the strictures published in *Dogmas Discarded*, these announcements will recall many memories of debates and associations in connection with Peel Institute over a period of forty years.

JOHN MACLEAN

BY HUGH MACDIARMID

[The following article by our friend and comrade, Hugh MacDiarmid (C. M. Grieve), is reprinted from *The Scottish Socialist*, Glasgow, for Nov.-Dec., 1940. It is the first of three articles. We shall reprint the other two. The full title of Grieve's article is: "John MacLean, Scotland, and The Communist Party." The editor of our contemporary, in a footnote to the article, comments that the Communist Party has altered its Scottish policy since MacLean's time. Maybe.—Ed.]

"Evidently my father is a very difficult man to biographise," his daughter, Mrs Nan Mercer, shyly observed to me in one of her letters. It is indeed a scandal that a biography of this magnificent working class leader—indubitably the greatest of modern Scotsmen—who had a far greater popular following than any other Scotsman in the course of our history, should not have been written yet, seventeen years after his tragic death at the early age of 44. The consolidation of his great work called for the speedy and effective execution of this pious duty, so that although dead he might yet speak, and continue to be a great incitement and inspiration to the workers of Scotland, and to the workers of the world at large. Yet it is easily understandable. As Guy Aldred has said—it was the policy of the authorities during the War to denounce Ramsay MacDonald (destined for the highest political honours) as a dangerous man in order to hide the fact that John Maclean was really the dangerous man. He is still incomparably dangerous. William Gallacher, M.P., in his Autobiography, "Revolt on the Clyde," tells how, in the autumn of 1922, "while we were in London, Kirkwood and I visited the Labour Party headquarters and tried our utmost to get the official endorsement of Maclean as the Labour candidate for Gorbals. Barnes had refused to accept the decision of the Conference and was still in the Government, and was, therefore, finished so far as the Labour Party was concerned. But the leadership of the Labour Party would not yield. 'Anyone but Maclean,' they said. We told them there would be no other. It was Maclean or nobody. The Local Labour Party was solidly behind him; why should they withhold their endorsement? Maclean wasn't suitable. Why wasn't he suitable? Oh, he just wasn't suitable, and beyond this we could not get."

There is the same opposition to-day to any attempt to renew Maclean's influence and give the workers access to the full facts of his career and—more important still—to his writings. (In that Autobiography Gallacher pays full tribute to Maclean's tireless energy and his magnificent Anti-war work, but coupled with this lip-service there is not only a significant failure to treat Maclean's ideas seriously or tell the truth of the disgraceful way in which his work to secure a Scottish Socialist Party was undermined when he was in jail, and the Communist Party of Great Britain formed instead. Above all, Gallacher makes out that Maclean was finally so broken up by his prison experiences as to be mentally irresponsible. Maclean's disgust with his betrayers is misrepresented as a growing jealousy and inability to work with others. Maclean's apprehensions with regard to prison treatment are scoffed at as the delusions of a man unbalanced by a persecution-complex (Gallacher forgetting that his personal experiences as a short-term prisoner have no relevance with regard to the treatment accorded to a long-term prisoner). MacShane follows Gallacher in all these damnable insinuations as one sheep follows another through a gap in a dyke. Having the whole of the biographical material in my hands, and having regard to the first-hand testimony of intimate friends of Maclean, and to the unimpaired acuity of understanding and coherence of expression revealed in Maclean's writings at this very time when Gallacher and MacShane would fain persuade us he was mentally diseased, I have no hesitation whatever in dismissing this atrocious story. It has obviously been manufactured to discredit his advocacy at this time of Scottish Workers' Republicanism, which is represented as a typical distortion of an aberrant mind.

This is no new expedient in politics, nor is it new in regard to Scottish Republicanism. Thomas Muir and Fletcher of Saltoun have similarly had doubts cast on their mental soundness, and one of the intentions in resorting to this infamous expedient in respect of Maclean is, undoubtedly, an anxiety to represent his advocacy of Scottish Workers' Republicanism as a new and unheralded departure and hide the fact that on the contrary Maclean came at the end of a long sequence of Scottish Radical and Republican thinkers, that this doctrine is as Rudolf Bringhamm, William Ferris and other writers on the Gaelic Commonwealth show a doctrine profoundly related to our hidden Gaelic traditions, and that in coming to it Maclean was not the victim of a mental disequilibrium, nor (as MacShane basely suggests) merely imitative of the Irish movement, but realising the deepest impulses of his whole nature in their final and highest form, and that so far from indicating any mental breakdown this development is in logical accord with the entire evolution of his political thought, and did not betray, but crowned his career, its relationship to all that had gone before, its consistency with his profound grasp of the whole situation in which Scotland was involved, and the forthrightness, courage, and power with which he avowed his stand for Scotland being in themselves enough to dispose at once of the suggestion that Maclean's brain was in any way impaired. I say no more at the moment of these vicious and unscrupulous suggestions since I deal with the whole matter more fuly in my second article. Suffice it for the time being to quote and reaffirm what I said on this score a year or two ago in my pamphlet, "Scotland; and the Question of a Popular Front against Fascism and War."

The depth of his Marxian analysis forced John Maclean to stand for Scottish Autonomy, and a Scottish Workers' Republic. The betrayal of Maclean's line by the Communist Party of Great Britain has resulted in a loss to Scottish Socialism beyond all reckoning. Even William Gallacher, M.P., who was primarily responsible for it, admits this, by implication, in his Autobiography. It is obvious that until the Communist Party abandons its present line and reverts to the lead given by John Maclean, it can never carry the masses of the Scottish people. A similar position was to be found in Catalonia—but there the Communist Party altered its line, and, as a direct result, its membership went up by leaps and bounds." Communism in Scotland was poisoned at its very well-spring by this betrayal of John Maclean, and can never do any good till it gets rid of of the damnable distortion so introduced and, along with the distortion, the false comrades, still active in the councils of the C.P. who were responsible for the betrayal Maclean never forgave or forgot.

What I have said in the foregoing paragraphs gives one of the reasons for the unconscionable delay in producing a biography of Maclean—to do so is to handle lightning. To have Maclean depicted to the life in an adequate biography might be to revive his unique and unprecedented influence with the Scottish workers. The working class movement in Scotland to-day is full of people like Iglesias's Spanish followers—"Opium Poppies" (adomideras) as they were called—a lot of honest folk, somewhat small-minded and devoted to the cult of the pretty virtues, if possible non-smokers and good workers, good fathers of their families, afraid above all to go too far." Humbly and modestly hoping that the rich may take a greater interest in the workers. Striving not for social equality but for the betterment of the workers. Their "leaders" (saving the mark) love the retail, the precedent, and the routine. Punctilious administration is their main strength. Almost all of them have been workers. They have, as Andrade puts it, been educated "not in the class struggle but in administrative patience." They were, and remain, afraid of John Maclean. So his career has been subjected to a general conspiracy of silence, while fame, as great Scotsmen, has been attributed to titled nonentities, party hacks, and all manner of sycophants and swindlers "whom the King has delighted to honour," in the country at large and in the working-class movement. There has been a failure in all too many quarters to profit by the lessons of the tragic fate of the great German and Austrian Social Democratic Organisations, an absence of concrete plans and a clear theory, and a general prevalence of the weakness best summed up on the Spanish word "Confusionismo." Maclean has not been forgotten, of course, by the class whose cause he so splendidly championed, though a great deal has happened since, a mass of bewildering developments and new alignments, and it is not easy at this distance to describe all the outs-and-ins and manifold bearings of the positions he adopted, and show that not a single one can be denounced as erroneous or misconceived from the standpoint of a thorough grasp of dialectical materialism no matter what changed positions in this respect or that the Communist Party in Russia or elsewhere may have adopted since. To show that would call for such a mastery of Marxism as Maclean himself possessed—and apparently no other Scot has yet attained. But the stumbling-block is perhaps less the difficulty than the danger. Maclean's was a great outgoing spirit with a fearless assurance of his Socialist integrity informing everything that he said and did, and this is in itself unpopular to-day in a country where even the majority of Communists are legalistic line-toers, who seem to regard Communism as a "guarded flame" that must be sedulously shielded from the rude blasts that encompass it, and move as if walking on eggs for fear any inadvertent step or the next word they utter may land them in heresy and result in their expulsion from the Party. A state of alarm which, of course, is general to-day and by no means restricted to members of the C.P. The general feeling is that there are few quarters now in which it is not definitely far too dangerous to say boo to a goose. For, as a friend of mine wrote me, after a recent visit to Scotland, "There is not the slightest doubt that at the moment fear is reigning supreme, and the dialectical process just now seems to be to huddle together. Anyway, there is a complete lack of individual assertion, and the man who does assert ever so slightly is to be crushed."

Apart from this general condition of affairs, it is especially crude to be obviously Scottish; much better get any rude provincial difference of that sort polished away, and share the blessings of English civilisation, compared to which the Scottish tradition is mere barbarism (as a Fife litterateur, a typical "superior person," has put it, unaware that during his last great trial Maclean, with his wonderful proleptic faculty, said—"I should say the last place in which a revolution would take place would be Fife." Assimilation to English standard, this literary gentleman tells us, is the criterion of good breeding. It is "dreadfully immature to be irreconciliably opposed to English Imperialism." English culture is taken as synonymous with civilis-

ation, nor does its present condition suggest that there should be inverted commas round the word, and any clinging to the broken tradition of Scots language and literature (let alone any "damned Celtic romanticism") is dismissed as "mere childishness" and the "most nonsensical trash." It behoves reasonable Scots to-day to recognise that the issue has already been finally decided against them, and to adjust themselves to English culture, with all the grace and even gratitude they can muster. Yet this writer calls himself a Socialist! It is, of course, only the cultural snobism of a renegade Scot and lick-spittle of English Imperialism. For Fife, at the time he wrote, had become the centre of the Scottish Literary Movement, subverted from the revolutionary programme of its imitators by fascisising tendencies, and already hand in hand with the dangerous policy which had begun to fill Scotland with a proliferation of Fascistic Boards and Development Councils and offer a pseudo-satisfaction to Scottish Nationalism by transferring the Scottish Office to impressive new buildings in Edinburgh.

No wonder a blind eye is turned to John Maclean's place in Scottish history while all this is going on, for the essence of Maclean's whole position when he declared that he stood for a Scottish Workers' Autonymous Republic, lay in a recognition of the fact that Capitalist Development is at a more advanced stage in Scotland than in England (therefore, too, Fascism is further developed) and that in addition to the Capitalist exploitation which the workers in Scotland suffer in common with the workers in England, Scotland is subject also to Imperialist oppression from which England is free. It was Maclean's recognition of the fact that just as Connolly said of Ireland that the social revolution would be incomplete without a national revolution, so in Scotland here it is obvious that the objectives of the social revolution can only be realised if it eventuates in autonomy on a Communist basis, which gave him his unique power as the greatest revolutionary leader of the Scottish Workers, and it is unthinkable that the Scottish workers will ever respond in like fashion to anyone who lacks a similar perception of the specifically Scottish question.

In saying this, I am adverting to Keir Hardie's admonition that Socialism would have been given a much greater impetus if Scottish Socialists had given pre-eminence to Scottish Independence alongside the Irish Independence issue, and to the splendid lead given by John Maclean, which circumstances since have so amply vindicated, viz. (from his Gorbals Election Address, 1923), "Scotland's wisest policy is to declare for a Republic in Scotland, so that the youths of Scotland will not be forced out to die for England's markets. I accordingly stand out as a Scottish Republican candidate, feeling sure that if Scotland had to elect a Parliament to sit in Scotland it would vote for a Working-Class Parliament. Such a Parliament would have to use the might of the workers to force Scotland, and the means of production in Scotland, out of the grasp of the brutal few who control them, and place them at the full disposal of the community. The Social Revolution is possible sooner in Scotland than in England. The working class policy ought to be to break up the Empire to avert war and enable the workers to triumph in every country and colony. Scottish separation is part of the process of England's Imperial disintegration and is a help towards the ultimate triumph of the workers of the world. . . . Had the Labour men stayed in Glasgow and started a Scottish Parliament, as did the genuine Irish in Dublin in 1918, England would have sat up and made concessions to Scotland just to keep her ramshackle Empire intact to bluff other countries. . . . Ireland will only get her Republic when Scotland gets hers."

It is so eminently reasonable a line as to brook no gainsaying—the opposite of all the "I do believe in Freedom's cause, as far away as Poland is" business. In Russia, the rebellion of the suppressed Nationalists considerably aided the workers' revolution. In Spain it performed a similar function.. It turns a great many of middle-class people against the Central Government, the separatist fights for decentralisation, threatens the State with pulverisation, and, when successful, weakens the resistance the Central Government can put up against the revolutionary movement,.' and despite Edwin Muir's supercilious contentions in his "Scott and Scotland," the Scots language is no less susceptible of educated classes in the 16th century; but continued to be spoken by the lower classes, by "illiterate peasants,'" and by "the rabble of the town." "Nationalist movements are sound, justified, and usually irresistible." The Scottish movement will be no exception. The real trouble is that in Germany a combination of clever propaganda and of fierce and inhuman terror have managed to obsess the public mind with problems of foreign policy. In England, the astuteness of the ruling class, and the suicidal tendencies of the Parliamentary Opposition, have obtained a similar result and concentrated public attention, even within the Labour Movement, upon the question of Imperial policy to the exclusion of everything else." It is high time Scotland was completely taken up with the problems of internal policy instead. Every means will be taken to prevent anything of the sort happening. The Irish "troubles" will be child's play in comparison to the bloody repression visited upon Scotland by the English Government should any such tendency develop. Yet we would win, as the Irish did, and with far less loss to the Scottish Nation than for no good end, we sustained in the First Imperialist War, and are to-day again sustaining in the Second one.

SIR PATRICK DOLLAN.

Parliamentarism has arrived and P. J. Dollan received his Knighthood on January 1st, 1941. This is the climax of many years alleged Socialist Parliamentarism and strenuous denial of Anti-Parliamentarian "slanders." Press comments on Sir Patrick Dollan's title—and significant press omissions as to his 1916-1918 Conchie-days' activities—will appear next month. As a Socialist, we have never believed in honours or honours' list. If we did, even under capitalism, we know of men belonging to the City of Glasgow, who are not Socialists and seek no careers, whose names should figure in such lists. Those responsible for drawing up the list would honour themselves by including such names. But that would be departure from routine and would be unforgivable. Dollan receives the conventional title for conventional services. The award becomes the man. It proclaims to the world his utter and complete mediocrity. In a city of misery, representing one of the most miserable divisions of the city, he has arrived. He receives a Knighthood—like the Lord Provost before him for having failed to do battle with the dragon of poverty and war—the monster of capitalist exploitation.

KING'S SPEECH DEBATE.

The debate on John McGovern's amendment will be discussed fully in the February *Word*. The voting list will be analysed. Also, the debate on 18B. We are publishing *full parliamentary* reports of these vital discussions, as they affect human progress towards a world of peace and commonweal, and our traditional and historic rights of liberty of thought and association.

OLIVER BROWN'S PAMPHLETS.

Two excellent fact pamphlets from the pen of Oliver Brown, M.A., are being circulated and may be obtained from our office. They are: *Scotland and Westminster*, published at 2d., in which the author adduces facts to make a plea for a Scottish Socialist Government; and *The Hypocrisy and Folly of This War*, including Will Dyson's prophetic 1919 cartoon, reprinted from the *Daily Herald*. This is published at 1d. Both pamphlets will be sent post-free for 4½d. They are on sale at most Labour and Socialist bookshops.

We believe that the author has another pamphlet in hand. This will be published by the I.L.P. in due course.

LAWYERS & CONSCIENCE

Lawyers are not suspected of scruples. Sometimes they are supposed to be brilliant. During 1940, a number of lawyers appeared before Conscientious Objectors' Tribunals in England and Wales, to express and define their scruples. None of them appeared very brilliant. Only two were treated with consideration, and only one secured absolute exemption.

John Harvey Robson, of The Mount, Causey Hill, Hexham, the well-known barrister of the North-Eastern Circuit, was unconditionally registered as a conscientious objector at Newcastle Tribunal on Tuesday, August 20.

Robson, a member of the Church of England, said that at the beginning of the war he expressed a desire to do any work for the nation which was not directly or indirectly associated with belligerent activities.

Sir Luke Thompson: What do you mean by directly or indirectly associated with any belligerent activities?—I mean activity connected with the prosecution of the war.

J. S. Aston, a solicitor, of Stanhope Avenue, Church End, appeared before the Law Courts Conscientious Objectors' Tribunal on Friday, August 23. Asked if he would fight a war to end war, Aston replied "No." The Tribunal allowed Aston's name to remain on the register of conscientious objectors subject to his doing work on the land or A.R.P. work.

Sir Stafford Cripps is one of the most distinguished lawyers of our time and highly successful as an income earner. His son, John Stafford Cripps, is not a lawyer, but he has been reared in the legal atmosphere. So his appeal before the Oxford Tribunal, on Wednesday, September 3, has a place here. He was registered to do work of national importance.

Cripps submitted that war was irreconcilable with the Christian belief in the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man . He left Oxford University in 1934, had worked at the Oxford Institute of Agricultural Economics, and for nearly two years was on the staff of *The Countryman*. At one time he was prospective Parliamentary Labour candidate for Exeter.

The chairman (Judge Drucquer) said the Tribunal was of opinion that Cripp's work on *The Countryman* was of national importance, but, in addition, he would be required to do agricultural or horticultural work or market gardening for two days a week.

The Liverpool Tribunal registered for non-combatant duties a solicitor, well known in the city, Stanley Williams, aged 29, of Glenwyllin Road, Crosby, who appeared on religious grounds as a member of the Calvinistic Methodist Church of Wales.

Williams told the Tribunal that, in spite of the merits of the cause, he could not conscientiously inflict suffering upon others.

"I rather feel I must work for the alleviation of the suffering of humanity, whatever may be the cause of such suffering. As I cannot conscientiously draw any distinction between suffering soldiers and other human beings I am ready to succour soldiers on the battlefield or elsewhere."

Professor W. Lyon Blease, Professor of Law in the University of Liverpool, spoke to the sincerity and ability of Williams.

The next day the Leeds Tribunal granted conditional exemption to a Leeds solicitor, Joseph Rowntree Naish, aged 32, of 27 Cumberland Avenue, Headingly, Leeds. The condition was that Naish continued work as an inspector for the N.S.P. C. C., which work he had undertaken on account of the shortage of inspectors.

Naish impressed this awkward Tribunal with his sincerity, and even Judge Stewart said:—

"This man is sincere. This is one of the cases which justifies this Act being on the Statute Book. I only wish I could say that of some of the others."

Evidence showed that Naish had been a member of the Society of Friends since birth. He had always held strong views against war and militarism. He served as "poor man's lawyer" in the East Street district of Leeds. His work for the N.S.P.C.C. was unpaid.

On Wednesday, October 2, the London Tribunal, sitting at the Law Courts, registered for non-combatant duties Robert Norman Law, a solicitor, of 44 Queen's Road, Reading. Law was very conciliatory. He told the Tribunal that as a follower of Christ he was convinced he was prohibited from taking human life. An elder of the Metropolitan Tabernacle, he had held pacifist views for a number of years.

Announcing the decision of the Tribunal Judge Hancock said:

"I would have thought that as a lawyer applicant would have seen there is a possibility he is wrong. He thinks he is infallible, but he quite honestly and sincerely holds these views."

Among the applicants for exemption from military service appearing before the North Wales Conscientious Objectors' Tribunal at Caernarvon on Wednesday, October 9, was Daniel Gwyndalf Williams, solicitor, Portmadoc.

In his statement he said:

"I am fully conscious that a victory for Hitler and the forces behind him would destroy our democratic system of government, deprive us of our traditional liberties, and overthrow those standards of human conduct to which, after a struggle of many centuries, we have achieved."

Williams added that he did not think that Hitlerism could be destroyed by the resistance of military force. Such a method was also evil because it involved the very wrongs which we sought to eradicate.

The chairman (Judge Sir Thomas Artemus Jones)—Supposing a number of Germans were to land at Portmadoc and martial law was declared, you would then be subject to military control?

The Applicant—I would refuse to comply if they asked me to do things which were in conflict with my conscinece. He added that he had no objection to doing humanitarian work not under military control, nor to work on the land to help his fellow-men.

Williams was registered to do full-time hospital work.

The following day a barrister-at-law, and member of the Welsh Nationalist Party, named Drfydd Arwyn Jenkins, was ordered to do non-combatant work by the same Tribunal sitting at Aberystwyth.

Jenkins had appeared on behalf of Welsh Nationalists at previous tribunals, and was the organising secretary of the Welsh language in the Law Courts Petition Committee.

Applicant was called to the Bar six years ago, He objected to military duties of all kinds. He recognised that some forms of non-combatant service in the Army were in themselves beneficial, but they would not exist apart from war, and their first purpose was to help the war.

At the end of his examination the chairman (Sir T. Artemus Jones) remarked: "I hope many barristers do not hold your views."

B.B.C. AND OBJECTORS

The *Daily Herald*, on December 10, last, announced that the B.B.C. chiefs had informed one of their officials that he would be dismissed as soon as they were notified by the Ministry of Labour that he had registered as a conscientious objector.

They also told him that the B.B.C. would refuse to recognise the decision of a tribunal that he should continue in his employment.

A memorandum circulated among B.B.C. employees states:

"It has recently been decided by the Board of Governors that conscientious objectors who have registered under the National Service Act shall have their engagement terminated forthwith.

"If and when they obtain non-combatant service with the Forces the Corporation will be prepared to consider applications by them for reinstatement."

MAN IS IMMORTAL

By THE DUKE OF BEDFORD

[The following notes of criticism on *Why Jesus Wept* were addressed to the author by the Duke of Bedford. The notes are interesting and will inspire discussion. The author maintains his position and will defend it in due course. He does not believe in the existence of a god. He believes in the mortal soul of man. He inclines to believe in the fact of the existence of Jesus, the man, and regards Jesus as a prophet of human emancipation. But he also believes that those who hold contrary views ought to be heard.—Ed.]

*p.*5—The chief objections to the rejection of the idea of immortality seems to me to be.

1. That it rules out the possibility of the existence of a good and loving god and it seems to me that there is a great deal of sound reason for believing in the existence of such a god.
2. That it invokes us in the necessity of regarding as mistaken on this point many of the best and wisest men who have ever lived—first and foremost Christ himself.
3. Belief in a future life has been a source of comfort and inspiration to countless very fine people. It is a *very* rare thing for *error* to be a deep source of comfort and inspiration to many such people. Indeed I can think of no parallel case.
4. It is difficult to see by what process the immortal personality *can* come to an end or why separation from its "house," the body, should cause it to do so.

*p.*8—It is not *very* easy to see why Jesus wept on the *twenty fourth* occassion on which He is recorded as having done so. There is no reason to suppose that the things mentioned here were in his mind when he saw the distress of Lazarus' relatives.

Objection to the Virgin Birth always goes hand in hand with rejection of Christ's divinity. *If* He were what He claimed to be, Virgin Birth was the *most mortal* method for Him to enter the world.

"Reality" contains some very thought provoking arguments for the existence of a *Christlike* god. There is certainly no evidence of the existence of any other.

*p.*9—Polygamy may have physical advantages, anyhow for women in a society where women predominate in numbers but the mental and spiritual drawbacks to polygamous unions, involving the children, also, of such unions are very grave if you are aiming at anything approaching ideal relations between men and women and ideal conditions for the upbringing of children.

*p.*10—It would be more true to say that Jesus stood for a way of life independent of class. It is true He began as a working man but when He started his mission He annoyed His fellow-workers by His possession of a degree of education and spiritual knowledge which was not normal to carpenters.

*p.*12—The Labour M.P. twisted Christ's words rather oddly to suit his purpose. The context shows quite plainly that Jesus was merely warning His followers against excessive preoccupation with material things to the neglect of spiritual.

*p.*13—Revolutionary "force," perhaps, but not revolutionary violence.

*p.*15—It is untrue that Christianity did not teach the immortality of the soul. It was not the *only* religion to teach it.

*p.*24—"Consolation to a malefactor"—by, according to your view, telling him a lie! You say there can be no paradise.

*p.*27—If there was no resurrection how do the unorthodox account for the sudden and amazing change in the disciples' character and outlook, and their willingness to face death for proclaiming what they knew to be a lie?

*p.*27—What if the Divine possesses such powers of self-limitation on the one hand and aid to men on the other if the right conditions are fulfilled that Jesus as God's explanation of Himself to man is *not* outside the realm of human evolution?

A Theist must reject the divinity of Jesus only if he disbelieves in the nature of god being love. Love solitary is unthinkable. A Deity which is Love by its own nature cannot have been solitary before the creation of the world.

*p.*30—No conception of man's can, in ultimate analysis, be other than anthropomorphic.

My definition of a Christian (as distinct from Christlike man) is one who believes Christ to be the Divine Son of God and bears a reasonable degree of resemblance to him in character and outlook.

*p.*34—Had it not been for fundamentalism and the unmoral doctrine of the atonement held by the idolaters of the Bible there would have been no Unitarian Church and no protest against the very reasonable conception of a Deity whose nature is Love existing in a triune form and not in a solitary one.

*p.*64—I do not think the real Christian ever suggests that there is virtue in the mere fact of being, far from it. It is the quality of life that matters. Few enlightened Christians to-day deny the probability of future existence for animals. A good soul would not be unduly grieved by the thought that another soul had gone the other way if it knew that it had gone the other way only after deliberately refusing all the appeals of Perfect Love to do otherwise—the appeals and the efforts to help. To the good there can be nothing pitiable, attractive or lovable about the *wholly* evil and its annihilation. The contrary feeling is based on two false old-fashioned religious ideas.

1. The doctrine of eternal *torment*—a ghostly theory.

2. The suggestion that people may be exter nally lost who may not be wholly evil and may not have refused *every* possible chance. This too is a horrible and unchristian idea and no good soul, certainly, could contemplate it with, peace of mind.

"If we act uprightly to-day we are pleased to-day." There is a measure of truth here but there is a suggestion of somewhat selfish or at anyrate self-regardant morality! Moreover there are occasions when doing right can mean gethsemane and not a nice warm glow of self-righteousness! Many people can act meanly and enjoy themselves nearly or quite all their lives, especially if their lives are ended suddenly in their early prime. I knew an extremely selfish though able and courageous young man who was killed in the last war. He enjoyed himself hugely—often at other people's expense—and also enjoyed the war—until it killed him!

Why could not a man be punished in the hereafter if his conscience did not trouble him much in this life. Could a man who enjoyed himself through physical pleasures and by exploiting the defenceless and good-natured be punished by having to live with the selfish in a state which did not admit of physical pleasures?

Immortal existence in the company of good and happy people could be a *tremendous* joy and recompense to anyone whose good life on earth had involved much suffering and separation from loved ones. The theory of rewards and punishments is fundamental truth—you yourself admit its operation in *this* life. A man's character is to a great extent reward or punishment here—but not always or perfectly. In the hereafter the process is perfected and carried to its logical conclusion.

Why does the doctrine make God an upholder of a world of fundamental discord? Annihilation is the final end of the wholly evil. Hell comes before annihilation which is the only act of final kindness which Love can bestow on the wholly evil. Many thousands believe in immortality.

*p.*66—It has been my experience that the more man understands himself the more he is aware of the need and value of God. What if God be the biggest part of truth? Christ said He was the Truth and also that He was one with God. I have never yet met a man who denied the existence of God and his own need for God who was any good at helping, redeeming and making the best of *really* awkward and unpleasant people. Many such men are very nice with nice people but the other sort soon brings them to the end of their patience and their resources. (They often bring me to the end of mine, but

there are, thank God, many truer Christians than I, some of whom I have been privileged to know!).

There are many interesting, true and helpful things in *Why Jesus Wept*, even though you have rather made Jesus in the image of your own social doctrine!

Those who deny the Divinity of Jesus while praising the man always involve themselves in the dilemma of taking as their hero someone who was terribly mistaken in a great deal that He said and thought; or, alternatively, if they ascribe all Jesus' supposed references to God as human inventions, they leave the gospels so fearfully mutilated and the work of such romancers the that one wonders how much of what is left of the record of Jesus' life and teaching may not also be untrue.

CAN ANYTHING BE WORSE THAN WAR

Dr Earnest A. Hooton, of Harvard, world-famous anthropologist, said some things at the recent session of the Harvard Summer School which are worth pondering.

Referring to the present plight of Europe, he declared that it was traceable to the World War of 1914-18, since that war was

"largely responsible for the decline in human physique, intelligence and morality which has led in Europe to the abandonment of individual liberty and free institutions."

Continuing, he said:—

"War kills and cripples the best and most vigorous of the breeding stock and wreaks havoc upon the nervous and endocrine organization of potential mothers, thereby lowering the quality of the offspring which they produce. It depresses nutritional and general environmental conditions, so that a post-war generation is conceived in pathology and born in despair."

This, of course, is nothing new. It was the preachment for years of Dr. David Starr Jordan, who argued as an eminent biologist that war sapped the race of those very qualities of blood and breed, of body, mind and spirit, which could alone maintain the civilization for which war was being fought. War, in other words, strikes at the very roots of those very things which are presented by non-pacifists as the justification of war. Which immediately raises the question—Can anything be worse than war? Yes, we are told—the loss of liberty is worse than war.

But war itself loses this very liberty for which you choose to fight, as witness Professor Hooton's statement that the last war led straight to that "abandonment of individual liberty and free institutions" which has annihilated European civilization. Yes—the loss of national entity, we are told, is worse than war. But how many European nations have now lost their national existence just because of that "decline in human physique, intelligence, and morality" which was the result of the last war?

"It is better to die fighting on our feet," we are told flamboyantly these days, "than to live bowing on our knees." But what if the fighting on our feet forces us feebly to our knees, where we perish of weakness and despair? War is itself the complete destroyer. Only by abandoning war can we hope to save anything. The last war brought us starvation, misery, chaos, Naziism, Hitler, the present horror. Yet there are those who would go to war again—to save mankind!

Unity, Chicago, August 19, 1940.

In the United States, many religious leaders have urged respect for conscientious objectors and their scruples. Among those who have testified before House and Senate committee hearings on the conscript bill were Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick, of the Riverside Presbyterian Church in New York City; the Right Reverend W. Appleton Lawrence, the Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Western Massachusetts; James A. Crain, Executive Secreaary, Department of Social Education and Social Action, Disciples of Christ; C. F. Boss, Jr., Executive Secretary of the General CConference Comm. on World Peace, Methodist Episcopal Church; and Paul C. French, representing the Friends General Conference.

ORPHEUS CHOIR BAN

It was announced in the press on Monday, December 2, that Sir Hugh Roberton, founder and conductor of the famous Glasgow Orpheus Choir, has been refused further broadcasts by the B.B.C. because he is a pacifist. The report added:—

"The choir, which was to have broadcast on Wednesday next, has refused to go on without him, and the transmission has been cancelled."

The following statement was issued from Broadcasting House, London:—

"The B.B.C. does not, in time of war, invite to the microphone anyone publicly known to be opposed to the national effort.

"As Sir Hugh Roberton has reaffirmed the views he has publicly expressed on this subject, the B.B.C. could not, as it would otherwise have done, invite him to appear at the microphone with the Orpheus Choir."

The dispute was carried a step further on December 4 by a public statement by Mr F. H. Bisset, president of the choir. Mr Bisset pointed out that he does not share Sir Hugh's views on the war, neither do the other officers of the choir. The choir is a purely musical organisation.

Commenting on the B.B.C.'s action, he said:—

"Joan of Arc has been a long time dead, but it appears that the English heresy-hunter still runs to type.

"The choir, it appears, is no longer to broadcast," he went on. "Sir Hugh Roberton—regarded by those who know as the most distinguished living conductor of 'a capella' choral music—has, it seems, quite another side to his character. The B.B.C. has made the shocking discovery that he is a pacifist, and apparently, in some queer way, this connects up with his work as a musician.

"But because Sir Hugh is a professed and unrepentant pacifist the ever-patriotic B.B.C. has cancelled the choir's broadcast engagements. Well, not quite. If Sir Hugh is prepared to recant or if the choir is prepared to find some other conductor whose personal views find favour in the eyes of the B.B.C. everything in the garden will again be lovely. Honour will be satisfied. Thus do we guard and cherish that liberty of conscience, that freedom in citizenship, for which we are understood to be fighting."

On December 7, Sir Hugh Roberton made a statement to the *Scottish Daily Express* reporter, which was published in that journal the following day. Sir Hugh said:—

"For the past 20 years super-patriots have been criticising us for not singing the National Anthem at concerts. Most of these people, I have found out, have never attended an Orpheus Choir concert, and probably never will.

"They do not know what they are talking about. *The National Anthem is never sung at choral concerts.*

"The Orpheus Choir opens with a beautiful hymn to the King of Kings. Could a better opening be given?

"The Orpheus Choir has sung twice before the King and Queen, and once before King George V. *They wanted to hear choral music, and did not worry about the National Anthem.* It is only would-be patriots who know nothing about music who bring up this red herring.

"I am surely entitled to devise the programme of music for the Orpheus Choir concerts, and I do not see how the National Anthem, which has never been sung at concerts, should be introduced.

"There is nothing personal about the omission of the Anthem from our programmes."

The *Glasgow Herald* has published considerable correspondence on this B.B.C. ban. We reproduce three opinions:—

"Of what worth is a democracy which penalises a man whose enthusiastic activities have been devoted to the cultivating of artistic expression and granting to his audiences exhilaration of spirit? One does not like to think that in Britain Christians are being persecuted for their profession of Christian principles.

"If the B.B.C. objected to Sir Hugh Roberton broadcasting 'pacifism' one would understand, but to refuse to broadcast his choir betrays a spirit of bigotry which to most Britons is repugnant. To be consistent the B.B.C. should refuse to use German pianos and delete from their programmes all the music that is not hallmarked by Britain or her Allies.

"Sir Hugh and his choir shall no doubt render *The Beatitudes* with even greater fervour than hitherto (and that is saying much). 'Blessed are ye when men shall revile you and persecute you. . . . Rejoice and be exceeding glad, for great is your reward.' How refreshing it is to hear some one expressing his convictions in these days.

* * *

"The B.B.C. should choose choirs for their musicianship and that should be the only criterion.

* * *

"We are supposed to be fighting for freedom of conscience rather than for self-preservation, yet because of his love of peace and harmony rather than of war and discord one of our foremost musical conductors is not allowed to broadcast.

"Many who are by no means disloyal to their King and country nevertheless see no reason for constantly singing "God Save the King" before or after everything they do. There are a whole lot of things they pray in private that God may save—truth, freedom, liberty, love, purity, meekness, and the virtues of all good men, the King's included. We owe a higher loyalty even than to our earthly King, yet we do not sing about it before or after every musical performance.

"It is these fanatical, super-patriots of all nationalities who think it a virtue to put their own nation before everything else that are the cause of all wars."

On Thursday, December 12, Mr William C Park, an I.L.P. member of Glasgow Corporation, was suspended after he had refused to accept the Lord Provost's ruling that the motion he had submitted, expressing disapproval of the B.B.C. in cancelling the engagement of Sir Hugh Roberton and the Orpheus Choir was not urgent.

When the motion was read by the Town Clerk the Lord Provost immediately said he did not consider it to be urgent. Park maintained that it was a matter of public interest, and Dollan pointed out that if he wished to raise the matter he would have to give notice of motion in the ordinary way. Park replied that it was urgent and the Lord Provost again held that it was not urgent and asked Mr Park to resume his seat. The I.L.P. member continued to stand, saying, "Actions such as this by the B.B.C. is inculcating into this country Nazism in its worst form."

The Lord Provost—"Sorry, you are faded out."

Park continued speaking, and the Lord Provost said that he was going to ask the Senior Magistrate to move his suspension. After a pause Dollan added: "If this is not done, I am going to move the adjournment of the house."

This brought from Bailie M'Kinlay the protest that he was merely waiting to see if Mr Park would not take his seat.

Eventually Mr Park's suspension was moved and carried by a large majority. He continued to address the Corporation until he was warned by the Lord Provost that he was not in order in doing so.

As Mr Park walked out escorted by the Council Officer he shouted to the Lord Provost, "You are associating yourself with the same Nazi tactics as the B.B.C."

PENALISING C.O.s

The following interesting letter appeared in the *Manchester Guardian*, for November 19 last:

"Sir,—You print to-day a dignified protest, made yesterday by Judge Sir T. Artemus-Jones, against the penalisation of conscientious objectors. On another page the chairman of another tribunal is reported as having said, on the same day, to a teacher conscientious objector: 'I am not at all sure that it is good for a conscientious objector to teach children.' Does not this amount to flat opposition to the wishes of the Government, which were forcibly expressed in Parliament not long ago by Mr. Ernest Bevin? It is comical to be told that the teacher was afterwards registered as a conscientious objector 'on condition that he remains in his present occupation.'

"May I end by quoting a paragraph which appeared in the *Manchester Guardian* a little over eight years ago (July 28, 1932)?

TEACHERS WHO OBJECTED TO WAR

—The Glamorgan County Education Committee at Cardiff on Tuesday decided to restore to those teachers who were conscientious objectors during the war the increments deducted from their salaries on account of their war attitude. Only the chairman (Sir William Jenkins, M.P.) and two other members voted against the proposal.

"I suppose we may expect to see another similar paragraph appear in your paper somewhere about 1950.—Yours, &c.,

"R. W. KING.

"3, Menai View Terrace, Bangor,
"North Wales, November 14."

HENRY J. ADLARD

PULPIT LIBERTARIAN

(concluded from page 60.)

On the Sunday that Mr Adlard delivered his address on Universal Religion at Sioux City, he pronounced the following benediction at the conclusion of the service.

"Benediction

"May we leave this place filled with a greater sense of modesty, and with minds duly chastened by a proper humility. May we endeavour to practise a wider toleration of the other men's faiths, they also being seekers after the truth and the light. May we scatter, day by day, a spirit of kindliness, brotherhood and justice among all men everywhere, seeking thereby to establish holy bonds of human comradeship and an abiding peace, so that, unitedly, we may build on earth the commonwealth of man, the fellowship of the free."

Notes from Sermon on John Morley

Only a few of Mr. Adlard's addresses have been reported, since his pastorate at the Trim Street Unitarian Chapel, Bath. The local paper reported the address he delivered there on the Centenary of Viscount Morley, whom he described as "a great Englishman." We embody this report.

Mr. Adlard quoted the excerpt from Bishop Whately, that Morley placed on the fly-page of his work *On Compromise*:

"It makes all the difference whether we put truth in the first place or in the second place."

Declaring that this principle was Morley's guiding star, Adlard stated that Morley lost his seat in Newcastle, in 1895, on a matter of principle; and on the same ground opposed the Boer War in 1899 and left the Ministry, in 1914. It might be said of Morley as it was said of John Stuart Mill: "*He raised the tone of Parliament.*"

Adlard quoted Morley's utterance during the Boer War:

"You can carry fire and sword into the midst of peace and industry; it will be wrong. A war of the strongest government in the world, with untold wealth and inexhaustible resources against this little republic will bring you no glory; it will be wrong. You may make thousands of women widows and thousands of children fatherless; it will be wrong. It may add a new province to your Empire, it will still be wrong. You may give buoyance to the African stock and share market; it will still be wrong."

Finally, the speaker described Morley as he regarded him:

"John Morley was not only a great Englishman in the best sense of the word; he was a great 'liberal,' with a little 'l.' He was the finished embodiment of such, a Victorian with a conscience. He stood for those things which, with all our easy-goingness and compromise, have made England great and admired. It is fitting in these days, with things as they are, when international morality is at a low ebb, that we should commemorate the first centenary of his birth.

"John Morley was not a pioneer, a radical, a man of swift action. Rather he was a moral touchstone, a jealous guardian and conserver of great altars of the past—altars profanely desecrated in these times—of intellectual integrity, freedom of thought and speech. He was a great humanist. With him it was not expediency. It was ever the sheer moral issue; what is right,not popular. For him the issues were ever serious, far-reaching. They must be carefully weighed. He never trifled with the truth; and, looking back, one has to admit that he was so often right—and in a minority. . . .

"Much might be said about Morley's religion or lack of it. I am persuaded that, like his comperes, Mill and Huxley, he had much more religion than some of his critics. He became notorious in his earlier days for spelling the Name God with a small g. The important thing is not how to spell God in books, but how He is spelled in our lives. I would call Morley a reverent,, Puritan-Agnostic humanist. To claim him, as some do, as an 'unavowed Christian,' seems to me not only beside the mark, but adds nothing to his stature.

"The name, Christian, has become a sort of omnibus in these days, where almost anyone can get on board for next to nothing. If by Christian they mean one who 'went about doing good,' then, if Morley was not a religious man, it is rather a bad job for religion."

HAVELOCK ELLIS ADDRESS

When Havelock Ellis died in 1939 at the age of 80, Mr. Adlard delivered an address on his

[*Photo taken in Duluth, U.S.A.*

worth at the Trim Street Chapel. Adlard said that the important fact about Ellis was that he had lived in such a fashion that he would not die for a long time, if ever. One could not say of his fourscore years that they were "labour and sorrow"; rather they were serenity, fulness, happiness. Yet one wonders how much he meant to the average man; even a prominent London newspaper gave him no more space than a champion prize fight.

Not only was Havelock Ellis a great, wise, catholic-minded man, but he was, as a distinguished American said, "Undoubtedly the most civilised Englishman living to-day."

Adlard accepts Clive Bell's definition of a civilized man: "*One who has a sense of values and reason enthroned.*"

Mrs. Ellis styled her husband: "A hermit and yet an iconoclast"; "A lover of mankind, yet withdrawn from its haunts." Never, Adlard continued, was there a more gentle, persuasive, yet at the same time a more ruthless, outspoken "iconoclast."

Like many other great men he was shy, retiring, no self-advertiser, rarely appearing in public, having but a tiny voice for so rugged a face. Yet no man knew his world better. He entered many fields, passed his judgment upon them, and while it must not be expected that he was equally competent in all, he was ever illuminating, always adorning that which he touched.

Ellis was an adventist in the true sense of the word, an announcer, a man who opened up new vistas of values and living. He looked what he really was—a philosopher, combining depth with breadth. His intellect was acutely analytical, but his emotions responded to more than the intellect can define.

A man of letters, yet his most abiding contribution to mankind was in the realm of sex. A forerunner of Freud, it is here that he will be longest honoured and remembered. There has been such a tremendous swing from sex repressions in recent years that it is difficult for us to realise the hubbub caused by the publication of six volumes on the *Psychology of Sex*. The second volume, which actually appeared first, *Sexual Inversion*, was published in England in 1897. A short time after its publication a bookseller, George Bedborough, was prosecuted for selling it, on the grounds of "obscenity." The prosecution caused a stir in the literary and scientific world. A defence committee was formed, but when the trial began (Oct., 1898) the defendant lost courage, and pleaded guilty. Ellis, not being prosecuted, had no standing in court, and was obliged to listen to the Recorder's grossly offensive comments on his character without any means of replying, but his sensitive nature was deeply wounded. Eventually, the volumes were published in Philadelphia.

Ellis had a sympathetic, critical attitude toward Freud rather than that of a partisan. Freud dealt with abnormal sex behaviour, Ellis with normal sex behaviour as it functions in society, and held that a proper knowledge of it was concerned with the very foundations of society. He pleaded for sexual education and hygiene, that it must not be left to a few scientific amateurs, but that it must begin at the top with the teachers themselves, and emanate from the centres of learning. This "Magnus Opus" of Ellis made him notorious rather than famous—and as is ever the case—the main criticism of his Psychology of Sex came from those who had not read the book.

Ellis was also a literary critic and creator of considerable importance with a tremendous total output to his name. He was most attracted to those writers who had what could be interpreted as a message, those men who endeavour to make their fellow men see life in a new light. Hence some of his great spiritual comrades were Edward Carpenter. Olive Schreiner, Tolstoy, Zola, Ibsen. He had a great faith in the underlying unity of thought and art. This is specially developed in that original and popular book, *The Dance of Life*, in which he demonstrates, in several fields, his rhythmic response to the universe, and held that there is no impassable gulf between the poet and the mathematician, the musician and the scientist. One of his last compilations of earlier volumes, *The Fountain of Life* might be used as a bedside book of devotion for a Humanist. Much more might be said; it is all summed up in that, "He was a great civilised man"—the world's greatest need.

This summary of Henry Adlard's address on Ellis gives some index to the work he has been attempting at Bath.

We conclude by reproducing the announcements of some of his other addresses for the years 1938, 1939, and 1940:

Trim Street Chapel,
Bath

. . .

"——— this sorry Scheme of Things entire
Would we not shatter it to bits—and then
Remould it nearer to the Heart's Desire!"

. . .

1938 Addresses
Sundays at 6.30 p.m.
MAKING THE WORLD OVER

Oct. 16 THE IDEAL GOAL and PROPOSED WAYS.
Oct. 23 THE KIND OF MAN TO DO IT.
Nov. 6 REFORM ON THE LARGER OR SMALL SCALE?
Nov. 13 WHAT CAN THE INDIVIDUAL DO?
Nov. 20 NEW EDUCATION FOR OLD.
Nov. 27 THE SUPREMACY OF ETHICS.
Dec. 4 THE UNDERLING PHILOSOPHY.
Dec. 11 WHERE DOES RELIGION COME IN?

. . .

These Addresses have been provoked by Aldous Huxley's stimulating "Ends and Means." They will be a combination of Realism and Idealism as they courageously face the world as it is, and what we would have it be.

The Method—Unbind the Books—Unbind the Reason.
1939 Addresses
Sundays 6.30
I'LL MAKE YOU READ THE BIBLE

. . .

Jan. 22 BELIEFS ABOUT THE BIBLE.
Feb. 5 WHAT HIGHER CRITICISM HAS DONE
Feb. 19 MYTHOLOGY AND HISTORY.
Mar. 5 POETRY AND DRAMA.
Mar. 19 THE HEBREW PROPHETS.
Apr. 2 THE BIBLE AND MORALS.
Apr. 16 THE THREE GOSPELS AND THE FOURTH.
Apr. 30 THE TRANSIENT AND THE PERMANENT IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

. . .

Written Questions, previously handed in, are welcome.

ONE MAN'S HUMANISTIC INTERPRETATION of FUNDAMENTALS
1940 ADDRESSES
Sundays at 6

. . .

Jan. 28 AUTHORITY OR FREEDOM.
Feb. 4 GOD—The Immanent Life of the World.
Feb. 11—THE BIBLE—The Fallible Word of Man.
Feb. 18 JESUS—An Inspiring Religious Teacher.
Feb. 25 MAN—A Branch on the Tree of Life.
Mar. 3 EVIL—Relative—Lack of Adaptation to the Conditions of Life.
Mar. 10 SALVATION—Knowledge of Obedience to the Laws of Life.

Mar. 17 THE CHURCH—A Co-operative Enterprise in Right Living.
Mar. 24 THIS LIFE—Of which we are sure, should should be made rich and complete in its own right.

. . .

A fearless facing of basic questions in the full light of modern knowledge.

MATTERS ON MEN'S MINDS TO-DAY
Following Sundays at 6.30

. . .

Mar. 31 Should we Use Force in the Cause of Righteousness?
Apr. 7 Conscience—versus The State.
Apr. 14 Is there a Case for Non-Resistance?
Apr. 28 Shall we give up Liberties to secure greater ones?
May 5 The Efficiency of War and the Incompetency of Peace.
May 12 If Planning is good enough to Destroy, why not to save life?
May 19 International Morality. Is there any?
June 2 National Sovereignty and International Co-operation.
June 9 The One sure Foundation of Democracy.
June 16 Can we still believe in Progress.
June 23 Is Revolution the Way out?
July 7 Science—Friend or Foe?
July 14 My Blue Print for a Better World.
July 21 The Kind of Man who will Build it.

Sundays at 3.30 p.m.

. . .

WHY I AM NOT

Nov. 10 A ROMAN CATHOLIC.
Nov. 17 AN ANGLICAN.
Nov. 24 AN EVANGELICAL PROTESTANT.
Dec. 1 A CHRISTIAN SCIENTIST.
Dec. 8 AN ATHEIST.
Dec. 15 WHY I AM A UNITARIAN.

. . .

These are not attacks on other forms of faith. They are faithful portrayals of them at their best and highest; reasons for rejecting them all, and finally accepting a positive, free faith, where reason and religion can meet.

GLASGOW N.C.L.

Dear Sir,—We would be pleased to have you publish, at least, some of the following:—

Appreciation.—More than thanks in the award due to Gordon Stott, Advocate, Edinburgh, for the handling of the case of Philip Boyle and the work he has put in for the No-Conscription League. We received a pleasant surprise when Mr. Stott himself paid the expenditure. Thanks is also due D. N. M'Kay, solicitor for services rendered and to Comrade Guy Aldred for his keen invaluable work, his articles appearing in *The Word*, and his advice to all classes of C.O.'s.

Com. Fullerton of Glasgow, serving sentence of 93 days imposed on him at Liverpool, is now in Walton Gaol. Much expense has been incurred in the case of Fullarton, Tomlinson, and others who were sentenced at the same time. The advisory Bureau of the N.C.L. have agreed that we should be partly responsible for this expenditure and have sanctioned a contribution of £5. The Liverpool C.O.'s have, as already reported elsewhere, been subjected to ill-treatment. James Curran, a Glasgow C.O., suffering from St. Vitus Dance was graded A.1, and after being man-handled at Pollokshaws Detention Camp by deserters, was sent to Liverpool. He is now serving a sentence of 28 days at Chorley. Curran has been under doctor's care since 1931—proving the efficiency of the M.O.'s is in a par with that of some Generals. The N.C.L. is pursuing this matter further.

Com. M'Manus, Gorbals, is now in Barlinnie Prison, his case being unique. C.O.'s usually serve their sentence first and are then detained for medical examination. In the case of M'Manus the process has been reversed—detained first and sentence of 30 days to follow. M'Manus is being supplied with a hot meal daily by us.

Durris Camp Victimisation:—Eight C.O.'s, who were employed by the Forestry Commission, have been involved in a dispute regarding general conditions. As a result of approaches made to us by Com. J. M'Nair, General Secretary, I.L.P., we rendered immediate financial assistance.

The C.O.'s concerned are determined to abolish the hardships imposed.

ALEX. YOUNG,
for the Central Advisory Bureau
Glasgow and West of Scotland
No-Conscription League.
12 Moorfoot St., Glasgow, E.2.

The *Scots Socialist* is an independent monthly, advocating the establishment of a Scottish Socialist State, and the full development of World Socialism. The subscription is 4s 0d for 12 months, post free. The price, per single copy, is 2d, postage extra. Orders should be sent to:—J. H. MILLER, 54 Arrowsmith Avenue, Glasgow, W.3.

STRICKLAND REPUDIATIONS

We quarrelled with the late Sir Walter Strickland on two issues:—

(1) The Great War, 1914-1913. Strickland supported this war until 1916 and then returned to his old anti-militarist position, as soon as conscription was introduced. Our arrest for resisting military service was a signal for Strickland to renew his friendship and association, and to apologise for being, even temporarily, pro-war.

(2) The Soviet Union and the Stalin regime. In 1927 he strongly supported the "restraint" of Anarchists and extreme Socialists in the Soviet Union, on the ground that they were counter-revolutionary. He repudiated us for maintaining a consistent opposition to Stalinism, and even to the errors of Leninism and Trotskyism, on this point. Seven years later he withdrew his repudiation of our policy and renewed his friendship.

The details of our quarrel with Strickland on the second point were published in *The Commune*, Second Series, Vol. II., No. 6, for September-October, 1927, pages 154-155, beneath the heading "A Repudiation." We republish that account exactly as published in *The Commune* then.

A REPUDIATION

We have received a communication from Sir Walter Strickland, who became friendly with us during our first imprisonment for sedition, 1909-1910, and for whom we have acted as publisher and secretary since, dated from Prague, July 26, in which he says:—

"Even if I was willing to continue to publish my writings and translations in Britain, after the destruction of 10,000 of my works by the Glasgow Customs, and even if I was willing to let you continue to act for me as my agent whilst insisting on living among these people, instead of accepting my offer to travel the Continent, your violent diatribes against the Russian Government, which, with all its faults, I believe in, and your oracular denunciations of Leninism, render it *not only difficult but impossible for me to subsidise, by continued employment of any kind*, its so bitter enemy.

Also, under date July 28, Strickland forwards us this statement for publication:—

"In the last number of Mr. Guy Aldred's paper, the *Commune*, an article, extracted from one of my essays, was printed *without my permission*. I wish to say I am not responsible for this and that, so long as the *Commune* maintains its present attitude towards the Soviet Republics, I must absolutely prohibit any writings of mine being published n ts columns.

"Yours truly,
"W. W. STRICKLAND,
"Citizen of Prague and Czecho-Slovakia."

Which settles many slanders about our work being subsidised. Socialists are imprisoned in Soviet Russia as in other capitalist nations. The political dictatorship of Moscow is not Communism. Leninism, in other countries, stands not for Communism or Socialism but careerism. The agents of Moscow are hirelings as much as the orators of the Anti-Socialist societies. We are *not* a hireling, and we have no intention of altering our attitude. We expect our working-class readers to respect our integrity and rally to the support of our work. The *Commune* is the only journal in Britain fighting for Socialism and pioneering the workers' industrial republic. Every comrade must rally to its support.

We have received the following further letter from Strickland in this connection:—

PRAGUE, *August* 23.

"To the Editor of the *Commune*.

"Dear Sir,

"In one of the numbers of the *Commune*, an article of mine was published by the Editor. This was done in a perfectly friendly spirit, but if I had known that he felt it his duty to denounce the present Russian Government in the most unbridled terms, I should most emphatically have forbidden the appearance of anything of mine in his paper. Having traversed the whole of Siberia the year before last, and reading a large number of Slav and other foreign newspapers, I may be somewhat less liable than the Editor to have my judgment perverted by the atmosphere of his forgeries and worst created by the English reactionaries and their bourgeois Press, in which the Editor of the *Commune* lives, moves, and has his being.

"It appears to me that the editor has chosen an extremely unfortunate moment to join the hue and cry of his bourgeois friends against the Soviet Republic.

"In any case, *I must refuse to contribute either by pen or purse to his paper*, so long as he considers it his duty to do so, or to support in any way whatsoever. I must request him kindly to publish this letter in his paper, and to give the fullest publicity to my decision in this matter.

"Yours truly,
"W. W. STRICKLAND."

It will be remembered that Strickland supported the war in August, 1914, when we opposed it. Shortly afterwards he regretted his decision and opposed the war. He may change his mind again.

Our opposition to the Stalin Government is not dictated by forgeries or bourgeois friendships. It is dictated by integrity and understanding. We take our stand definitely by our imprisoned Socialist comrades in Russia, by the Mjasnikow and Sapronow Opposition, by the Socialist thought and struggle suppressed *as much in the Soviet Union as in the United States of America*. Time will vindicate our stand.

Time has vindicated our stand.

Seven years after writing the letter published in *The Commune*, Strickland placed in our hands an essay he had written, analysing the Soviet persecutions, and denouncing the growing reactionary role, internal and external, of the Soviet regime.

Strickland's attitude towards the war was influenced, at first, by his deep respect for Kropotkin, who turned violently pro-war. In *The Spur*, Vol. I., No. 6, for November, 1914, page 46, we wrote:—

"Sir Walter Strickland has written dissociating himself from the policy of this journal. We shall publish his letter next month. All who preach war are wrong—except it be the class war."

The policy of *The Spur* was anti-militarist, and it maintained that policy throughout the war, and down to 1921, when it was closed down owing to our Glasgow imprisonment for alleged sedition.

When we faced our first court-martial, Strickland wrote a vigorous letter to the court, heartily approving our stand for conscience and anti-militarism. His letters followed us from guardroom to prison and back again.

OUR APPEAL

Saving The Word—Give Now!

The response to our appeal has been disappointing. In two issues we have defined our appeal. We must cover our losses on printing *at once* and we must make up the expenses of our Hyde Park Free Speech Struggle. The sum needed is £1,971 11s. 3d.

We are publishing no names this month. We want to publish *one list* and then leave the matter. We delay detailed acknowledgements another month in the hope that the full sum will be subscribed by then.

We have received £16 19s. 9d. This leaves a total of £1,954 11s. 6d. to come. We ask *each* reader to make a special effort.

Unless this help is forthcoming within the next month, we cannot continue to issue "The Word" in its present form.

Send your donation and subscription and bundle order to

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LEMONS FROM ITALY!

John Bull, in its issue for December 21 last, exposed the Italian lemon scandal. Here is our contemporary's challenge to Whitehall:

"Britain is trading with Italy.

"No, she is not buying from us. She is not that sort of fool.

"We are buying from her.

"Large quantities of lemons are reaching us from Spain.

"John Bull challenges Whitehall to deny that they are Italian lemons sent to us through Spain.

"We challenge Ministers to deny that we are buying other Italian foodstuffs in the same roundabout way.

"We challenge them to deny that this country is thus providing Italy with the sinews of war.

"While trying to knock her out by our blows in Egypt and Albania, we are helping to keep her in by supporting her tottering resources.

"We have let her outbid us for the Spanish onion crop. Bankrupt Mussolini pays for them in the goods which we buy.

We are opposed to war because of its sacrifice of human life. But war is impossible without finance and trading. Surely the situation exposed in *John Bull* is a criminal farce. The people who defend it call for every sacrifice from the common poople and are horrified when some conscientious objector, who has an Italian father or mother, objects to killing his possible relatives, or persons who are much his kin as British friends and relatives. These same folk trade with the enemy and so arm them for continued war.

OUR LETTER-BOX

Dear Guy Aldred,—Recently, when I was at Stormont Murray's, I glanced through a copy of *The Word* and was interested. I am a member of P.A.X. and a C.O., but am putting forward a Socialist case and not religious. I was bombed out of London and am now working in Reading.

Your name is not new to me as I remember my Father talking about you when I was a youngster in 1920.

With every good wish.

Yours sincerely,
EDWARD GOUGH YATES.

Mortimer, October 30.

Dear Mr. Aldred,—I wish to express my indebtedness to you for the help and counsel you have given me. The Appellate Tribunal have dismissed my Appeal. I take courage from the example of the C.O.'s of the last war and the present one. In conclusion may I say how much I enjoy reading the articles in *The Word*. Every success to it.

Sincerely yours,
PATRICK SCANLAN.

Oxford, November 26.

Dear Guy Aldred,—This being the first time, and I hope not the last, to pick up a pen to write to you, I must first thank you for your untiring effort in the cause of freedom of Man. I hope that the power of your pen will not diminish for many years to come. The main purpose of this letter is in answer to your appeal for help in extending the sales of *The Word*.

At present I am secretary of the Hammersmith Youth Parliament. I also have joined the I.L.P. in Hammersmith. I would also be glad to know what groups are in existence in London which support *The Word*, and its policy, and what pamphlets there are to distribute.

Undoubtedly Annesley has told you that my brother and myself have registered as C.O.'s

Yours fraternally,
VICTOR G. ROSE.

London, W.12, November 30.

Dear Comrade,—Many thanks for copies of *The Word* and pamphlets received. These were distributed among our group members and were greatly appreciated.

You have a name and above address on your list, Robert Morley, but mine is John Morley. Robert is my son. He and another son, Alan, are keenly interested in the Anti-War cause.

I served my time to the business during the last war, and used to enjoy reading your outspoken articles at that time. I am delighted to see that you are no less vigorous in your denounciation of war and injustices than you were then. So more power to your elbow.

Yours fraternally,
JOHN MORLEY.

Newcastle, November 2, 1940.

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An Organ of the United Socialist Movement, Edited and Published by Guy A. Aldred, for the Bakunin Press and the U.S.M. at Bakunin Hall, 29 Castle Street, Glasgow, C.4. All unsigned matter is from the pen of the Editor. Annual Subscription, 3s. 0d.

Vol. II. No. 7. FEBRUARY, 1941. Price: TWOPENCE

JOHN McGOVERN M.P.

The above portrait of John McGovern was published in the "Glasgow Weekly Herald" for April 11, 1936. Acknowledgements are made to our contemporary although no permission to reprint was obtained. We think our thanks will be accepted as an appreciation of an excellent study.

PARLIAMENT AND PEACE:

JOHN McGOVERN'S APPEAL

An Analysis of the Debate on the I.L.P. Peace Amendment.

By The DUKE OF BEDFORD.

On December 5th, 1940, an amendment was moved in the House of Commons by Mr. John McGovern regretting that the Government had failed to set forth a plain statement of its peace aims and proposing that a conference should be called to bring the war, if possible, to an early conclusion.

Although Mr. McGovern never suggested that we should surrender to Hitler or invite him to let us hear his own terms as though we were nearing defeat, and were prepared to give way to anything he might demand from us, the amendment was rejected by 341 votes to 4.

It is impossible to overestimate the importance of this debate seeing that the vote rejecting the suggestion of the only measures that might shorten the duration of the war was equivalent to a vote for the slaughter of many hundreds, and perhaps thousands, of our fellow-countrymen, including, it may be, many of those who are dear to us. Furthermore, of course, it amounted to a vote for the destruction of an unknown number of homes by air-raids; for untold mental injury to children and nervous people from terror and anxiety; and for further financial ruin to those whose businesses the war has threatened with disaster. Even though a constructive statement of peace aims should unexpectedly be made at an earlier date than the voting on the amendment appeared to indicate; while we may be extremely glad of this evidence of an increase of wisdom in our legislators, the change itself will only serve to emphasise the extreme instability of their outlook and policy.

It is indeed essential that we should consider most carefully the speeches made on both sides, and especially that we should make a minute examination of the strength, or otherwise, of the arguments by which those whom we have elected to carry out our wishes and protect our interests have justified so grave a decision as that which the rejection of the amendment involves. As has already been suggested, it may literally prove to have been an issue of life and death for some of us.

Mr. McGovern's statesmanlike appeal to humanity and reason and his much-needed warnings speak for themselves and need few comments. His quotations from the Prime Minister's book and from Mr. Bevin's speech remind us of the manner in which politicians who now occupy important posts keep changing their views for no good or obvious reason, and even abandoning sensible opinions they have once held for others which are very much the reverse. While we can all respect men who have the honesty to admit they have made mistakes and are open-minded enough to learn and unlearn, it is profoundly disturbing, at a time of acute national crisis, to find at the head of affairs leaders who are so destitute of any steady and consistent purpose.

Nor are Mr. Churchill and Mr. Bevin the only examples. Mr. Morrison, who, in 1917, declared before a Tribunal that he had a conscientious objection to taking life is also a supporter of the present war, and expressed the opinion in a recent debate that a man who is an enemy of the State ought to be shot (even though he be an unarmed prisoner and the country be not at war at the time).

Mr. Attlee has changed his mind no less than three times on issues connected with the war. He was a serving soldier in the Great War, but at a public meeting in the Kingsway Hall held not long after the conclusion of hostilities he is said to have declared to the celebrated pacifist, Mr E. D. Morel, "You were right and we were wrong."

In spite of this, however, he is a supporter of the present war. Before he became a member of the Government he openly advocated a plain statement of our peace aims. Since joining the Government, however, he has opposed the policy regarding peace aims which he formerly advocated!

Mr. McGovern's suggestion that the Prime Minister should always make a reasoned reply to Hitler's speeches, asking him searching questions, is particularly important, for the Government's failure to do this has shown a gross lack of imagination and sacrificed many opportunities, either of bringing the war to an early conclusion,

or of placing Hitler in an increasingly awkward position.

Mr. Campbell Stephen's remarks are also able and to the point. He makes it quite plain that the last thing that the supporters of the amendment either intend or propose is unconditional surrender to Hitler, and he shows that in the (very unlikely) event of a plain statement of peace aims making no impression on the German people the result on the opinions of the peoples of other countries would be most helpful to our cause.

Mr. James Griffith, the first speaker hostile to the amendment, would either appear to have been asleep during the speeches of Mr. McGovern and Mr. Campbell Stephen, or to have lacked the intelligence to understand their very plain explanation of their proposals. It may be, however, that his mind was so filled with the foolish notion that the amendment was put down for no more important purpose than to enable the I.L.P. to make war upon the Labour Party that he was incapable of grasping any of the vital issues that had been raised.

Mr. Maxton's speech is another thoughtful contribution which needs no comment.

Mr. Thurtle's objections and criticisms are on the same level as Mr. Griffiths'. He shows absolutely no capacity to grasp the diplomatic possibilities of the situation, and of the chance that exists of forcing Hitler to behave reasonably whether he, personally, desires to do so or not; or, should he refuse to be reasonable, to lose the goodwill of large numbers of Germans whose sympathy is essential to his success. Mr. Thurtle's comparison of the supporters of the amendment to blacklegs who were prepared to take advantage of the sacrifices of others was as stupid as it was ill-natured. The supporters of the amendment were putting forward a policy designed to terminate the sacrifices of others; Mr. Thurtle's policy involved their continuance. It is even more important to *end* the sacrifices of other people than to *share* them.

Mr. Woodburn seems to have lost sight of the fact that there may be another side to the story about Hitler "deliberately plunging Europe into war." Captain Liddell Hart has described the policy of the British Government on the Polish issue as a "mixture of temptation and provocation." The Cabinet's strenuous efforts to secure the support of Russia and its guarantee of help to the Poles without making the Polish Government's acceptance of the extremely reasonable proposals put forward by Hitler in the previous March for the settlement of serious and long-standing grievances a condition of their promise of assistance, amply justifies Captain Liddell Hart's adverse judgment, an adverse judgment shared by no less a statesman than Mr. Lloyd George. Even, however, if we set all this on one side, it should have been obvious to Mr. Woodburn that the supporters of the I.L.P. amendment were proposing to stop Hitler by offering to his war-weary people the extremely attractive bait of a peace fair to their own country, as well as to other countries. If Hitler were to refuse reasonable peace terms, we should have involved him in a mistake which, if the terms were left on permanent offer, would be likely to provoke revolution in Germany and Italy at an early date and the break-up of the Axis Alliance.

If Hitler accepted reasonable terms and later tried to start a new war on an unjust issue he would certainly be overthrown by revolution, for the German people, after their recent severe lesson, would naturally fear the sufferings of another war far more than any punishment he could try and inflict on them for disobedience. Thus if Hitler did not play the game, whichever way he turned he would be trapped. Placing him in such a position would be the essence of *real* diplomacy, and real diplomacy has been utterly and completely absent from the policy of the British Government and of Parliament who, throughout the war, have behaved in the short-sighted manner of foolish schoolboys who have lost their tempers.

Sir Patrick Hannon, who suggested that the point at which to make a statement of peace terms would be when Hitler had been defeated, apparently lacked the wisdom to see that the defeat of an enemy who is in possession of a fully-trained Army four or five times as large as our own, and who, for geographical and other reasons, has a decided advantage in air warfare, is, to put it mildly, such a stupendous task that we can ill afford to neglect *any* weapon which would give us valuable aid. Psychological weapons are as important as military weapons, and sometimes even more so, and the strongest of all the psychological weapons which we could use would be an attractive and reasonable statement of peace terms left on permanent offer, and calculated to remove as far as possible from German minds the idea that the dismemberment of their country is our ultimate objective.

The member who interrupted Mr. Maxton's speech with the remark, "Chamberlain did try, but what was the result?" overlooked the fact that Mr. Chamberlain's venture was highly successful until he ruined everything soon after his return by a complete reversal of policy. He had given Hitler to understand that he would settle all future problems by the friendly method of negotiation, yet, without suggesting another conference or waiting to receive further provocation from Hitler, a week after he got home he announced a programme of re-armament, obviously against Germany. Hitler not unnaturally felt he had been deceived, and was thereby absolved from keeping his own promises if he considered that his country's interests involved their violation. Even if it be the case that Hitler was not sincere and had no intention of observing his pledges in any case, Mr. Chamberlain's failure to suggest another conference and to defer the continuation of the re-armament programme until Hitler gave some further provocation, was a diplomatic blunder of the first magnitude, as a magnificent opportunity was thereby lost of putting the Führer in the wrong and depriving him of the sympathy and support of a large number of his own people.

Mr. Brooke failed to realise that the best way of "sickening the German people of National Socialist deceit" would be to offer them terms fair to their own country as well as to others, and the chance of co-operating in the building of a better world on sane political and economic foundations. A continuation of bombing raids, on the contrary, is more likely to sicken them of the British Government than of their own!

One would have thought that our chances of "convincing the world that ours was the most truly popular and beneficient form of government" would be considerably greater in peace than during the continuation of the present war! Even in India fear of trouble during the war period seems to be encouraging oppressive methods rather than liberal ones.

Mr. Walker's contribution to the debate amounted to a reminder that other bodies as well as the House of Commons could show a majority of persons whose judgment left much to be desired, which, though doubtless true, had no very constructive bearing on the soundness, or otherwise, of the I.L.P. proposals!

Sir Percy Harris's remarks were the least weak of those made by the opponents of the amendment, and did at any rate provide one constructive suggestion. His expression of fear that the amendment would encourage enemies and discourage friends was not, however, supported by any arguments, and did not show a balanced grasp of the possibilities of the situation.

Sir Malcolm Robertson's contribution consisted of praise of the Prime Minister and the British cause, combined with the apparent advocacy of the very unmoral plan of letting our peace conditions and demands depend, not on any principles or arrangements of unchanging justice, but on the degree of military success we might be able to achieve in the future. "We might be embarrassed later," it seems, if, by being too definite or too generous now, we found that at some future date we felt strong enough to withhold some of the things we had earlier felt that it was right to promise! How the "wisdom, courage and determination of the world" could "finally" deal with the question of peace terms, it is rather difficult to see, for "the world," even apart from Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy as at present constituted, would be likely to bring to the conference table discordant elements, which Mr. Attlee in a later speech regarded as fatal to success. We should certainly have quite as good a chance of devising, now, proposals likely to form a basis for a satisfactory final settlement, as some future world conference — including, we may assume, Turkey, Russia, Japan and the United States—which met with no outline or "agenda" to work on.

Mr. Attlee began his reply on the behalf of the Government by inviting his audience to agree with him in the fallacious assumption that conditions in Czecho-Slovakia under German rule in peace were worse than conditions in this country in war, and worse than they could be in Europe when a peace of exhaustion followed a long continuation of the war. He brought forward no evidence in support of this contention, and it is highly probably that his information about Czech-Slovakia comes mainly from Czech political refugees who, for obvious reasons, are the persons most likely to draw the darkest possible picture of German rule, and also, in fairness one ought to add, the persons who, together with their friends still living in Czecho-Slovakia, are the ones most likely to have suffered severely. A very important point is here raised which merits most careful examination. The fact is continually overlooked that a tyranny is only *really* a tyranny *for those who differ from the Government in power for reasons political, religious, economic, or racial*, the racial source of trouble applying mainly to Jews and to non-Germans living in what was formerly German territory. Persons who support a Government are not conscious of living under a tyranny, no matter how autocratic the Government may be. They regard their leaders with affection and admiration; any sacrifices that are asked of them are made cheerfully in what is believed to be a noble and worth-while cause; and no sympathy is felt for the victims of the Government's oppression, who are regarded as unpatriotic or anti-social persons who deserve all that they get.

Even the large number of people who, while they may not actually admire a Government, take no interest in politics or in any form of religion of which the Government disapproves, are not conscious of any serious degree of oppression, and there is good reason to suppose that a high percentage of the inhabitants of Czecho-Slovakia would fall into this category. As long as such people are not too heavily taxed they continue to enjoy the pleasures of their home life, the interests of their trade or profession, and all those many and varied cultural amenities which even the most tyrannical Governments do not discourage. However much we may deplore their lack of intelligent political interest, and however indignant we may be at the fate of those who really are political rebels, it is sheer nonsense to think of every person under German or Italian rule as living in complete bondage, deprived of every joy and privilege of civilised life. There cannot be the slightest doubt that those who are not actively against the Government are, on balance, far better off than the inhabitants of a country at war, who are continually subject to the terrible devastation of air-raids. Moreover, if their economic position be good (there is evidence that the material prosperity of Czecho-Slovakia increased when Germany assumed the Protectorate, at anyrate until the outbreak of war), they are also likely to be much better off than the people who will be living in Europe should the economic life of the Continent be crippled by the prolongation of the present war.

Mr. Attlee went on to ask Mr. Maxton whether he held that peace was right at any price, and also if he was prepared to "give his life for liberty." One would have thought it was sufficiently obvious from the speeches of Mr. Maxton and his friends that what they had proposed was the exploration of the possibilities of a *just*

peace, and not conclusion of peace on any terms that Hitler might demand. Mr. Attlee's enquiry as to whether Mr. Maxton was willing to "give his life for liberty" (a question which, it will be noted, evoked cheers from members stronger in the heart than in the head), really constituted the introduction of a red herring. Whether Mr. Maxton was, or was not, "prepared to give his life for liberty," whatever that phrase might imply, had nothing to do with the desirability of the present Government making a plain statement of reasonable peace aims either as a means of bringing the war to an early conclusion, or as a means of dealing a fatal blow to Hitler's prestige if he should prove unreasonable.

Mr. Maxton's answer amounted to an assertion of the important and obvious truth that liberty is not promoted by the methods of war. Mr. Attlee, however, does not seem to have been satisfied with the reply. He was apparently trying to make capital out of the sentimental popular idea of the soldier "laying down his life for his country." He might have been reminded that a truer conception of a soldier's duty is embodied in the question, "Do you believe in *taking someone else's life* for the sake of your country?" for it is the normal duty of a soldier, in war, to attempt to kill his enemy, while using all reasonable precautions to protect his own life for further service, i.e., for further killing.

Mr. Attlee's next question, which a number of his supporters seem to have thought remarkably clever, was, on the other hand, indicative of a complete lack of imagination and of any capacity to handle a diplomatic situation to the advantage of his country. He asked Mr. Maxton to postulate Hitler's rejection of reasonable peace terms, and enquired what he would then do. Mr. Maxton's reply was a sensible one, though it may not have been quite the best for the emotional, prejudiced and unintelligent audience with which he had to deal. He said that Mr. Attlee's question was a hypothetical one, meaning that he had been asked to state what he would do in an imaginary situation with the exact details of which his questioner had not supplied him. Obviously if Hitler did refuse reasonable terms the measures which a true statesman would then adopt would depend on the manner of Hitler's rejection and on the phrases which he employed. A true statesman would study Hitler's conduct and words with the most minute care to see what capital could be made out of them for creating prejudice against him in his own and neutral countries and also in Italy.

Mr. Maxton would, perhaps, have done better to reply—"What I personally would do in the event of Hitler rejecting a reasonable peace offer does not matter, seeing that I am not the British Government; but what the British Government could do would be to continue the war, with the satisfaction of having dealt Hitler the heaviest blow in the field of morale that has been inflicted on him since the commencement of hostilities."

Mr. Attlee went on to suggest, most unfairly, that it was Mr. Maxton's custom to speak eloquently about suffering, but to take no action to end it, leaving such action always to other people. On this occasion Mr. Maxton was taking the most constructive action possible to end suffering by suggesting a policy that would either terminate the war at once, or inflict immense damage on the popularity of the enemy leaders with their own people. Naturally, not being himself in office, he had to leave it to the Government to carry out his suggestions if they chose to do so, the Government alone having the power to take the necessary action.

Mr. Attlee went on to ask Mr. Maxton why he did not go to Hitler and ask him to come to a conference. A more senseless rhetorical question it would be difficult to imagine. Would Mr. Maxton be permitted by the British Government to confer, during war, with the leader of an enemy State, and with what authority would they invest him—a member of a small opposition Party—to negotiate on their behalf?

Mr. Attlee then made the astonishing assertion that when Mr. Lansbury went to plead with Hitler and Mussolini he got nothing from them. He appears to have forgotten that when Mr. Lansbury returned from his interview with Hitler in April, 1937, he said, "I got what I wanted." He had secured from Hitler a statement of the latter's willingness to attend a conference to thrash out economic problems, if President Roosevelt or the head of any other great country would take a lead in calling it. *That conference was never summoned*, so what more could Mr. Lansbury do?

Mr Attlee then repeated the cliché that there is something worse than killing the body, and that is killing the soul, meaning that peace under an oppressive Government is more damaging to human character than war. It has already been pointed out that, even when a Government is tyrannical in character, only those who are in opposition to it endure an appreciable amount of suffering, or are deprived of those non-political amenities of civilised existence of which they, as distinct from the political rebels, are normally accustomed to avail themselves. Mr. Attlee is blind to the fact that the terror, anxiety and strain which war, or the economic collapse following an unduly protracted war, inflict upon the minds, especially of children or highly strung people, is far greater than that inflicted by a dictatorship in time of peace. Mr. Attlee doubtless believes that a tyranny in peace time injures souls—kills is too strong a word—by putting into people's heads wrong ideas about the supremacy of the State; disregard of the individual's right of freedom; contempt for other nations; belief in force; false ideas about religion; and callousness towards the sufferings of those whom the State regards as its enemies.

But does not war do all these things to an even greater degree? Are not the Governments of democratic States compelled, in war, to claim all the powers of the dictatorships, and is it likely under the conditions of economic collapse which must follow a protracted war that they will feel it either right or possible to surrender these powers? Is not the liberty of the individual completely disregarded in war in democratic as well as in dictator States? Does not force become the supreme arbiter? Is not hatred of, and contempt for, the people of enemy nations freely taught, if not at the beginning, anyhow as war proceeds? Does not war make people callous towards those whom the State regards as its enemies? Is there not an exact resemblance between the attitude now adopted in this country by many "patriotic" people towards conscientious objectors and 18B prisoners, and the attitude adopted by many Germans towards Pastor Niemoller and the Jews? Does not war cause the churches to panic into accepting the world's outlook, and encourage them to crucify Christ afresh by supporting "mass murder and organised sin?" Is not the spectacle of a disloyal Church far more injurious to the spiritual welfare of the people than the spectacle of a faithful Church persecuted for its belief by a pagan ruler?

Mr. Attlee also appears to overlook the fact that, while the souls of the many good and useful people who perish in war may not, indeed, be injured, their removal to another sphere leaves *this* world spiritually impoverished and deprived of the services of those who, by the leavening influence of their ideas, ultimately overthrow tyranny.

Lastly, war prevents those international contacts which are of immense value in promoting friendship between the peoples of different countries, and which make possible a helpful exchange of ideas and a better understanding of each other's problems.

Mr. Attlee's picture of "a great race whose young men had been trained to go back to barbarism" is an example, not so much of the tragedy of the youth of a foreign nation mentally perverted, as of an English politician forming hasty and emotional judgments on very imperfect acquaintance with the facts. In so far as Mr. Attlee's aspersions on the character of German youth have any substantial measure of justification, he is about 20 years behind the times. There was a period, not many years after the last war, when the moral tone of German youth, especially in the great cities, sank to a low ebb. Later, however, there was a great change for the better, the results of which had been observed and recorded by as observant and experienced a traveller as Sir Phillip Gibbs and by many British visitors to Germany who have established personal contacts with the young people in a friendly and not too critical spirit, prepared to see good, if it were present, as well as evil. Even if we grant, as we certainly may, that some of the German State propaganda for the young is open to criticism, is all the present propaganda put over by our Ministry of Information calculated to inspire our youth with the highest Christian ideals? Is it not the case that, even in Germany, young people do not *always* swallow *all* that the Government tells them, as gospel truth? Many persons, including, it would appear, Mr. Attlee, are absolutely horrified at the idea of the Germans thinking themselves the finest nation on earth, with, for that reason, a right to dominate others. But do not an enormous number of British people think the same about their nation, and consider that the latter has a right to dominate the world through the Empire—which, incidentally, we built up in the past by methods often indistinguishable from what is now termed "aggression?" Some of us may share this view of the superiority of the British race; others may feel that it is rather conceited and silly; but whether we share it or not do we regard those who hold it as barbarians upon whom it is necessary to make war? Why is a spirit of national egoism, which is pardonable in British youth and British political leaders, absolutely unpardonable when it is found in German youth and German political leaders?

Mr. Attlee suggested that Hitler's grip on the German people would not be loosened by a few nice phrases from Mr. Maxton. No one, and certainly not Mr. Maxton himself, suggested that it would, but one cannot help wondering whether Sir Robert Vansittart's recent broadcast to America made, no doubt, with Mr. Attlee's knowledge and approval, in which the former declared that Germany should be broken up into small States after the war, is calculated to loosen it either!

Mr. Attlee pointed out the difficulty of reaching an agreement with the German and Italian statesmen by reason of the difference in their outlook and ideals. He drew a picture, plausible enough to evoke cheers and laughter, but none the less misleading, of Mr. Maxton and the Dictators, acting as perfectly free agents uninfluenced and uncontrolled by outside forces, meeting round a conference table and trying to reach an agreement. He overlooked the fact that after months of devastating war, whatever the outward appearances might be, Hitler and Mussolini would come to the conference table anything but free to give full expression to all their personal feelings and desires. On the contrary, they would come as men only too well aware that the eyes of millions of their fellow-countrymen were fixed upon them, fellow-countrymen who, in the last resort, held their political futures and perhaps their lives in their hands. These fellow-countrymen, sick and weary of the conflict, and only prepared to go on if peace meant for them injustice and humiliation, would be watching them closely and also hopefully, but with a hopefulness that would readily turn to fury if their hopes, without good and sufficient cause, were dashed to the ground by the unreason or ambitious obstinacy of their leaders. Those who attend a conference with such a human "background" have, indeed, a powerful incentive to come to terms with an adversary who is prepared to grant *any* measure of true justice.

Mr. Attlee raised the difficulty of securing proper representation for the countries at present under German control. Surely, however, there need be no serious obstacle here? A stipulation could easily be made, if it were thought desirabl to do so, that the conference should be attended by members of the "refugee" Governments, and it should not be impossible for the British Government itself to discover and put forward the views of those who are truly representative of their countries.

Mr. Attlee's statement that our prime difficulty is that we are up against people who do not begin to accept the beginnings of the decencies of our modern civilisation, besides being an exaggeration, entirely overlooks the fact that even if this were true at the beginning, the grim lesson of the war will by now have taught the citizens of enemy nations that, if the observance of the decencies of modern civilisation be the price of peace, it is a price that is well worth paying.

Mr. Attlee's reference to the freedom allowed in this country will not impress those who are aware of the gross injustice with which patriotic men and women have been imprisoned, ostensibly for being in league with the enemy, but in reality for criticism of the Government or its war policy. Freedom would, indeed, be as dead in Britain as in any dictator country if even members of the Legislature were denied the right of suggesting a plan whereby an early and an honourable peace might be secured or the popularity of the leaders of enemy States undermined!

Mr. Attlee said we could not get peace by washing our hands and letting others go to the devil, but as the supporters of the amendment had never suggested anything of the kind, this remark was wholly irrelevant.

Mr. Attlee said that, in the making of an ordered peace, we could not lay down the law for the rest of the world, and did not want to. That, however, is no reason why a conference should not be summoned, at which "the rest of the world" (a somewhat vague phrase!) should be invited to state their views, and this, again, was what the supporters of the amendment had suggested.

Mr. Attlee reserved his greatest pearl of eloquence for the end of his speech. He said we could only say: "Here is our way of life," and advocate our principles by striving more and more to extend our ideas of social justice. Exactly how we are to do this, in war, and display before the world an alluring picture of freedom and prosperity it is somewhat difficult to see! Partly from necessity and partly from a propensity for maladministration the Government is becoming more and more totalitarian, and more and more indifferent to the rights of individuals the longer the war continues; while the growing burden of war taxation; the destruction of our towns and industrial plant by air-raids; and the loss of our shipping by enemy action on the sea; cause the economic fabric of our country to become disorganised to an increasing extent.

Upon such feeble arguments as those which we have had under consideration rests the rejection of an intelligent and constructive proposal which might have saved our country, ourselves and the people of other countries, also, from untold misery and loss. As has already been indicated, hundreds of British citizens of very varied schools of political thought, and possessing in some cases distinguished records of service in the late war, have been labled "Fifth Columnists," and imprisoned on the libellous and unjust charge of desiring to assist the enemy, their only real offence being that, with a patriotism which future generations will appreciate at its true value, they sought to arrest the carnage of this war by a just and honourable peace.

Who is it, however, who up to the end of December, 1940, have refused absolutely to take any steps to explore the possibilities of staying the destruction and slaughter?

Who is it who, while professing to desire revolution in enemy countries, reject the one plan which, in the event of the war being continued, is likely to secure that end?

While obviously the result is precisely similar whether British morale be undermined or German morale strengthened, who is it who, by uttering, or permitting their spokesmen to utter, foolish threats of the dismemberment of Germany in the event of a British victory, rally the German people firmly behind Hitler and assist the propaganda of Goebbels?

Who is it who can find endless supplies of money for war, but can find so little for the relief of the poor and of the over-burdened taxpayer in time of peace? These are questions which the British people would do well to ask themselves—and also answer.

[The author prepared a summary of the Commons debate, with selections from the speeches. Space does not permit its publication in this issue. The studious reader should secure a copy of the *Official Report* from H.M. Stationery Office (8d. post free). It merits careful reading.—Ed.]

SOCIALISM, WAR, AND PEACE

JOHN McGOVERN'S SHETTLESTON ADDRESS

On Sunday, December 8, 1940, John McGovern, M.P., addressed the most important political meeting held in his constituency since the declaration of war. He received a warm welcome from the audience. The chairman was Councillor David Gibson, Shettleston. Bailie Joe Taylor and Councillor Myer Galpern supported the speaker.

John McGovern said:—

"I come before the Shettleston people not in any spirit of humility or on the defensive in any way, as is suggested by my political opponents who have joined the Tory Diehards at the moment.

"I came into the working-class movement in my early years. I have worked for their rights all my life. My position has never altered during my lifetime. I have never swam with the tide. I have always swam against the tide because I believe in my conviction, deeply, and was always prepared to make sacrifices for the working class.

"MY POINT OF VIEW."

..."What is my point of view in relation to the war struggle? There are those who are 100 per cent. pacifist in their outlook towards the war, believe that complete pacifism is the proper attitude when war comes, that nothing can be gained by force.

"I have never been 100 per cent. pacifist in the struggle. I believe that ultimate pacifism is an ideal towards which we should struggle. If the working class at the polls got an electoral mandate for social reform, and having the people in the country in the majority behind them, were determined to take over the industries and transport of the country, and were opposed by a minority of the ruling class, I would ruthlessly use every power in the State to crush that minority.

"That is the extent to which I am prepared to support the use of force—to be used by the majority to protect its rights and bring social reform. I believe that this war is a struggle between privileged classes struggling to protect their interests at the expense of the mass of the people. I am therefore opposed to this capitalistic struggle. Because, let there be no doubt about it, the present war is no different from the last one.

JUST WARS.

"In defending my son before the Conscientious Objectors' Tribunal I was asked by Lord Elphinstone, 'Mr McGovern, do you not agree that this is a just war?'

"I replied, 'Surely, Your Lordship, you do not suggest that Britain has been engaged in anything but just wars. If you were to tell the people that they would never fight.'

"During the reign of Queen Victoria Britain was engaged in thirty-two wars. And they were all just! Germany to-day, from Hitler to Haw Haw, is saying that Germany is engaged in a just war. The working class in Germany to a large extent believes that. The fact is that the war is the same as every other war—the lust for colonial power—yellow and black slave labour.."

Referring to the Spanish civil war, and the British Government's policy of non-intervention, John McGovern said that this policy was supported by Mr Churchill. He commented:—

"Mr Churchill would not fight for socialism. Why should I fight for capitalism? Churchill is becoming the darling of the Labour Movement. He is Pat Dollan's leader. Britain has got Churchill, Scotland has got Dollan. I wish the positions were reversed. I have no time for a man who puts on the Hallowe'en false face of Socialism and fights for capitalism.

"The Allies' capitalist oppression of Germany after the last war produced Hitler. They are now talking in the House of Commons that the Nazis are imprisoning the working class in Germany. There was no antagonism when the German and Italian planes were bombing the Spanish working people at Guernica, in their try-out for the World War.

"No, they want us to defend democracy, democracy which refuses to allow Sir Hugh Roberton to broadcast with the B.B.C., which beats conscientious objectors in Liverpool into submission, and which imprisons Indian leaders who demand that for which we are fighting!"

John McGovern proceeded to deal with the bombing of Coventry, and then answered the critics of his plea for a negotiated peace. He explained his House of Commons speech:—

"In my speech in the House of Commons I did not suggest that we should throw down our arms and sue for peace. I said Mr Churchill should come to the House of Commons, with a prepared speech, and answer each Hitler speech, no matter how stupid or arrogant it might be. ... ...

"We should ply Hitler with questions as to what he means by peace, what guarantees he would give to restore freedom to the countries under his subjection, what kind of world he envisages for the future, and see if it is not possible to get the diplomatic arm instead of the military one to prevail."

Dealing with the heavy Labour Party vote against the I.L.P. amendment to the King's Speech, John McGovern said:—

"The Labour members were threatened with the most extreme expulsion if they voted with the I.L.P. Nevertheless I do not think that there was a single Labour member in Glasgow who voted in the Government Lobby. In fact, only three Scottish Labour M.P.'s voted against us."

McGovern said that he had been asked to resign and to fight a by-election. He was prepared to accept the verdict of the electors, but why should he fight a by-election? Let the Government declare a General Election.

Turning next to the position of his son, John McGovern explained:—

"A number of you may have noticed that my son appeared as a conscientious objector. I was glad. I asked him before the war what he would do. I used no force. I used only Socialist and fatherly advice. He told me that no matter what happened he would not go. He would not fight for a cause he did not believe in. I accepted that. I was proud of him. I defended him. It was my own point of view in the last war."

This brought the speaker to the case of the Lord Provost. On this subject, McGovern said:—

"We do not take instructions, and we do not grovel in the mire in order to get titles from the ruling class. Dollan would be more of a gentleman if he joined the Conservative party.

"But there is not a party in the country which has any faith in him."

Later in his speech McGovern said:—

"Dollan supported the last war until 1916—then he was called up, and became a conscientious objector."

Referring to his proposed American trip, McGovern said that it had been postponed, perhaps indefinitely.

Bailie Joe Taylor also attacked the Lord Provost.

This meeting was reported fully in the Glasgow *Eastern Standard* for December 14. Our contemporary also published several local opinions of the I.L.P. amendment. The question asked in each interview was:—

"What is your opinion of the amendment moved in the House of Commons by Messrs. McGovern, Maxton and Stephen—namely that a Peace Conference should be called and the Government's peace terms put forward?"

The people questioned were small grocers, tram-cleaners, air-raid wardens, housewives, railwaymen, coalmen, paper-makers, typists. All the replies except one were unfavourable. The most favourable reply was to the effect that the time was not ripe for a peace conference.

Mr William M. Stairs, president of the Haghill Tenants' Association, thought that there was an urgent demand for a solution to the trouble. He added:—

"If Maxton, Campbell Stephen, and M'Govern contested a by-election at the present they would be returned with a sweeping majority. It is ridiculous to say they do not represent the working-classes in their constituencies."

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A.F.S. OBJECTERS BARRED

The Barnet Urban District Council, at their monthly meeting on Saturday afternoon, January 11 last, discussed the question of the employment of conscientious objectors in Council services.

Those present at the meeting were Councillors R. H. Broadbridge, J.P. (chairman), Mrs M. Strugnell (vice-chairman), County Ald. H. E. Fern, and Councillors C. T. Beard, A. Cheason, F. E. Claydon, C. E. Green, F. Jacques, P. C. Marris, F. M. Martin-Smith, E. P. Offord, W. H. Rean, W. P. Render, W. Ryley Pratt, and J. L. Scutt, with the Clerk and A.R.P. controller (Mr. A. S. Mays) and other officers.

The discussion on the policy of dismissing conscientious objectors from the service of the Council followed a report by the emergency committee regarding part-time Auxiliary Fireman Petchley. This stated that he had appeared before a tribunal for conscientious objectors. The committee did not consider that his services were any longer required in the Council's Auxiliary Fire Service, and had dismissed him on January 7. Petchley wrote asking for reconsideration of the committee's decision as to the cessation of his services. The report added:

"The committee was of opinion that his principles, conflicting as they did with those of this authority, might, if adhered to, prove mutually embarrassing, and accordingly their decision could not be varied, but that he should be thanked for the regularity of his previous services with the A.F.S."

In reply to Councillor Claydon, the Chairman said that Mr Petchley's services whilst with the A.F.S. were satisfactory, and a letter to that effect was sent.

Urging that the committee's decision should be reconsidered, Councillor Claydon said he thought the committee had "acted in a very ungracious manner" in their conduct of the matter, in view of the fact that the man's services had been perfectly satisfactory.

Councillor Claydon added:—

"We are fighting this war for the preservation of the right of the individual to hold opinions. This man is a conscientious objector, distinct, I presume, from the Communist element, with which I have no sympathy. The emergency committee is trying to sit in judgment on the Government, which has set up machinery to test the validity of the opinions claimed by conscientious objectors."

Councillor Claydon pointed out that the war emergency committee was appealing for an increase in the number of part-time firemen, yet they were not prepared to use a man who was willing to continue his satisfactory services.

At this stage the clerk to the council, Mr A. S. Mayes, who had no right to participate in the discussion, said that it was understood that the Council, as a whole, was against the employment of those who termed themselves conscientious objectors.

Councillor Ryley Pratt (chairman of the war emergency committee) said:—

"I think if this country is not worth fighting for it is not worth receiving wages from. A man who is not prepared to fight for his home and country should not be a member of a service for which we are paying. I cannot understand principles which say that a man shall not defend his own kith and kin from a marauding robber. If such a man can find work elsewhere, well and good, but I would not be prepared to work with him, and if I have the power I shall see that no one holding such principles shall work in any service with which I am connected."

There was no resolution, and the Council passed to other business. The dismissal of Petchley was accepted as a fact unworthy of discussion.

A similar discussion occurred at the meeting of the Saffron Walden Borough Council the previous afternoon. The Council considered the refusal by the Saffron Walden Fire Brigade Committee of the application by a conscientious objector for enrolment as an auxiliary fireman.

Councillor S. S. Wilson fought as an infantryman in the Great War of 1914-1918. He was a Y.M.C.A. volunteer with the B.E.F. in France in 1939. At this meeting he supported vigorously the right of the conscientious objector to join the A.F.S. He criticised severely the A.F.S. men who threatened to strike if an objector were allowed to join their ranks. The objector told the Fire Brigade Committee when he volunteered: "*I am not willing to take lives, but I want to do my bit in saving them.*"

When the Town Council approved the committee's decision, Councillor Wilson said that he was surprised at such action. It had been said that all the help that could be obtained was needed for fire-fighting. The Minister of Labour, on behalf of the War Cabinet, had recently urged that conscientious objectors should be used in work of national importance—such as the A.F.S. or A.R.P.—yet this man had been refused for both. The Tribunal and the Ministry of Labour had been completely defied.

Between the present time and the Spring small country fire brigades would be called upon again and again to go to big towns. Many men in small fire brigades had already given their lives in saving people, and nobody had asked whether they were V.C.s or C.O.s.

Councillor Wilson explained that the Government's attitude towards C.O.s was:

"If you refuse to take life, surely you will help to save it. We expect you to do that. We expect you to take up fire fighting or go into some branch of National Service."

He commented:—

"We have to mobilise the whole of our man power. There are rumours already that all sorts of people are going to be called up. Surely a fireman's job is as dangerous as a soldier's.

"If I was in a burning building I should not ask a man whether he was a Conservative. (Laughter.) If he was willing and able to get me out of the building I should be very thankful. We have got to get away from sentiment, and think of the nation as a whole. It was necessary for every one to be doing useful work.'

It was said of this man that the firemen would not work with him. He did not believe it. If there were a few they would get over it. One did not ask a soldier whether he would work with certain other soldiers. He was just where he was wanted, and had to get on with the job. It might be that a conscientious objector would be the means of releasing a man from other important work.

Councillor Wilson appealed to the people of Saffron Walden to remember the traditions of the borough.

"Many a former Mayor would have been a conscientious objector if he were alive today. I do not agree with the Society of Friends, but I respect their opinions. I am not a C.O. I would like to bump off lots of people, and they are not all in Germany. (Laughter.) I ask you to accept this man, who is willing to risk his life."

The Deputy Mayor (Alderman Custerson) supported Councillor Wilson. He stressed the need for toleration.

Councillor Hyde asked what was the use of employing this man if it meant losing other firemen who had been trained.

Councillor Wilson: They could be conscripted.

Councillor Bradley said that he was not a C.O., but surely we were fighting this war for freedom. If a man was willing to risk his life in saving life and property he should be allowed to do so.

The matter was then allowed to drop, Councillor Wilson remarking:

"I am against the minute, and so are many others if they only had the pluck to say so."

The following day Councillor Wilson told the reporters:

"I don't support the Pacifist's views, but I believe him to be sincere and anxious to do his bit in his own way. In any case, a fireman's job today is as hazardous as a soldier's."

A fireman stated the A.F.S. viewpoint. To our mind this betrays not only muddled thinking but want of moral courage. The explanation is mean and unworthy of consideration. He said:

"We are proud of our A.F.S. uniform, and we want to preserve the good name of the service. Once fire-fighting became known as an objectors' job we should be afraid to walk about in uniform in case people mistook us for objectors too."

The *Evening Standard*, London, for January 9, under the heading, "Boanerges of Barnet," published a very interesting editorial on the subject. It was commenting on the committee's dismissal in the first instance. Our contemporary commented:

"A small matter in the midst of a great war, you may say. We think it not so small.

"Certainly the arguments of conscientious objectors make no appeal to us. We think their case is practically and morally unsound. Only a small minority in this land believes that Naziism can be withstood by any other means but force. . . .

"However, despite all the evidence, it is still possible for a man, on religious or other grounds, to believe that he can never be justified, whatever the consequences, in killing his fellow men. Our Parliament and our laws recognised this fact. They have made provision for conscientious objectors to perform non-combatant duties. If such a man actually chooses a service like that of a fireman, which will enable him to save life at the risk of his own, all honour to him. Here is proof of the sincerity of his convictions. . . .

"Has Parliament made a law that conscientious objectors should not be allowed to serve their country by helping to save their countrymen? No, this amazing doctrine is issued in the form of a private Bill drawn up by a few self-appointed Popes in a single parish. If they have any regard for our laws and free institutions they had better think again. If they would like the law changed, our institutions offer them means by which they may attempt to change it. And until the law of England decrees that conscientious objectors should be refused all chance of honourable service to the State, these worthy councillors had better stop behaving like miniature Nazis. . . .

"It is not such a small thing after all. . . .

"The habit of freedom is our armour against defeatism. Therefore we are resolved that the voice of reason, spoken in our Parliament, shall not be bawled down by some Boanerges in Barnet."

C.O.'s and AGRICULTURAL WORK

Worcestershire County Scheme.

Mr George E. Gregg, of Avoncroft, Stoke Prior, Bromsgrove, Worcs., has asked us to publish this announcement:—

"I have been asked by the War Agricultural Committee of Worcestershire to organise the group labour of C.O.'s to work under the authority of the Committee and not under individual farmers, to do such jobs as hedging and ditching and later as the good weather comes to perform all these jobs which farmers require, but to do it on a contract basis.

"So far as I can gather, individual farmers, with exceptions, are unable to overcome their prejudices as regards C.O.'s but quite often exploit men when they do.

"My scheme would overcome that as the men would be under the control of the Committee, and would work in groups. Wages would be prescribed by the Ministry of Agriculture, namely—38/- per week for the first two months and 48/- per week thereafter. Only men who could do a reasonable amount of work and were fairly adaptable would be accepted and to test this could only be done by trial. At the same time it is my intention to see that no exaggerated demands would be made on men as I realise that sedentary workers are not easily changed into manual workers. The employment of refugees has taught that. Nevertheless there must be many C.O.'s capable of doing a reasonable amount of work and given the will under a properly organised scheme would find not only the satisfaction of work but able to share in the Community life of the Hostels which I propose to set up.

"All further details may be had on application to me."

CONDITIONAL EXEMPTION.

The *Nottingham Journal*, in its issue for December 13 last, published the following interesting editorial:—

STUPID REGULATION

A defect in the working of the Conscientious Objectors Tribunals that could easily be remedied in the light of experience, although it would require an alteration in the present regulations governing the powers of such bodies, revealed itself at this week's sitting of the North Midland Tribunal at the Shire Hall, Nottingham.

This was in respect of genuine conscientious objectors who have been placed on the register on condition that they follow some course of conduct laid down by the Tribuntal, and then, through no fault of their own, are unable to do so.

For example, a man is told to carry on with his present job, which is of national importance. He loses this job on account, say, of shortage of material causing a number of men to be dismissed, and obtains a job in agriculture. When he appears before the Tribunal all that they can do now is to report him to the Ministry for not fulfilling the conditions they have laid down, and order him to appear before them, de novo, in a month's time, when, as a matter of fact, all the members of the Tribunal are satisfied that he is usefully employed in his new job, and would like to tell him to "carry on."

As the law now stands, however, they cannot do this. Time and again this anomalous position developed at this week's sitting of the Tribunal in Nottingham.

WANDSWORTH IN REVOLT

By R. M. FOX.

[In the April, 1940, *Word* we told, from press cuttings and the Government White Paper Report, the story of the 1918-1919 Wandsworth Prison revolt. The present article, selected from *Smoky Crusade*, by R. M. Fox, is another account of these events by a prisoner who did not participate in them at first. Fox's description is an independent record of what happened as seen by an active and interested observer. Subsequent to our release, Fox became a hunger-striker also. On another page we make other extracts from Fox's book—*Ed.*]

We set out from the guard-room, a band of about six prisoners with eight or ten guards. We had to cross London, and the sergeant agreed to let us have tea with our friends at a West End restaurant while he and the soldiers went off to refresh themselves. In an hour or two he returned very worried and told us that he could not find the escort anywhere. We volunteered to help, and scoured the surrounding public-houses. At last we rounded up all of them and proceeded on our journey. Our escort was merry and staggering, but we got them safely to the prison gates.

My heart sank when I saw the grim entrance of Wandsworth Prison again and heard the key grate once more in the lock. A little band of pacifist women, led by Clara Cole, greeted us at the prison gate, where they were tireless in their demonstrations.

I must confess that when the prison door clanged behind me for the third time I had a feeling of dismay. But I determined to fight all the way. Next day the task-master came into my cell.

"You will be pleased to hear," he said brightly, "that the task has been reduced since you were here last!"

"I am neither pleased nor sorry," I answered. "I am not interested. The word 'task' is expunged from my dictionary. I do not intend to do it."

He looked at me to see whether I meant it.

All right," he said, after a pause. "You needn't do anything if you don't like, but don't tell the others."

I soon found that the prison was completely out of hand. Now that the Armistice had come the long pent-up repression of the prisoners demanded an outlet.

Before I had arrived one body of prisoners—who had become known as the "All-Out Strikers"—had declared that they intended to disregard all prison rules. When they were let out on exercise they refused to come in, and warders had to chase them all over the prison buildings and carry them back to their cells. These men were now locked up permanently but, by means of talking out of the windows or through their spy-holes, they managed to add to the prison turmoil. Guy Aldred, who had been with me in Brixton, was, I learned, one of these locked-in-men.

Finding out which cell he was in, I went to the door as we returned from exercise and talked to him. He was on the second landing while my cell was on the fourth. A warder on the ground floor bawled angrily, "Hi, Number ——, what are you doing at that cell door?"

"I am talking to the man inside," I replied.

After exchanging further greetings I went upstsairs, and entered my own cell, shutting the door. In a minute or two I heard the lock grate and a red-faced, angry, puffing warder, who had climbed the stairs, entered and demanded to know what I meant by my reply.

"It was the literal truth," I answered. "Now go away and report me. I don't want you in my cell any longer."

He went. But I was not reported. Everyone in the prison was defying the rules, and the warders did not know what to do.

An order was given that the "All-Out Strikers" were to be removed to the basement cells, where they would cause less disturbance to the prison. Instead of this, when they got together, they held meetings and sang continuously, their voices rising up from the depths.

One big man, an objector named Brooks—who had also spent some time at Brixton—decided to smash up his cell in the basement as a protest. When I went out to exercise I saw him sitting in the midst of a heap of debris, having broken his windows, gas box and everything his cell contained. He was sitting chipping away at the tiled floor of his cell. I asked him how he was getting on. "Fine!" he replied.

Someone slipped him in an iron bar through the window, and he spent the day pounding at the iron-clad door. He had knocked a jagged hole through the panel, with its metal sheeting on both sides, before the warders rushed in and hustled him away in a strait jacket to a silent cell. He was a powerfully built man, with great muscular arms, easily, I think, the strongest man in the prison. A few days later the doctor ordered his release on health grounds. He literally broke his way out of prison.

As a protest against the treatment of the basement men, we decided to take the unprecedented action of holding a meeting in the exercise yard. We were entitled to association at exercise now—which meant that we could walk round in twos and threes. We talked and sang in the prison corridors. But so far no meetings had been held. We decided to hold one on Sunday to discuss action on behalf of the basement men—who had been shut up for weeks without exercise, and were, we were told, to be given bread and water diet.

It was arranged that four men, Beacham, Knight, Spiller and myself, would speak in turn from a stone parapet overlooking the exercise ground. We were sure that each man who attempted to speak would be dragged away, so it was necessary to have several speakers ready. But Sunday was a day when the prison was short-handed. Many of the warders had week-end leave and so we were not interfered with. The meeting was held and a mass deputation chosen to see the Governor next day.

Out of this grew a regular organisation—a Prisoners' Committee of five—which reported to the prisoners on the exercise yard. Beacham and myself represented the party of action on this committee and we received general support, especially as our tactics of mass deputations proved successful. Our plan was for the prisoners to form up and march to the centre of the prison and refuse to disperse until a particular grievance had been dealt with. The Chief Warder realized that our direct-action tactics gathered ever more support. One morning he climbed to the top landing of the prison and entered my cell, panting. He came to announce that some minor grievance of which we had complained was being remedied.

"I have put that through for you," he said. "But mind, I don't want 'Another Victory,' talk all over the prison."

We held meetings in the evenings, too. A weekly meeting was held at each end of the prison on two nights of the week. Sometimes a man spoke out of the window from his stool, sometimes he talked through the spy-hole in the door. All the spy-hole glasses had been smashed.

It was an eerie sensation, I found, to address an unseen audience, to ask for questions and discussion, and to have comments fired from the various cells, some below, some above. The warders tried to interrupt these meetings by rattling trays and creating a din but, when this happened, the whole of the prison adjourned for a "serenade." A serenade meant a concerted banging of wooden stools against iron doors. The prison rocked under the blows, and lights appeared in all the surrounding buildings.

One night at the end of a meeting the speaker humorously announced a collection, and dozens of tin dinner-cans went flying through the windows on to the asphalt yard. Concerts and mass singing added to the din. A few prisoners objected to the continuous noise, one, Leonard J. Simons, even writing and circulating an attack on the "Basement Oligarchy" who talked far into the night. This document—on brown toilet paper—was the subject of wide comment. A little journal with a special canvas cover and an embroidered flag—a product of the work-room—called *The Red Flag*—was also produced. Many who liked quiet bore with the racket solely because of the need to attack the silence rule. . . .

This was the post-Armistice atmosphere of Wandsworth Gaol. The Chief Warder—a stiff little man of about sixty with close-cropped white hair which earned him the nickname of Snowball—came out one morning and appealed to the objectors to keep order so as to enable him to run the prison.

I can understand the 'All-Out Strikers,'" he said. "They tell me they won't obey the rules. That is a John Blunt honest attitude, but you men who walk about singing—I don't think that's playing the game!"

It did not occur to Snowball that it was no game for us.

Some wanted to hunger-strike at once in answer to what they called the Chief Warder's challenge. One or two smashed up their cells. We could hear a crash as the gas-box and anything else breakable went. One man yelled, "This is my answer to the Chief Warder!" and a series of crashes followed. The warders rushed to his cell and dragged him away. He was put in a strong cell with a strait-waistcoat, like a suit of armour, fixed so that he could not move his hands. This smashing up of cells was called "going over the top." It had an element of hysteria in it. It represented that point when nerves were too wrought up to stand any more. About this time, when men had been shut up for several sentences totalling from two to three years, it became a familiar incident of the prison. When the Chief Warder made his foolish speech contrasting the attitude of the "All-Out Strikers" with that of the others, he called up this kind of response.

Seven men went on hunger-strike immediately and, after a week, the rest of us became anxious about their condition. We had caught glimpses of them staggering weakly as they came out of their cells in the morning. And it was reported, too, that the doctor had made jeering remarks to them on his morning round, inquiring—with fine satire—whether their insurance premiums were fully paid up. We decided to march to the centre of the prison and demand to see the Chief Warder about the release of these men. The men came in after exercise and took up their position.

Three of us were selected as a deputation, and I acted as spokesman. At first the Chief Warder was adamant.

"You must apply to the doctor in the morning," he told us.

If this failed, he said, we could petition the Home Office, which would mean, we knew, getting a reply in not less than a month's time.

"Are we to go out and tell these men you refuse to do anything?" I asked.

"What can I do?" he countered. "It is a matter for the doctor, and the doctor alone."

I decided to play my trump card—the card of individual responsibility.

"Very well, then," I replied. "I will tell the men that. But I want you to understand that these men are hunger-striking as the direct result of a speech you made in the exercise yard—a speech which they took as a challenge. If anything happens to them you will bear a special responsibility, for no doubt all this will be raised in Parliament and elsewhere."

"I am sure," Snowball blustered, "I never meant to incite any prisoner to break prison rules!"

"Unfortunately it has had that effect," I remarked, "whatever your motive."

"Wait a minute," said Snowball. "Perhaps I can find out something about the case. I will telephone to the doctor."

His voice was shaky as he carried on a long telephone conversation. When he turned to us he was still under the stress of emotion.

"I think it will be all right," he said. "I have

talked it over with the doctor and you can tell the men that the hunger-strikers will probably be released in a day or two."

The men were released and I was confirmed in my belief that there is nothing that a prison official is so much afraid of as being held personally responsible for any happening. Only so long as they can slip behind their official status do they feel safe.

NEWCASTLE ATHEIST WAR RESISTER

Letters in which he expressed anti-war feeling were read at the Moot Hall Police Court, Newcastle, on December 20, 1940, when our comrade, Robert Morley (23), of "Rosslyn," Highfield Road, Westerhope, was summoned for failing to register under the National Service Armed Forces Act (1939) and for failing to attend a medical examination.

Morley, who refused to plead, was ordered to be detained in custody until such time as he is required to go for his medical examination. He was fined £2 on each charge, and ordered to pay £12 4s 9d costs.

Prosecuting on behalf of the Ministry of Labour and National Service, Mr P. L. Frankham said that Morley had written letters stating that he did not intend to register or go through a medical examination as he was opposed to war.

Among the reasons for his refusal was that the war was being fought, not to beat Hitler, but to further the interests of the British Empire.

FATHER WAS C.O.

His reason for not registering as a conscientious objector was because *"it was designed to break any opposition to the Armed Forces Act."*

The letters stated that Morley's father was a conscientious objector in the last war, and that Morley had been brought up to disbelieve in war. Morley said he preferred to be called a "War Resister."

In the witness-box, Morley refused to swear on the Bible. He explained that he was an atheist, giving as his reason his belief that

"The Bible is merely a collection of historical incidents and has no spiritual significance.

"I do not believe in the existence of a Deity."

WAR FUTILE.

He affirmed, and then read a letter, written by himself on receipt of the summons, in which he stated that he did not intend to come to the court.

Describing war as "futile," Morley said he intended to make the Armed Forces Act as unworkable as possible.

Mr Frankham asked for an order for Morley to be detained in custody. There was a cry of "And that's illegal" from the public gallery.

After the Bench's decision a voice called "Good luck," and Morley left the court with a wave of his hand to his sympathisers.

SHETTLESTON COUNCILLOR C.O.

Glasgow Town Councillor, Robert McAllister, I.L.P. representative for Shettleston and Tollcross, was refused registration as a conscientious objector at the Glasgow Tribunal on December 10, 1940.

Councillor McAllister, who gave his age as 34, stated that he had been a member of the I.L.P. for the past 18 years, and had joined that party because of the position it had taken up in the last war.

"Have you," said the chairman, Sir A. Campbell Black, K.C., "considered the result of German domination on yourself and your fellows in this country?"

In reply, McAllister said he considered that if the war were to end tomorrow, either by the invasion of Germany or of this country, Hitler would be at his wits' end to solve the economic and social problems which would confront him in Germany. He would have 10,000,000 unemployed to feed. He could not cope with that, and if the people of Germany could not be fed Hitler would not be in power.

GORDON STOTT

The name of Gordon Stott, the Edinburgh advocate, will be familiar to all conscientious objectors in the West of Scotland. He has assisted freely and wisely all objectors to war if they sought his aid. He will be remembered for his defence of our comrade, Philip Boyle, at his second court martial at Maryhill Barracks. Subsequently he conducted Boyle's case before the Appellate Tribunal at Edinburgh.

The son of the parish minister at Cramond, Midlothian, Gordon Stott began his political career while a student at Edinburgh University. He was closely associated with the University Labour Party and was later appointed secretary of Edinburgh Trades Council. He still represents the Trades Council and Labour Party at the meetings of the managers of Edinburgh Royal Infirmary.

For a time Gordon Stott was prospective Parliamentary Labour candidate for the Aberdeen constituency. In 1925, however, he was adopted as prospective candidate for West Edinburgh, the Lord Advocate's constituency.

Mr. Scott is 31 years of age. He was called to the Bar in 1936. His chambers are at 32 Dundas Street, Edinburgh. He is a member of the Church of Scotland, and objects to military service and to killing, but not to work under civil control.

Gordon Stott appeared before the Edinburgh Local Tribunal on January 22. He appealed for exemption on moral and conscientious grounds. He was refused exemption.

Mr. Stott said that he was a member of his fathsr's church but he did not take any active part in church affairs.

Answering the questions of the Tribunal, Gordon Stott said that he had no objections to the use of force in civil affairs. He did not object to the work of the police in this country. The police were dealing with criminals, and in the prosecution of their duties they did not involve fairly innocent people. War, on the other hand, meant that almost everyone was involved.

In 1935, as secretary of the Edinburgh Labour Party, he had submitted a resolution that all possible assistance—short of war—be rendered to the Abyssinians, who were at that time at war with Italy.

He suggested that the supply of oil and petrol to the Italians should be cut off.

The Labour Party had been pushed into support of the war by its Left-Wing.

He thought that if we were invaded we should just have to accept an army of occupation, but he did not think that, should the invaders force their views on the children of this country, everyone would comply. He had more faith in the British people, and although several people would undoubtedly suffer for this resistance there would be a great many more who would refuse to comply.

A fortnight before appearing before the Tribuntl, Mr. Stott volunteered as a fire watcher at Edinburgh courts. He was under the impression at that time that it was a purely voluntary and private scheme. Since then, however, it had been compulsory, and he felt that this would give a great deal of thought to pacifists who had volunteered.

He did not object to compulsion, but thought that once a scheme was put on compulsory lines it became an organised part of the Government who were prosecuting this war.

LEO TOLSTOY'S

Famous Address to the Swedish Peace Party, entitled

THE WAY TO PEACE

with which is incorporated his

GREETINGS TO CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS

Price 2d. Post Free 3d.

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Every Pacifist, every Christian, every Freethinker, and every Militarist should read Tolstoy's great statement of the only way in which the world can be won for peace.

ANNESLEY ALDRED

Annesley Aldred was granted total exemption by the Glasgow Conscientious Objectors' Local Tribunal on Tuesday, January 28. The appellant submitted written evidence as to the views held by his father and mother. He explained that he had been reared in a Socialist and Anarchist household.

Replying to the Chairman of the Tribunal, Sir Archibald Campbell Black, Annesley Aldred stated that he included German National Socialism under the term Fascism. He was strongly opposed to this expression of militarism and oppression. His method of opposing its growth was not counter-militarism but non-co-operation and civil disobedience.

The Chairman questioned him on this point and stated that he did not see how it would be sufficient to destroy invasion, or a successful blockade without invasion, that could result if the British Navy were not active protecting the import of food from the Colonies, the United States, and neutral overseas countries. The appellant replied that he did not mean non-co-operation to be isolated to Britain but to extend, and to involve civil disobedience widespread in all countries affected by Nazi domination. The Chairman stated that he appreciated the point of view but added that he could not share it. He made it clear that he felt that non-co-operation would prove non-effective in practice, unfortunately.

The Tribunal showed great courtesy, and a desire to understand the influences that explained the appellant's attitude.

DOLLAN'S KNIGHTHOOD

Congratulations from the leaders of the "Socialist" and Progressive (*sic*) Parties in the Corporation of Glasgow were extended to the Lord Provost on his elevation to knighthood at the January 9th meeting of the Glasgow Corporation.

Councillor Hector McNeill and Councillor John McSkimming, in acting as spokesmen for their respective groups, paid tribute to the zeal and devotion to duty shown by Mr Dollan in his discharge of the office of civic chief, and made special mention of his self-sacrificing activities in the war effort.

Councillor William Park, chairman of the I.L.P section, dissociated his party from this praise, criticising the acceptance of the honour as a betrayal of Socialist proprieties. Many thousands of Socialists, declared Councillor Park, held the opinion that the acceptance of honours at the hands of the King was merely supporting capitalism.

Replying to the congratulations, Dollan said that the responsibility for accepting the honour was his alone, not that of the Socialist Party. He added :—

"What I have done is in accordance with the best civic traditions, and I hope that occupants of this chair will continue to consider the welfare of Glasgow more important than any notoriety they might gain from refusing to do the conventional thing."

He retorted to the I.L.P. criticism with the remark that there was very little difference in principle between a Socialist Lord Provost accepting a knighthood and an I.L.P. councillor seeking to be a magistrate or a J.P. This may be correct reasoning, but the trouble is that Dollan did not adopt this view always. There was a time when he defended Labour Bailies, but would not have applauded Labour knighthoods. He used to reply to our Anti-Parliamentarian criticism by denying indignantly that Parliamentarism led to capitalist honours, and so involved careerism. Of course, Dollan's position answers his own previous arguments.

UNITED STATES CONCHIES

At Omaha, Neb., U.S.A., on October 14, 1940, a declaration that Christian citizens are duty bound to bears arms in defence of their country received the approval of the United Lutheran Church of America. The church, however, recognised the individual's right to conscientious objection to military service. The convention added a provision that communicant members who are conscientious objectors may file with the executive board a written statement of their position.

The Central Pennsylvania synod asked the church to take a stand along the lines followed by the Society of Friends.

The board's report approved by the convention declares—

"It is right for Christians to bear civil office, to sit as judges, to engage in just wars, to serve as soldiers, to make legal contracts, to hold property, to make oath . . . save only when commanded to sin, for then they ought to obey God rather than man."

A Temple University (Philadelphia) theological student served notice on October 16 that he would under no circustances register for the draft.

The remaining 166 students of the theological school indicated that they would register as conscientious objectors.

Dr. John W. Mason, newly appointed president of Swarthmore College, announced that neither the facilities nor the campus of the college would be turned over to the Government for military training.

The student who refused to register was Ernest Kurkjian, 24, 316 S. 62nd Street, a third-year student.

Kurkjian refused in any way to alter his stand, despite his mother's pleas and those of his local draft board member, Dr. William J. Miller, pastor of the Tabernacle Lutheran Church, 59th and Spruce Sts. The youth's brother, Haig, 22, a tool designer at an aircraft factory, left home promptly at 7 a.m. to register.

Kurkjian explained his position :—

"I would call conscription involuntary servitude. I believe in non-violence.

"This conscription is a conscription of the national conscience. The United States apparently wants to overshadow Germany. Politically, the same thing will happen. It is coming to that. Right now I am not even being allowed to follow the voice of my conscience."

Dr. Miller pointed out to him—

"Registration insures your safety as a citizen. By registration you don't give up your conscientious objection. You still can appeal as a conscientious objector."

Kurkjian's answer was that by registering he would be

"Evading the draft. I'm not trying to evade anything. And I know what I will have to suffer."

Kurkjian added that he had joined the American Friends Service Committee, and hoped to work in aiding migratory workers or, if he is "capable enough," go abroad to Europe and aid refugees.

Kurkjian announced his intention several weeks prior to his action, in a letter addressed to the editor of the *Philadelphia Evening Ledger*. In this letter he said :—

"For the cord and to make public my views, I write this letter, to state in brief my conscientious objections to war and conscription for war.

"War and war preparations are wasteful and uneconomical. War is socially destructive to all and brings more ailments. War is un-Christian and Anti-Christ, and war is against the brotherhood of man. Because of this I am a conscientious objector of the absolute type. I take this means of making public my view and my objection to the conscription of men for war.

"My action will be that I shall not register because I cannot conscientiously register for military service. I shall be ready to take the consequences, whatever they may be."

According to the *American Friend* of December 5 last, a Pacific Coast Friend, Edwin A. Sanders, was brought before the Federal Court at Portland, Oregon, on November 23 for refusing to register under the American Conscription Act. He, with a Methodist minister who had made the same refusal, were both released on bail.

Edwin Sanders graduated from Earlham College in 1938, and is also an M.A. of Haverford. He and his wife were directors of the Quaker Hill Hostel at Richmond, and he is now a member of the faculty of Pacific College.

Sanders adopts the "absolutist" position. "All my training," he told a reporter, "has been to abhor the taking of life, and, to me, even an ounce of surrender means to violate that training."

There is no "unconditional exemption" in the Conscription Act in U.S.A. This explains why many C.O.s, whom we should in Britain call "absolutists," refuse to register. They feel this is the only way to express their absolutism.

A good deal of publicity has been given in the American Press to the group of theological students at the Union Theological Seminary, New York, who refused to register for "the draft" on October 16, on the grounds that they were thereby co-operating with the war system. To the contention that the Act made provision for religious pacifists, these men replied in a manifesto :

"It is not alone for our own exemption from fighting that we work—it is for freedom of the American people from Fascism and militarism."

In the January *Word* we reproduced the comment made on their refusal by the *New Republic*, New York.

Eight of these students were indicted in Federal Court, New York, on October 21, 1940, for refusing to register in compliance with the United States Selective Training and Service Act—a felony under federal law. They pleaded guilty, and the case was adjourned for sentence.

On November 14 they reiterated their refusal to register for selective service, and were sentenced to serve a year and a day in federal prison.

Federal Judge Samuel Mandelbaum, just before passing sentence, gave the men an opportunity to register "at this last minute." The roll was called. Each refused, and Judge Mandelbaum passed sentence.

The court noted that the maximum term possible was five years' imprisonment and a 10,000 dollars fine, and added that if at any time within the sentence imposed any of the defendants decided to comply with the Act, the court would be "only too happy" to moderate the sentences.

Kenneth Walzer, counsel for the students, told the court that "their consciences hold them to the teachings of the great master."

"They believe those teachings to mean what they say," he added, "and they find in them instructions to have nothing to do with the mass killing which is called war."

The eight and the colleges from which they were graduated are: William N. Lovell, 26 Ploughkeepsie, N.Y., president of the Union Theological Student body and a Yale graduate; Richard J. Wichlei, 23, Binghamton, N.Y., Syracuse; Donald Benedict, 23, Newark, N.Y., Albion; David Dellinger, 25, Wakefield, Mass., Yale; Meredith Dallas, 23, Grosse Point, Mich., Albion; George M. Houser, 24, Denver, University of Denver; Joseph G. Bevilacqua, 24, Buffalo, N.Y., Tufts, and Howard E. Spragg, 23, Malden, Mass., Tufts.

Rev. Henry Sloane Coffin president of the Union Theological Seminary, issued a statement later in which he said in part :

"On behalf of the seminary let me say that we are sad at heart that these young men, whose Christian characters and devotion we admire, have persisted in their defiance of the law."

Dr. Coffin added that, in his judgment,

"Their course in this matter is prejudicial to democracy, that form of government under which the Christian Church enjoys the utmost liberty. And I am sure the last thing these young men wish is to injure democracy."

"Consequently one hopes that, having made their position clear, they will see that no further purpose can be served by persisting in this course."

CANADIAN CONCHIES

Several University of Alberta students refused on October 22, 1940, to take compulsory military training with the University Auxiliary Battalion on the ground that they were "conscientious objectors." Dr. W. A. R. Kerr, president, referred their cases to the Alberta War Services Board.

One of the students was reported to be in the senior medical class, and some others in the theology class of St. Stephen's College.

The Senate of McGill University, Montreal, at a special session on November 9, suspended Gordon K. Stewart, 47 Prospect Avenue, from the university until he is ready to abide by the rules of the college.

McGill's sole "conscientious objector" to the compulsory military training programme for male students, Stewart, 19 years of age, refused to comply with the university regulations, which he said were against his religious principles. He is a student in second year Arts.

The case was considered by the special military committee of the university, and referred to the University Senate for action. It was decided by the Senate members that Stewart would remain under suspension from the university and all its activities until such time as he was willing to participate in the military training programme.

As Stewart was only 19, his case was handled entirely by the university authorities. Had he been of military age he would have come under the scope of the Government, and the matter would have been beyond the jurisdiction of the university itself.

Ten students at the University of Toronto also listed "religious principles" as their reason for refusing to participate in the military training programme there.

TEACHER CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS

Education, London, for January 10, under the above heading, publishes an interesting letter on the attitude of Local Education Authorities from Mr. G. E. Laywood, The Gardens, Rislingbury, Northants. Mr. Laywood writes :—

"That efficiency of the educational system provided in their area should be the primary concern of L.E.A.'s who dismiss conscientious objectors, is apparently not a fact. Men who by reason of their appearance before a tribunal are recognised as C.O.'s are dismissed, but men over the reservation age are likely to retain their posts. Women whose suggestive influence may well be more insidious than men also retain their positions.

"As the war progresses, the gradual depletion of the male teaching staff may result. Fully trained and experienced men will be difficult to obtain: women will replace them. That trained skill, and the much more valuable teaching experience of dismissed C.O.'s will have been lost.

"This skill was in the vast majority of cases obtained at the Government's expense. At a time of financial stringency, can anything be more wasteful than dismissal? Replacement, if possible, will cost a deal more money than the original training. . . .

"The L.E.A. makes decisions by a vote: this is taken after discussion in an atmosphere charged with prejudice, tainted with malice, and containing an element of remorse that such irregularities had not been previously discovered. Self-righteousness among those who have aided and abetted the previous retention of their posts by C.O.'s is obvious. At the bottom is the knowledge that neglect to participate in such dismissal will result in the loss of the seat at the next local government election of councillors.

"If the L.E.A.'s were really desirous of equalising pay of C.O.'s and conscripted colleagues, then they might well invite the Government to make use of Regulation 58a, made under the Emergency Powers (Defence) Act, 1940. Under this regulation the Minister of Labour and National Service may direct any person in the United Kingdom to perform such services in the United Kingdom as may be specified . . . upon such terms as to remuneration and conditions of service as the Minister may, in accordance with this Regulation, direct."

CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS:
AMERICAN ACT EXPLAINED

BY ROGER N. BALDWIN.

The following article from the pen of the well-known American lawyer and Liberal thinker is reprinted from *The Nation*, New York, U.S.A., for October 12, 1940.—Ed.

Provision for conscientious objectors under the recently enacted Military Service Bill falls short of the liberal measure advocated by the Quakers and other agencies. It does not include non-religious objectors and does not permit total exemption for any man. But what failed to be written into the law may yet be achieved by regulation. Even the War Department officials responsible for the draft regulations have stated privately that they favour an interpretation of the provisions generous enough to exempt, as in the World War, all genuine objectors, whether religious, humanitarian, or political. Though the World War provision for objectors was narrowly written to include only members of "well-recognised religious sects historically opposed to war," it was in practice extended by regulation to include even members of the I.W.W., Socialists, anarchists, and, indeed, Irishmen who objected to fighting in a war on England's side.

Congress, however, fearful that Communists and German-American Nazis might take advantage of too liberal a provision for objectors, refused to extend a definition which recognises only those who "by reason of religious training and belief are conscientiously opposed to participation in war in any form." Even in peace time Congress could not be induced to be as generous as Britain is in war time, although in the hearings before the Military Affairs Committees of both houses not a single voice was raised against the proposed provisions and an impressive array of witnesses supported them.

Congressional fears of leaving a loophole for Communists and German-American Nazis are, I believe, unfounded. The Communists, despite their opposition to conscription, have already advised their members to obey the law and enter the army here as they have in other countries. German-American sympathisers with Hitler and Irish-Catholic followers of Father Coughlin, though opposed to the draft, will raise no issue of conscience. The conflict between conscience and conscription will revolve around the religious objector who refuses all service and the comparatively few Socialist, Anarchist, and "ethical" objectors.

The present Military Service Act is an improvement upon the World War Draft Act in that conscientious objectors are to be dealt with outside the army. They first declare themselves in a questionnaire to be filled out after registration and then get a hearing by the local draft board. Those found to be genuine objectors may be assigned either to non-combatant service in the army, or, if they refuse any military service, to "work of national importance under civilian direction." In the World War under a similar provision, objectors were furloughed from the army to farm work under civilian diection or to work with the Quakers abroad. Similar assignments are doubtless now contemplated.

Men who refuse even civilian service will inevitably be prosecuted and will face penalties potentially more severe than in the World War. The maximum prison term for a man tried in the civil courts for refusing to obey the Draft Act in the World War was one year; under the Military Service Act it is five years, with a fine up to $10,000. It is possible that some at least of those who refuse all service may be assigned to the work they are doing if such work is regarded as of "national importance." That has been done in England, and it offers a means of breaking the impasse between some of the "absolutists" and the government. High officials in the War Department are quoted as saying that they wish the act to be so administered that no genuine objector will be sent to prison.

All objectors dissatisfied with a local board's ruling and those who refuse all service will have the right of appeal to the regional appeals boards. These boards will refer all appeals to the Department of Justice, which will investigate and give a hearing to each objector. Just how the machinery of the department will operate is not yet known, but efforts are being made to prevent the FBI from handling such a delicate task as searching a man's conscience. The department's recommendations to an appeals board are only advisory. In each case the decision of the appeals board is final, unless the President can be induced to intervene. Efforts are being made to secure the appointment by the President of a special national board on conscientious objectors, limiting the discretion of the appeal boards, since only some central authority thoroughly familiar with the varieties of conscience can insure uniform and just treatment. It would be an injustice, for example, to have members of Jehovah's Witness considered insincere in one area and exempted as genuine religious objectors in another.

If the decision of the appeals board is against an objector, he will be notified by his local draft board to report for physical examination preparatory to induction into the army. If he then refuses he will be subject to trial in the civil courts. If he should take the physical examination and pass it he would be eligible for military service, and as soon as he took the oath required on induction into the army, would come under the jurisdiction of a military court martial. Refusal to comply at that point or with any subsequent order would subject him to the almost limitless penalties of a military court.

Most objectors, obviously, will be tried in civil courts; among these will be those who refuse to obey any order of a local draft board, whether they are adjudged sincere objectors or not, and those who refuse to comply with the requirements for registration. It is known that a considerable number of men, including some of the most obviously sincere religious objectors, will refuse to register on the prescribed forms and merely notify the local draft boards of their names and addresses so as not to be confused with draft-dodgers. Since refusal to fill out the forms is a violation of law, these men will almost certainly be prosecuted. Thus at the very beginning of the draft there will be held those trials for conscience which the administration seems anxious to avaid, and the civil courts will be confronted with the unwelcome duty of creating martyrs for principle. Washington officials have stated that men who refuse to register will be leniently treated and have even suggested that registration by others in their behalf might be accepted, but refusal to give any information except name, age, and address will make prosecution almost inevitable. While objectors will have no formal opportunity to state their position until they are reached by questionnaires in the process of calling men up, many intend to indicate it by writing "conscientious objector" on the margin of their registration cards. Such a notation, even though outside the information specified, is not a violation of law.

The prospective number of objectors, by any estimate, will be small. Most of them, as in the World War, will be members of pacifist religious sects. And most of them will accept non-combatant service in the army or work of national importance under civilian direction. In the World War 65,000 out of more than 3,000,000 drafted men registered as conscientious objectors with the draft boards, but only 4,000 so declared themselves after arriving at a military camp, and less than 500 were court-martialled for refusing all service or as insincere. . . .

The task of distinguishing the genuine conscientious objectors from the draft-evaders will be a difficult one. In the World War this delicate probe into sincerity was conducted by a special board appointed by the Secretary of War, composed of Harlan F. Stone, now Justice of the Supreme Court, Judge Julian W. Mack, and an army officer. This board went about the country interviewing men segregated at military camps. Their decisions as to whether a man should be treated as a genuine objector or as a "slacker" were final. The records show that a few men will pretend to conscientious scruples to secure their personal safety or convenience, but that their resistance is easily worn down and their pretence exposed. In England 20 per cent of the objectors up to June 1 were classed as not bona fide and were ordered into the army.

When men of unfamiliar and apparently inconsistent views come before the boards that will judge the validity of their scruples, some injustice may be done. Consistency will be demanded by agents of the government; complete consistency can rarely be furnished by objectors. The Christian pacifists will be perhaps most easily understood, though Jehovah's Witnesses will be a problem, as they were in the World War. Men whose conscientious objections rest upon loyalty to humanity, to the international working class, and- to political philosophies that seem "un American" are the most likely to be unfairly treated.

Legal aid to conscientious objectors will be rendered by the American Civil Liberties Union in all cases in which injustice appears and in appeals to the regional boards. The Union will not aid men prosecuted for refusing to identify themselves on registration day, though it may aid those prosecuted for refusing to fill out the prescribed forms. It advises all objectors who desired to be treated as such to comply fully with registration requirements and to state plainly their views. Conscientious objectors will also be aided by the leading Protestant agencies, not only the denominations historically opposed to war but others as well. The Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America has established a National Committee on Conscientious Objectors; the Quakers, Mennonites, and other pacifist sects have their committees; and the Fellowship of Reconciliation in New York City has established a National Board of Conscientious Objectors to furnish information and advice.

Not until the Department of Justice announces the personnel of its investigating agency, and until we know whether a central reviewing body is to be created, shall we be able to tell just how liberal the administration of the law will be, what burden the private agencies will carry, or how well the government will be able to resolve the historic conflict between conscience and military conscription.

Anglican Pacifist Fellowship

This is an association of communicant members of the Church of England, clerical and lay, who have pledged themselves "to take no part in war, but to work positively for the construction of Christian peace in the world."

Members of the Fellowship hold that "wherever the principles of their religion come into conflict with the standards of the secular world, at that precise point the witness to full Christianity must be plainly borne. They are, therefore in conflict with much of the existing social, economic, political and industrial order, and are con vinced that modern war has its roots in failure to apply the principles, teaching and example of the living Christ to the problems of everyday life.

Those who are in agreement with these principles should write for an explanatory leaflet to the *Rev. C. Paul Gliddon*, 17 *Red Lion Square, London, W.C.*1.

THE DUKE AND 18b.

Peter Howard, in the *Sunday Express*, for December 8 last, publishes a series of notes headed: *"What is The Duke of Bedford Up To?"* Under this heading he wrote:—

"Some say that the worst mistake a man can make is to be born of poor parents. By their exertions—or their good fortunes—his ancestors spared the Duke of Bedford this folly.

"Dukes are not famous for their poverty, and of all dukes in this kingdom the Duke of Bedford is probably the richest.

"He owns land and castles and houses. Much of his property is in London, now the target of Hitler's bombers.

"What is his grace the duke up to? Here is an odd angle on his present activities. A friend of mine wrote a letter to the Press. In this letter my friend drew attention to what he regarded as a weakness in the Purchase Tax.

"My friend was surprised to receive a few days later a note from the Duke of Bedford (living in Newton Stewart, Wigtownshire), signed by the ducal hand, congratulating him on his letter to the Press, and enclosing for his attention a bundle of printed literature."

This attack on the Duke of Bedford for possessing property is directed against him merely because he is opposed to war. Are there no people on the side of war who own land and castles and houses? Are these people ever attacked in the capitalist war press? Would the Duke of Bedford be reminded of his possessions if he identified himself with the cause of war? Are there not people hungry for wealth on the side of war? Are these people not supporting the clamour of war because they hope to grow rich thereby? We do not believe in the existence of rich and poor. We do not believe in titles or in any of the paraphernalia or class distinctions of contemporary society. But we do object to the irrelevancy, which amounts to abuse, of indicting the Duke of Bedford's stand for pacifism by attacking his property interests. The Duke's anti-militarism is not to his class interest and does involve boycott and antagonism in the very circles to which he might be expected to address himself for respect and friendship.

Peter Howard reproduces *"a few extracts from a document the Duke of Bedford sent my friend."* These extracts urged *"a negotiated peace in which neither side gives in."* The Duke of Bedford's views on this matter are known to our readers and need not be requoted. Peter Howard continues:—

"One of the documents (priced 6d. on the cover but sent free and post-free by the Duke to my friend) is composed by the Duke himself. It is published by Mr. R. J. Scrutton. . . .

"Mr. Scrutton believes that *'there must be a written common law to make illegal the exploitation of human life.'* . . .

"Now what on earth is the game? What is the Duke of Bedford doing in association with Mr. Scrutton?

"I must make my position plain about this matter. I stand against repression and for freedom of expression. I believe, as a general principle, that men should be allowed to state their views on events without hindrance even in wartime.

"But I also believe in equality. I know perfectly well that if I, Peter Howard, expressed views like those set out by the Duke of Bedford in the document he sent to my friend I should be locked up by the Home Office under Section 18B of the Defence Regulations.

"You may agree with the proposition that I should deserve to get locked up. Or you may hate it. That at any rate is the position.

"For my part, I think it would be farcical to lock up the Duke or myself for expressing this opinion. It only represents the viewpoint of a dwindling minority. Just the same many of the women and men already detained under Section 18B have advocated peace with Hitler less directly and less skillfully than his Grace the Duke of Bedford.

"Now, either *all* those who advocate peace with our enemies should be locked up, or none of those who advocate peace with our enemies should be punished on that account. Judge or journalist, butcher or barrister, duke or demolition worker—all should go the same way home.

"Nothing I have here set down on paper should be taken as indicating that I believe in allowing such freedom of expression in wartime as will damage our cause. My opinion about the duke is that he does us no harm with his doctrines

"But men who preach sedition and dissention in our docks and factories, that is another matter—in their case I advocate jail. For them I am a locker-upper. That is my position."

The last paragraph is alarming. It might mean the imprisonment, without trial, of any man who ventilated a factory grievance or opposed some most reprehensible expression of industrial conscription. We are not saying that in war time actual agents of the enemy nation must not be arrested or detained. We are not pleading the cause of spies. Thy must face the penalty of their trade. We are protesting against the loose employment of the terms "dissension" and "sedition." These are dangerous terms of clamour and have no place in the vocabulary of democracy.

But why should there be any "game" in a duke associating with a man who wants "to make illegal the exploitation of human life"? Might not even a duke become a Socialist? We know that it is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven. But a rich man might have ambitions and impulses in that direction. He might yearn for sincerity and simplicity. .

In the *Sunday Express* for December 22, Peter Howard returns to the Duke of Bedford but softens his comments:—

"A week or so ago I wrote about that well-known Christian Pacifist, the Duke of Bedford.

"Since then I have received a letter from the duke. May I add that the letter received from his grace the duke was far and away the most friendly document I have ever received from a duke in my life? In fact, it is the only document I ever received from dukedom."

Peter Howard concludes his article by making the following extract from the letter the Duke of Bedford sent to the editor of the *Sunday Express*:

"I agree with Mr. Howard about the treatment of 18b prisoners. The Government had the choice of two honest and consistent policies, and it has rejected both in favour of one which is neither honest nor consistent.

"If it had imprisoned only traitors engaged in sabotage or in plotting to assist a German invasion and had left at liberty those who, though loyal to their country, considered the war a mistake, they would have shown the maximum degree of regard possible in war-time for the principles of democratic liberty for which we are supposed to be fighting.

"If, on the other hand, they had imprisoned all of us who favour a negotiated peace, they would have been quite consistent—as well, of course, as completely Nazi."

Which seems to be an excellent criticism of 18B, and one shared by several of the speakers from the Labour benches in the House of Commons on the 18B debate.

NEW GREAT MEETING HOUSE

Holyhead Road, Coventry.

Sunday Services: Morning, 11.0; Evening, 6.30. Children's Hour, 2.15.

Minister—Rev. RICHARD LEE, M.A.

A Centre of Culture and of Anti-Militarist and Anti-War Christianity.

This church has been re-opened after temporary repairs. Owing to the damage, it is impossible to obtain warmth. Repairs will cost over £500. Whilst playing his part in alleviating the distress caused by the heavy bombings, Richard Lee continues his work for peace. He has reprinted his recent leaflet against war and Councillor Tom Kerr, of Glasgow, has sent a donation towards the cost of reprinting and distribution. Richard Lee feels that his pulpit has a part to play in ending war and suffering and promoting the cause of world peace. He believes that the Unitarian Pulpit should be the fearless centre of radical thought and protest against the horrors of war.

"Man Is Immortal."—Some errors crept into this essay, published in our last issue.

p. 8.—The author did **not** refer to Jesus weeping on "the **twenty-fourth** occasion." The last word was spelt wrong. **"Most mortal"** should read **"Most natural."**

p. 61.—1. **"Ghostly theory"** should read **"ghastly theory."**

"Gethsemane" was spelt with a small "g" instead of a capital "G."

Kensington War Refugees

We make no apologies for reproducing the interesting letter we have received from the Rev. John C. Ballantyne, M.A., minister of Essex Unitarian Church, Palace Gardens Terrace, London, W.8., on the subject of war refugees. Mr Ballantyne is the Hon. Secretary of the Kensington War Refugees Committee. The Chairman of the Committee is Councillor R. C. D. Jenkins, J.P., L.C.C., Mayor of Kensington, and the Hon. Treasurer is the Borough Treasurer, Mr W. J. S. Moore.

Mr Ballantyne writes:

"Dear Mr. Aldred,

"Many thanks for sending me your publications.

"I need hardly say that I admire your courage. I hope many of your readers will be stirred to sincere thought by your writings.

"I am not pretending to contribute to your columns. I am a pacifist who calls himself an activist. The notion grows on me with the years that our best reply to war consists of a way of live. I am quite aware that to say this seems to some people (a) bumptious and (b) soft. I don't think I am (a); am not pretending that my life is any better than the other man's; but my firm conviction is that only propaganda which would have any permanent value would be a propaganda of action; hence the rame activist. My hope is less and less that people will subscribe to this or that belief about war, but that they will be active—passionately active—and constructive, letting every action of their lives be activated by a certain quality or spirit. And I know I am not (b)! I have found it far softer to talk than to live. I might sound, or appear, far more courageous if I were to hit out with the rod of my mouth at the 'opposition,' denounce their errors, etc. I find it much more difficult, in the midst of war, but much more invigorating to me, and more helpful to my little world, to do actively, each day, something towards building a better world-order.

"As a matter of fact there are a hundred and one things that can be done, even in these mad days, and the way I find most suitable is this Refuge work. Here are these foreign folks in our midst. Through welfare effort, education of the adults and children clothing and feeding, Club-centre, etc., we try at this Church to prepare our Refugees (many hundreds of them!) so that by and by they may go back to their own lands as ambassadors of a Way of Brotherhood and of internationalmindedness (that's a fine word!)

"I am not against efforts for freedom of speech and conscience,—far from it. I am only trying to say that my reason for not sending a long 'provocative' letter for publication is that I feel the urgent necessity, the terrible urgent necessity, of another way by which to achieve the liberation of the spirit of mankind—the spread of living fellowship, here, there, and everywhere,—a spirit that prompts to act, to build, to construct, to produce.

"I am not a looker-on pacifist. I'm not a dictator or a captain on the bridge, not even a man at the wheel, but a stoker, trying to get up steam which will propel (the only steam which will ever propel) this dear old, sinful, glamorous world into the ways of new art and mightier music and all the things that are more excellent.

"If you can, by your able pen, deepen the spirit of mutual trust and sacrificial service, then more power to your elbow!

"Yours faithfully,

"formerly a Glaswegian,

(Signed) JOHN C. BALLANTYNE.

Mr Ballantyne has written an interesting book, published by THE LINDSEY PRESS, entitled: *Liberty, Diversity, Fraternity.* He has published a pamphlet on peace and conscientious objectors, under the title: *Liberal Christians and the Problem of Peace.* In this he shows how he was converted to pacifism from militarism during the Great War by appearing on behalf of conscientious objectors before Tribunals. This penny pamphlet deserves a wide circulation.

This pamphlet is published by the

UNITARIAN AND FREE CHRISTIAN PEACE FELLOWSHIP.

BASIS:

"A fellowship within our churches of those who bear witness to the belief that war is a sin against God and a crime against humanity, and that only under the sanctions of the law of love is it possible to establish right relations between citizens and nations, and who therefore pledge themselves to the promotion of international goodwill and peace."

Hon. Sec.: Rev. WALTER M. LONG, 35 Oakington Manor Drive, Wembley, Middlesex.

Dear Mr Aldred,—Would you please send me 6 copies of THE WORD. I always remember "The Spur," which was one of the things that inspired me when very, very young.

All best wishes

Yours for the Cause of Peace,

CLARE ANNESLEY.

Coventry, Jan. 12, 1941.

A WAR RESISTER'S STORY

R. M. Fox, in *Smoky Crusade*, published in 1937, by the Hogarth Press, London, tells the story of his down to the time that he left London to settle in Dublin. He described the orators of the Socialist Party of Great Britain who lectured in Tottenham, London, in days prior to the Great War of 1914-1918, and explains how he jonied the party. He became a speaker himself, whilst working in the factory, and serving his time to engineering. On Labour Day—the first of May—he joined regularly the demonstration from the Embankment to Hyde Park. He describes the 1912 Labour Day demonstration in Hyde Park, and pictures the Anarchist platform.

"At one platform the chairman announced Guy Aldred, Anarchist editor of *The Herald of Revolt*. A full-faced young man with a broad forehead and dark eyes of a dreamer mounted the platform. The meeting was edged in shadow now. There was a holiday spirit in the crowd, some were inclined to be rowdy.

"'Anarchist!' jeered one man. "I'm a bigger man than you are!'"

"Unfortunately," said Aldred smoothly, "we do not, nowadays, measure a man's intelligence by the length of his body."

"I looked at him curiously. A well-turned phrase never failed to hold my interest. He was wearing a dark jersey with a gleaming red tie under the soft collar. He had a Norfolk jacket unbuttoned, the belt hanging loose. He emphasised his remarks by clenching his fist and bringing it down on the palm of his other hand. But he was a philosophic rather than a boisterous speaker. He went on to attack what he called the Institution of the King. As he elbowed his way through the crowd at the conclusion of his speech I saw he was joined by a tall young girl with a dark oval face, masses of silky black hair and expressive eyes, the eyes of an idealist and a revolutionary. This was Rose Witcop, a Polish Jewess, who shared his life, and only refrained from marrying him because neither of them believed in the Institution of Marriage any more than they believed in the Institution of the King. Rose did not marry him until years later—when they had parted at her wish. They were married then to save her from being deported as an alien. The Institution of Marriage was found to have certain conveniences after all."

Fox proceeds to describe Charles Lalor and his famous bookshop. He relates the story of the I.W.W. propaganda in London at that time, and recalls Freitag, the little German printer who worked in a cellar off Tottenham Court Road, and produced anti-militarist sheets and pamphlets. He tells how the war came and how he refused to attest. Fox's brother was arrested as a conscientious objector. When Fox's young brother had been sentenced to Wandsworth Detention Barracks for a second time by Court Martial, his mother and father went to see him and were refused admittance, as the prisoner was refusing all military orders. Owing to the threats that were issued, the mother addressed a letter of protest to Mr Philip Snowden, M.P., and received the following, to our mind, disgraceful reply:—

"Dear Madam,—I really cannot help your son. He has made his choice between civil freedom and remaining under military control, and has accepted the latter. He knew when he did so that it meant returning to the Army and going through all the ordeal again to find himself back again in prison once more.

"By infinite labour and effort we have provided a way of escape for them from military control, and if they will not accept it we cannot help them. However, I have got the permission of the War Minister to say that the offer of accepting the Home Office scheme remains open, and if your son should at any time feel that he can conscientiously accept it, as the vast majority of the C.O.'s have done, he has only to notify that and he will be released.

"I have much sympathy with you, and I think your son might take into consideration that ti would be a relief to you to know that he was away from further suffering in the hands of the military.

"Yours sincerely,

"PHILIP SNOWDEN."

In November, 1916, R. M. Fox was arrested for refusing to render military service, and was taken to Mill Hill Barracks. He describes life in the guardroom, his sentence of 112 days, and his removal to Wormwood Scrubs prison. This description of prison should be read by present-day C.O.'s.

Fox served his sentence, and was taken back to Mill Hill Barracks, and Court-martialled a second time. He was sentenced to two years' imprisonment with hard labour in Wandsworth Prison. He describes Wandsworth. Readers will recall that the story of Wandsworth Prison, with pictures of C Hall and a prison cell, was published in *The Word* for April, 1940. Fox writes:—

"When I set out for Wandsworth Gaol, to do my two years, I was very glad of that.

"Each prisoner—there was about eight of us—who went to Wandsworth were served out with a generous ration of tea and sugar, wrapped in paper, for the army was responsible for our maintenance for the day. In prison, however, tea drinking was not allowed, so each man had to empty his packet solemnly in the firegrate of the pirson reception-room.

"Wandsworth was an old stone prison with an out-of-date and inadequate heating system. The stone cell floors gave one teh impression of living always in the scullery. I had to start again and work up to the privilege of letters, visits, library books and work in association. But when I had completed my novitiate for the second time I sewed mail-bags in a workshed on a treadle sewing machine. A similar machine occupied a good part of the space in my narrow cell. We sat in rows and a warder stood on a raised platform, watching us intently to see that we did not talk.

"Each Sunday after the sermon the Chaplain gave us a résumé of the week's news in a ten minutes' talk. The news was carefully selected. He told us, with indignation, that the Germans had started a 'corpse factory.'

"At the end of the sermon the organist played *God Save the King*. The khaki-clad soldiers in the gallery always stood to attention. The "drab" men—ordinary convicts—stood also, but very few of the grey, broad-arrowed mass of objectors rose to their feet. At first, the Chaplain was inclined to insist on men rising, but thinking better of it, he left this to individual choice.

"One Sunday, when news time came, the Chaplain spoke in an unaccustomed lyrical fashion.

"'And now,' he said, 'I want to tell you something for which all the bells in Christendom should ring with joy. A nation of 160 millions have at last asserted their right to liberty. The Russians have revolted and dethroned the Czar. Autocracy in Russia is no more!'

"That was the first news we had of the Russian Revolution, the shock of which was reverberating through the world. Men clapped and stamped their feet for several minutes, their pallid prison features lighting with joy. The Chaplain was disconcerted by the enthusiasm with which his news was received. He went on hurriedly to tell us that Russia would prosecute the War with far more vigour along with its democratic allies.

"Nothing else was whispered about in the prison for days. By this time men had become adepts at talking without moving their lips. Even the rumours of our impending release—a perennial topic—were swept out of the way by this great event.

"The Chaplain continued to give us tiny scraps of information about Russia. The Russians, he said, were like schoolboys who had been penned up in school for a long time. Suddenly they had been released and wanted to stay in the playground. But when they settled down, they would begin to fight again in earnest. So he tried to comfort himself but, as week succeeded week, the Chaplain grew less indulgent to the Russians.

"One Sunday his tone changed. The Russian sailors of the Baltic Fleet, he announced, had disarmed their officers. The admiral, rather than give up his sword, had flung it into the sea!

"His announcement was the signal for the most wonderful and spontaneous demonstration I have ever seen. Men who had served all these weary months in jail leapt to their feet and roared with delight, they stamped, clapped and yelled till the prison chapel shook.

"The Chaplain was pale with anger. When the tumult ceased he cried, 'I denounce that as an act of blasphemy in the House of God!'

"One or two of the prisoners were actually charged by the warders with creating disorder in the chapel, but the Prison Governor said that he couldn't punish them for doing just as all the rest did.

"The Chaplain, like other supporters of Imperialism, found it hard to believe that the Russians hadn't planned and carried out their revolution just in order to help in the war. And he would never understand why men in prison longing for the end of the war—which incidentally meant the end of their own sufferings—should hail the Russian refusal to fight with such enthusiastic delight. The objectors, too, had to meet black looks and muttered threats from the ordinary convicts as they filed through to the work-sheds.

"Wandsworth Gaol overlooked the military detention barraks' exercise ground, which lay beneath our windows. All day raucous shouts and curses of the drill sergeants rang in our ears. We saw the bullying that went on in the square. One man—by no means the worst, for he had a sense of humour—used to throw stones at his men. I heard an instructor teach bayonet drill out in the square."

He described how he and eight other men were removed to Brixton Prison. We were one of the others mentioned.

We pass over Fox's story of "Battles in Brixton" to come to Wandsworth Prison again. Fox finished his two years' imprisonment on the eve of the armistice, and was returned to Mill Hill Barracks for his third Court-martial. He was sentenced again to two years' hard labour and removed to Wandsworth Prison. He describes the trek to Wandsworth and his experiences there.

This story is far too long to tell in small type, so it is printed separately as a special article.

GLASGOW CORPORATION C.O. EMPLOYEES

The Glasgow Corporation, on January 9, discussed the question of C.O. employees.

Councillor John McSkimming objected to the procedure adopted by the Conditions of Service Committee for dealing with the application for an allowance by a conscientious objector employee who has undertaken forestry work.

In committee it was decided that, as in the case of employees on military service, applications from conscientious objectors should be remitted to a sub-committee with powers to grant allowances on approved scales. A minority of the committee, led by two Socialist members, wished to have the remit limited to one "to consider and report" on claims received from conscientious objectors. The committee's decision was taken on a 7 to 6 vote.

Councillor McSkimming, in moving the amendment defeated in committee, held that the power to make grants to conscientious objectors without reporting the matter meant depriving the Corporation of a control and a means of obtaining information that they ought to have in such a situation.

Councillor W. G. Bennett, in seconding, said these conscientious objectors were getting all the advantages that were intended for the men going on service while evading, of course, what many held to be a duty of citizenship. The provision made in the Military Service Act for their exemption did not contemplate that they were to be specially favoured in this way.

Bailie James Carmichael defended the decision of the committee as one that was in line with accepted practice. The real objection by Mr McSkimming, he said, was that it did not discriminate against the conscientious objector.

The committee's position was approved by 46 votes to 26.

HENRY J. ADLARD

At Trim Street (Unitarian) Chapel, Bath, the Rev. Henry J. Adlard is delivering a series of Sunday afternoon addresses, beginning at 3.0, entitled: *"Since Calvary."* This series began on January 19. It repeats the series delivered January to April, 1934, by Mr. Adlard, at the First Unitarian Church, Duluth, Minn., U.S.A. The titles were reproduced in our December issue, and need not be repeated. Mr Adlard adds a concluding address which rounds off the series. This will be delivered on March 16, and is entitled: *"Which raises the Question—was Jesus a Christian?"*

Mr. Adlard rightly claims for this series: "They will be a tremendous revelation." To most orthodox and complacent folk they will be a revelation. For this reason, they should be attended.

Mr. Adlard delivers two lectures every Sunday: 11 a.m. and 3.0 p.m.

On December 29, he preached a vigorous sermon on the theme, *"The Church and Its Doubtful Allies."* A summary of this address will appear in our next issue.

REPRISALS:

What Does Christianity Say?

By the Rev. Sidney Spencer, B.A., Minister, Hope Street Unitarian Church, Liverpool.

[Reprinted from *The Unitarian and Free Christian Monthly*, January, 1941.—Ed.]

MORALITY AND EXPEDIENCY.

Some writers are aware that the question of morality, and the question of expediency, as they understand it, are not the same. They believe that war, with all its evils, is necessary at the present time, and they do not believe that there is any point in trying to apply a moral standard to the methods we adopt. Others assume that what is necessary for the purpose of victory is by that very fact morally justified. Reprisals, one writer argues, are unquestionably right, if they will shorten the war, with which suggestion it is interesting to compare a statement made by a German airman:

> "I can speak for my comrades," he said, "when I assert that every one of them drops his bombs, not because he wants to kill Englishmen, but because he feels somehow that the best way to end the war quickly is to cause just as much destruction as possible."

In all the correspondence I have read, not one of the writers, so far as I am aware, made the slightest reference to the fact that the method of retaliation, hitting back again, reprisals, was a thing explicitly considered, and explicitly rejected, in the teaching of Christ. What I find it difficult to understand is how these writers can adopt an ethical outlook diametrically opposed to that of Jesus without even referring to the difference.!

What matters, people tell us, is the purpose we have in view: the question of method is relatively unimportant. That was the point of view of the Inquisitors in the Middle Ages. To-day what is substantially the same position is held by Fascists and Communists. The interests of the national State in the one case, of the working class in the other, are held to justify whatever men believe to be necessary to secure them.

CHRISTIANITY AS A WAY OF ACTING.

Is that Christian teaching? In the Acts of the Apostles Christianity itself is described as "the Way," and Jesus declared, according to John, "I am the Way." Christianity does not come before us simply as a vision of the goal we have to seek: it comes before us as a vision of the way in which the goal is to be attained. It comes before us not simply as a demand that we shall serve God faithfully, and seek to do his Will; it comes before us as a claim that we can see in Jesus the Word made flesh—that we can see in his spirit and his way of life the revelation of the divine Purpose for mankind.

Mr Marchbank, a Trade Union leader, secretary of the National Union of Railwaymen, urges that we should pursue the policy of bomb for bomb and blow for blow. A writer in *The New Statesman* for November 30th, says:—

> "It is not at all a question of mere revenge. It is rather a question of an offence against society being followed by inevitable retribution on the heads of the offenders."

Incidentally, that seems a curious way of describing the method of wholesale slaughter. The "offenders" in his eyes are evidently the whole German population, including the children—unless he forgets that children are involved. The writer in *The New Statesman* contends that what is needed to cure the Germans of their love of militarism is the method of retribution. Mr Marchbank describes any shrinking from the "maximum destruction of German cities" as sheer weakness and imbecility." Now turn to the pages of the Bible. In Exodus xxi. it is laid down that where a man does injury to another there shall be an exact and literal retribution:

> "Thou shalt give life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, burning for burning, wound for wound, stripe for stripe."

JUSTICE OR VINDICTIVENESS.

The motive for this was in the first instance to establish justice against sheer vindictiveness. When the Hebrew legislator said, "Eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand," he was trying to restrict the fury of what was originally an unregulated revengefulness. When Jesus quoted the traditional law, he did so in order to express the more clearly by contrast his own distinctive method. "Ye have heard that it was said, an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth, but I say unto you 'Resist not evil, but whosoever shall smite thee on the right cheek, turn to him the other also.'"

It was one of the marks of the early Christians that they did, to a great extent, live in harmony with this principle. Christianity was, to begin with, a new way of living—a way of living based on the way of Jesus.

THE ART OF LOVING OTHERS.

Can you reconcile that with the principle of reprisals? *The Manchester Guardian* said, not long ago, "The art of war is largely the art of inflicting injury without receiving it." We may say of Christianity that it is the art of loving our fellows without being loved in return; it is the art of loving others even when they are contemptuous, or abusive, or filled with hate. And It is an art in which most of us become proficient only through constant practice and inner training.

ITALIAN CONCHIE

We excerpt the following open letter from *John Bull*, London, for January 18 last:—

The CHAIRMAN,
Herts C.O. Tribunal.

Dear Sir,—I don't think Nemo Ermini will make a good soldier.

There's a good reason.

His father fought for us in the last war. This time he was interned, deported in the **Arandora Star**, and lost.

Before this, young Nemo had been turned down by the Home Guard because his father was an Italian. So he joined the A.F.S., but resigned on hearing of his father's death.

Yet he is expected to fight for us. Although sympathetic, you refuse to excuse him as a conscientious objector.

Sympathy won't sweeten injustice.—John Bull.

Rev. RICHARD LEE'S WRITINGS ON WAR

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OUR APPEAL

As explained in these columns, to save *The Word* we need to raise £1971 11s 3d. This is the exact sum required. We are publishing no names until this sum is raised. Then we will publish a complete list and leave the matter. Last month, the balance had been reduced to £1954 11s 6d. Since then we have received about £15 9s 3d. This leaves the balance required £1939 9s 3d.

We are grateful to every comrade who has responded, but the response is useless unless it is immediate. *We must reduce to 8 pages unless this sum is raised before the end of March.* It is difficult to keep going and we do appeal earnestly to each comrade to come to our rescue. We expect that *you* will do so.

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THE WORD

To Rouse The People, To Combat Fascism, and To Speed Commonweal.

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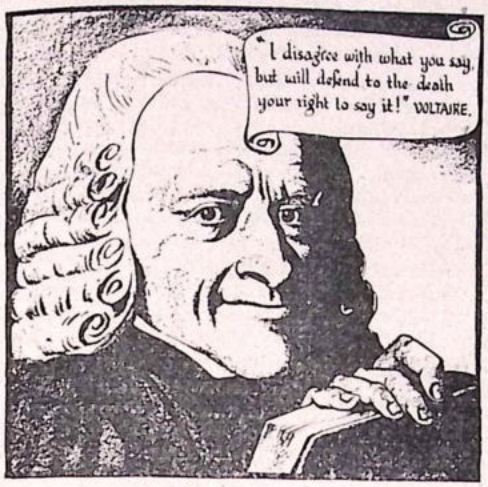
Truer than ever before!



This excellent cartoon was published in "The Daily Mirror," London, on January 17 last. It is reproduced with acknowledgments but without permission. Our contemporary published an excellent editorial in the same issue on civil liberty.

'THE DAILY WORKER'

The House of Commons discussions and voting in the suppression of *The Daily Worker* will be discussed in our next issue. There are constitutional principles involved which ought to be reviewed, even in war time. We have no sympathy with *The Daily Worker*, nor with the party that publishes it. They have justified the Soviet imprisonments without trial and staged executions. They have been the hirelings of a power that murdered Socialists in the name of Socialism, and rejoiced in describing Freedom as "a bourgeois superstition.' ' Without question, "Soviet Communism" is but a form of Fascism, closely allied to Nazi reaction. Whether this fact justifies the suppression of its organ, and the virtual declaration that the reading of the democracy is to be censured and controlled by the Home Office, is another question. Democracy means uncensored reading, in war time no less than in peace time, even of subsidised news and a hireling press.

If war comes, we are all going to be in for a difficult time again—all sections of the Labour and Socialist movement; and we must do our best, etch of us, to be as tolerant of our comrades who differ from us as it is humanly possible to be.

During the last war "Forward" gave hospitality to all varieties of Socialist opinion, which were honestly and competently stated in a comradely way. We must set ourselves resolutely to a continuance of that policy.

I can understand the whole-hog pacifist. I can understand the man who wants to pick and choose the sort of war in which he will fight. I can understand the man who has come (as I have) to give up hope for the world unless we can get an international police, and an international tribunal of equity. I can understand the Socialist driven so to hate the Fascist and Nazi violence and mentality that he will shoulder arms against their professors and supporters.

But each, let us not forget, is as honest and as sincere, as his neighbour. In this world there are not only blacks and whites. Sometimes there are greys.

—THOMAS JOHNSTON, M.P., in *Forward*, May 6, 1939.

STALINISM: PEACE AND WAR FROM WAR ZIG TO PEACE-ZAG

Last month a People's Convention, so called, was arranged in London, to organise a movement for a People's Government, also so-called. The aim of this People's Government was said to be peace. The convention was boosted in the *Daily Worker*. Shortly after the convention, the *Daily Worker* was suppressed.

The Convention Call, addressed to workers, socialists, trade unionists, the lower middle class, "democrats and anti-fascists," was signed by a long list of names which reads like a roll call of the Communist Party. No non-Stalinist organisation endorsed the Convention.

The Call presented the current line of the British Communist Party. The Tory Government was denounced for helping to place Hitler in power, and for getting the country into war; for profiteering, high prices, and taxes; for inadequate air raid protection. The Churchill Government was attacked for its failure to grant national freedom, and for its "scarcely-concealed hostility" to the Soviet Union. The Labour Party leaders were criticised for their participation in the coalition government.

The Convention Call demanded friendship with the Soviet Union, a People's Government, and a people's peace.

Every intelligent Socialist and Pacifist, every thinking working man and woman knew that the real purpose of this Communist Party Convention was to advance Stalinism. They knew that the policies of the Communist Party before and since the present war were and are dictated by the reactionary interests of the Russian Stalinist bureaucracy.

Before the present war when Stalin was flirting with the democratic imperialists of Britain and France, the English Stalinists were anxious to force the imperialist democracies into war against Hitler. When the present war broke out, the Communist Party of Great Britain was resolutely pro-war. So were the "Communists" in the Paris Chamber of Deputies who voted for war credits. The Central Committee of the party issued a statement in September, 1939, calling for *"support of all necessary measures to secure the victory of democracy over Facism."*

The Stalin-Hitler pact took Gallacher and Pollitt by surprise. But they still expected, childfishly, that the Soviet Union would remain allied with British and French capitalism. In the first days of the war, the Communist Party executive summarised the situation for the enlightenmen of *Daily Worker* readers thus:—

"Indeed, the essence of the present situation is that the people have now to wage a struggle on two fronts. **First, to secure the military victory over Fascism; second, to achieve this, the political victory over Chamberlain and the enemies of democracy in this country.** These two aims are inseparable, and the harder the efforts to win one, the more sustained the activity to win the other."

Moscow advised the British Party that their line was wrong. The Stalin-Hitler pact meant that the British "Communists" must oppose the British Government and the war. The "Communist" yes-men did as they were ordered; they opposed the war with the same intelligence and the same sincerity as they had exercised in supporting it; they opposed the war as hirelings, compelled to obey their masters' orders. In this spirit of serfdom and hire-purchase they organised the People's Convention, a convention which ought to have commanded no respect from any decent, thinking man or woman.

Of course such a *volte-face* did not command complete adherence. The much-boomed Left Book Club went west. The People's Fronters, Harold Laski, John Strachey, Aneurin Bevan, Victor Gollanz remained faithful to the pro-war tune.

In line with the pro-Hitler policy, the Communist Party urged the national independence of the colonial peoples. This was not a principle but a tactic in line with the dictated changed allegiance. Previously, when Stalin was allied with the democratic imperialists, the Stalinists were told that the national independence of the oppressed peoples had to be subordinated to "collective security" against Hitler "in the interests of defeating fascism, the mortal enemy of the working class," to quote the words of a leader of the Communist International, Manuilsky (March, 1939).

The British Communist Party issued a statement on "The Colonies and Fascism," elaborating on the idea that the "main enemy" of the British colonials was not British imperialism but rather German Fascism. It denounced the very propaganda it now advances, by averring that such propaganda, in the name of repudiating existing imperialist domination, in practice acts as the apologist of fascist aggressive aims in relation to the colonial peoples." (*Labour Monthly*, August, 1939).

As soon as Stalin's henchmen adjusted themselves to their Fuehrer's alliance with German Fascism, they wrote a new statement ("The Colonies and War") condemning Britain's attempt to drag the colonies into the war (that is, the policy they themselves had advocated), forgetting about their old bogey of Fascism as the "main danger" in the colonies, and hypocritically announcing that *"Communists have always fought for the right of all peoples to complete self-determination. . . "* (*Labour Monthly*, December, 1939).

The Communist Party old line called for a "People's Government," a coalition of the Labour Party, Liberal Party, and "anti-fascist conservatives"—such as Eden and Churchill—which in alliance with the Soviet Union would wage war "in defence of democracy against fascism."

To-day they call for "A People's Government, truly representative of the whole people and able to inspire the confidence of the working people of the world" and for "a people's peace that gets rid of the causes of war." This government would establish "friendship with the Soviet Union."

What does this Communist Party "People's Government" mean? It means *any* British government which forms a military alliance with the Soviet Union. All the rest is mere verbiage. So long as the Churchill Government does not serve the interests that govern Stalin and dictate his policy, the Communist Party will be against the war and for a Hitler peace. Should the Churchill Government ever serve the interests of the Soviet bureaucracy, then the Stalinists will be once again ardent upholders of the Union Jack. The genuine question of peace and commonweal, the real economic interests of the working

class, has no place in the Communist Party programme of thought and action. It is the subsidised party of the Soviet reaction and ought to command no respect and no support from the workers in Great Britain.

When one recalls the Reichstag fire trial, the denunciation of poor, simple, executed Van der Lubbe, the applauding of Dimitrov, the denunciation of Trotskyists, and others as Social Fascists, and then thinks over the Stalin-Hitler Pact, one is amazed at the perfidies of "Communism" and "Socialism." On the occasion of the Twenty-third anniversary of the October-November Revolution, last November, Stalin prohibited the raising of a single anti-fascist slogan in the Soviet Union. Likewise taboo were any and all anti-war or anti-imperialist slogans. Any mention of fascism, war, imperialism, victims of fascism, colonial peoples, class-war prisoners, refugees, was proscribed. In the 42 official slogans issued by the Kremlin for the November 7th celebrations there was not even a direct reference to capitalism.

The only referenece to the world situation was contained in the following slogan: *"Long live the foreign policy of the Soviet Government! The policy of Peace between Peoples and Assuring the Security of our Fatherland!"*

This meant, in other words, *"Long live the Hitler-Stalin Pact!"*

Even such a ritualistic slogan repeated for years as "Long Live the Soviet Power in the Whole World!" was omitted in 1940.

The People's Front Policy started in 1938. At this time, even, the Kremlin was selling oil to Mussolini for the massacre of Abyssinia. Yet Stalin issued these slogans for the celebration of the Eighteenth Anniversary of the November Revolution:—

"Our Flaming Greetings to the Proletarians and Toilers of France, the Vanguard Fighters Against Fascism, Against Imperialist War!"

"Bolshevik Greetings to the Revolutionary Proletariat of Germany! Long Live the Heroic Communist Party of Germany! Long Live Comrade THAELMANN! Let Us Tear Him From the Clutches of the Fascist Hangmen!"

"Bolshevik Greetings to the Popular Masses of Abyssinia, Courageously Defending Their Independence."

"Fraternal Greetings to the Heroic Working Class and all the Toiling Masses of China. Long Live the Communist Party of China!"

"The Imperialists are Dividing and Enslaving China! Greetings to the Chinese People Fighting for Their Emancipation and Independence!"

The Kremlin dictators have shaken hands with "the Fascist hangmen." Allied to Japan, the same dictators have no time for the Chinese struggle.

In 1935, Stalin launched so many slogans against Fascism, that to do them justice we would have to devote several issues of this journal to their reproduction. Here are a few selected at random:—

"Fascism is the Most Savage Offensive of Capitalism Against the Toiling Masses!

"Fascism—this Means War of Aggression!

"Fascism — This Means Hunger, Poverty, Misery!

"Down With Fascism! Down With Capitalism!

"Fuse Into a Single United Front For the Struggle Against Fascism—The Bitterest Enemy of All Peoples!"

In 1940, there is a complete silence as to Capitalism and Fascism. The 42 slogans are mostly "greetings" and injunctions to the workers, engineers, and technicians, calling for increased production from crops to metals, calico to buildings, culture to chemicals.

Another set of slogans simply raised "demands."

"Create Mighty State Labour Reserves for Industry and Transport!

"Long Live the October 2nd Laws Instituting Child Labour in the Soviet Union!

"The Struggle Against Laggards and Disorganizers of Production is the Struggle for Strengthening the Might of Our Fatherland and Its Red Army. Long Live Labour Discipline and Exemplary Order in the Enterprises of Our Fatherland!"

This was asking the workers to give revolutionary cheers for Fascist Labour Laws that enslaved them: for child labour, above all things!

The "Long Live" slogans related to Trade Unions, Komsomols, Soviet Intellectuals, all of which had been purged during the previous midsummer. Two slogans in this 1940 celebration merit special mention.

There was a sudden and rather unexpected reference to *"Our Socialist Espionage Service—the CHEKA."* This was in connection with a slogan calling for the strengthening of the Red Army. The *Cheka* arose during the civil war. It gave way to the *G.P.U.* This name became so abhorrent that the secret police department was renamed the *N.K.V.D.* And now, with a Fascist alliance, we have the return to the name more significant of terror than the *G.P.U.*—the *CHEKA!* This was and is a direct threat of intensified police terror and martial courts.

The second slogan was:—

"Let Us Unfold the Criticism of our Inadequacies! Let Us Strengthen Still More the Might and Organised Power of Our State!"

This slogan is not a slogan of Socialism but of Fascism; a slogan of centralised power, of a totalitarian state. It is a slogan of falsehood, persecution and tyranny.

And so we are brought from the "Communist" War-Zig to the "Communist" Peace-Zag. In neither instance was the well-being of the working classes, or the final peace and commonweal of the world, the inspiring consideration of the slogan-mongers or hireling apologists for the Soviet Union. The "Communist" zig-zag policy is one of corruption, persecution, betrayal, and dishonesty. It is not Communism but Capitalism; not peace but militarism; not proletarian but power-mongering and power-pandering; a policy of exploitation and outrage. The Stalinists have no place in the proletarian struggle.

JOHN REED:
HONOURED AND SUPPRESSED

At Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A., at the end of last year, William Z. Foster—otherwise Zigzag Foster—chairman of the Communist Party in the United States, spoke at a Memorial Anniversary meeting for John Reed, Harvard alumnus and American revolutionist, author of the great eye-witness chronicle of the Russian Revolution, *Ten Days That Shook The World.*

Following Foster's eulogy, several persons asked the speaker how he could praise John Reed when John Reed's book is banned in the Soviet Union and suppressed by the Stalinists in all other countries.

Another question put to Foster was: "Isn't it also true that you wrote an extensive work in 1921, following a visit to the Soviet Union, entitled "The Russian Revolution"? And isn't it also true that you went John Reed one better by failing to mention Stalin's name even once, while writing a special commendatory biographical sketch of Trotsky?"

Foster answered briefly that John Reed had overestimated Trotsky, as had others (i.e., himself).

Foster "forgot" to add that Reed's book bore an introduction written by Lenin who shared Reed's erroneous view of Trotsky's place in the revolution.

In 1937 the London *News Chronicle* sought permission from the Communist Party of Great Britain to reprint serially John Reed's *Ten Days That Shook The World.*" What happened was reported as follows in the London *Evening Standard*, November 12, 1937:—

"This contemporary account of the Bolshevik uprising was written by John Reed, the American Communist, who was a close personal friend of Lenin. When he died in 1921 he left the British copyright in his book to the Communist Party.

"When the 'News-Chronicle' approached the copyright owners for permission to serialize the book it was gladly given.

"The Communists asked no fee, and made only one stipulation—that all reference to Trotsky should be eliminated from the text.

"Confronted with this modern version of Hamlet without the Prince of Denmark, the Liberal organ abandoned the project."

And Willie Gallacher complains about suppression!

THOMAS JOHNSTON

On Friday, February 14, 1941, Thomas Johnston was installed formally as Secretary of State for Scotland, the ceremony taking place in the First Division courtroom of the Court of Session.

The Lord President presided, and there was a full bench of thirteen judges.

Johnston handed to the Lord President the notification of his appointment, which was thereupon read by his Lordship. Johnston then took the Oath of Allegiance to His Majesty the King and the official oath that "I will well and truly serve His Majesty in the office of the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal." Having signed the parchments, he bowed to the bench and retired.

He then proceeded to St. Andrew's House, where he formally took over from Mr. Brown, now Minister for Health.

We wonder if, during this ceremony, Johnston recalled his "Socialist War Points," published in *Forward*, during the last war; the suppression of *Forward* for the Lloyd George speech report; his attacks on Arthur Henderson; his pamphlet, *The Huns at Home;* his article on the late King, and the cartoon he published in *Forward*, illustrating same.

We ask our readers to ponder over the columns of *The Commune;* to recall our pamphlet, *Socialism and Parliament*, either the first edition or the completely revised and enlarged edition, both out of print; to consider our experience of Labour Parliamentarianism and our denunciation of the Labour Party careerists; and to consider how right has been all our statements of what would happen. How we were ridiculed for stating that Socialist Parliamentarianism stood for Imperialism against Socialism. But there it is in cold print, to be found in both editions of the pamphlet, and stated in different issues of *The Spur.* And now the workers face the facts. The reality is before them defining the accuracy of Anti-Parliamentarian prophecy. Labour Parliamentarism has organised Socialism and itself into careerist and time-serving oblivion. It has climbed into the power-land of nothingness and nowhere. To-day the *Forward* "Socialist War Points" seem to be but mean little comments, passing personalities wanting in depth and social sincerity. They served a purpose; not the purpose of making mankind think, but of advancing the political interest and repute of Thomas Johnston.

We hope that Thomas Johnston will prove that these words of censure are undeserved. We have before us excellent articles that he contributed to *Forward* for April 8, and also for May 6 and 27, 1939, on Socialism, Conscription, and War. We would like him to live up to these sentiments therein expressed. But can he?

Thomas Johnston stated eight objections to conscription in the *Forward* for April 8, 1939, and also stressed his demand for the internationalisation of Gibraltar aand Suez.

On May 6 Johnston denounced the idea of defending *"the continued separation of Danzig (a German city) from the German Reich, and the Polish Corridor dividing East Prussia from Germany."* He quoted Brailsford's *"sorrowful"* admissions on this point, and described the latter as *"one of the leading eggers-on of forcible resistance to Fascism."*

Johnston complained that the Government had no "conception" of an *international solution* for the problems that beset us." He asked where was the mentality that, or the statesman who, at the end of a successful war, would *internationalise Gibraltar and the Suez Canal and the Panama Canal?*

He concluded that another dictated peace would *"but sow the seeds of still another war."*

In this aarticle, Johnston boasted of the *Forward* platform during the 1914-18 war, and pleaded for tolerance to-day.

Will he convince the Government of the democratic need for tolerance?

In his May 27 article, he quoted from the splendid speech against conscription made by Creech Jones in the House of Commons on May

18, 1940. We intend to reproduce this speech in full, as a tribute of respect to our old-time Absolutist comrade. Readers will remember that Creech Jones' statement before his first court-martial was published in *The Word* for October 1939. That issue also reproduced statements by Dollan and Thomas Johnston. Although our comrade, Creech Jones, has come, most reluctantly to support the war, he has not forgotten the principle of conscientious objection. He upholds strongly the cause of present-day conscientious objectors and struggles gallantly against the evils of Imperialism as well as against those of Fascism. We felt friendly towards Thomas Johnston for the excellent quotation that he made, and also for his comment :—

"Not even Colonel Blimp himself could read such a story without indignation and disgust."

Thomas Johnston was installed in the Court of Session. The slums of Edinburgh and Glasgow continue, as though a conservative were installed. Those slums, as slums, will survive Thomas Johnston's tenure of office, unless the war brings great social changes that even a parliament of Labour placemen cannot avert. The most conservative and the most dangerous element in politics to-day is the Labour Parliamentary careerist. Crisis exposes his reaction.

As we go to press, we learn that Mr. Johnston has refused to accept the salary of £5,000 a year for his office.

He told his West Stirlingshire constituents on Sunday, March 2 :

"I am determined just the same as when I was Regional Commissioner for Scotland to make no addition to my personal income as a result of any service I can yield to the State during the war."

Mr. Johnston was entitled to £2,500 a year as Scottish Regional Commissioner, but he refused to take the money.

It is only fair to state this fact as an addendum to an article that is critical of Johnston's position as a Cabinet Minister.

DOLLAN & DUNLOP

During the Great War of 1914-18, when Dollan was being sneered at in Parliament and by the Judges in the Court of Session for his refusing to become a soldier or to accept the conditional exemption imposed upon him by the Tribunal, Glasgow's Lord Provost was known popularly as "Half-potato Dunlop." He insisted on the value of rationing and on the extensive food value of the small quantity of potato mentioned in his nickname. Dollan has followed in Dunlop's footsteps in many conventional patriotic respects and now he threatens to outstrip his predecessor as an authority on the food value of rationing.

The *Evening Times* for February 11, 1941, published the following interesting letter, which speaks for itself :—

FOOD AND HEALTH.

13 India Street, Glasgow, C.2.

It would be interesting to know the facts on which the Lord Provost based his recent expressed opinion that, prior to the institution of rationing, more people had suffered from over-eating than under-eating.

This view is entirely at variance with that of Sir John Boyd Orr, who estimated that in 1937 the diet of the poorer half of the population of this country was not adequate to maintain full health, while that of the poorest five million was deficient in every respect.

While there was, no doubt, a certain amount of "over-eating" among certain sections, it is likely that these are the people to whose standard of living the war and the rationing system have made the least difference, while the rise in prices and the scarcity of certain protective foods constitute a real menace to the health of the vast number of people who, even before the war, had barely enough to spend on food.

I do not think we shall help ourselves by wishful thinking and a refusal to face facts. The health of a people at war is a matter of extreme urgency, and every possible measure needs to be taken to prevent that lowering of stamina and resistance to disease which is the inevitable result of a period of inadequate nourishment.

MARY MARSH,
Secretary, the Children's Nutrition Council (Glasgow Branch).

CONDITIONAL EXEMPTION

Bernard C. Mitchell, of 17 George Street, Leamington Spa, was registered by the Birmingham Tribunal, on August 6, 1940, for agricultural duties. A month before the hearing Mitchell resigned his post as a registered architect in Local Government Service because the work he was called upon to do was incompatible with his conscience. He has been a member of the Peace Pledge Union for over three years. He is a Theosophist.

In his statement to the Tribunal, Mitchell said :—

"(1) I renounce war because I am a Theosophist. The foundation of my philosophy is based upon the 'Universal Brotherhood of all Humanity, without distinction of race, creed, sex, caste, or colour. . . .

"I regard war, from whatever side it is fought, as being the very reverse of Brotherhood and by my Theosophical convictions I must characterise as brutal, inhuman and immoral and the senseless argument of unevolved man. It degrades both the individual and society and destroys the creative elements in life. To my mind it is a futile and wrong method of attempting to bring peace and security to the peoples of the world. . . .

(2) I refuse to kill because I do not believe in the domination of physical force in any respect. I take a very firm stand against the murder of man by man and I deny the right of any man or Government to impose upon another the obligation to kill.

"I believe that no soldier wants to kill; but killing is the essence of war. Part of a soldier's training is based upon destruction and brutality; he must cultivate hatred, anger and insensibility; it takes fine fellows and perverts them to its horrible uses, that is its supreme crime and tragedy. . . .

"(3) I cannot be associated with a branch of the Armed forces whether combatant or non-combatant. I regard non-combatant duties as being in the same category as combatant duties; the former being partly dependent on the latter. . . .

"I am quite willing to serve the Cause of Humanity as a civilian, doing civil work—however menial that work might be—under civil control."

On October 23, Mitchell received a formal communication from the manager of the Local Employment Exchange concerning the condition of his exemption. He replied and received a letter from the Birmingham Tribunal, dated November 5, 1940, stating that his reply reported a failure to observe the conditions of his exemption in accordance with Section 5 (s.s. 8) of the Act.

Mitchell replied to this letter on November 11 at some length. Part of his reply reads as follows :—

"It is not correct to say that I have failed to observe the conditions imposed on me as I have sincerely endeavoured to obtain the type of work specified, but circumstances, quite beyond my control, have rendered the fulfilment of this condition difficult —if not remote. . . .

"The reasons which have made my endeavour to comply with the Tribunal's requirements difficult are as follows :—

"(1) Lack of knowledge and training in agriculture.

"(2) Reluctance of farmers to employ Conscientious Objectors.

"(3) My widowed mother is dependent on me.

"(4) Unsuitability for this type of work.

He continued by enlarging upon these points and by showing how the provisions of the National Service (Armed Forces) Act, 1939, were, as far as C.O.s were concerned, flouted in every way, both by Local Authorities and by private employers, by bans and conditions which made it almost impossible in many cases for the C.O. to fulfil the conditions of his exemption however much he might desire to do so. He drew attention to several bad cases of victimisation and attacked Town Councils for not having something better to do than indulge in "Conchie Heresy Hunts."

Dealing with C.O.s who had been ordered to do non-combatant duties and who had the temerity to stand up for their conscientious beliefs and refuse to perform the duties, he likened the treatment received by some of them to the treatment meted out in Nazi Concentration Camps. This treatment, designed to "break down" their resistance included bread and water diet, days in dark cells, long stretches of fatigue and actual physical violence.

He concluded by stating that as the original decision of the Tribunal was unanimous he could not see the purpose of putting his conscience to the test again, but asked the Tribunal to alter their conditional exemption to absolute and unconditional exemption.

The new statement which accompanied the above letter comprised his original statement with an addition which consisted mainly of an enlargement upon his Theosophical views. He ended it by advocating a negotiation now, rather than continue this debasing conflict to the bitter end

For the longer the War continues the more difficult will it become to create a New World Order—neither will there be the moral energy to do so."

Mitchell subsequently received a notification that he had been placed upon the Military Register for non-combatant duties only. In writing for an appeal form so that he could appeal against their "Unwarranted decision" he said :

"On August 6 the Tribunal were unanimously agreed that I *am* a conscientious objector, now the Tribunal are unanimously agreed (without stating any reasons for the reversal of their decision) that I *am not* a conscientious objector. I intend to remain a conscientious objector, in word, act and deed."

Mitchell added that he was quite prepared to go to prison for his convictions if need be.

Mitchell's case is not an isolated one. But it does serve to draw attention to the humbug of "Conditional Exemption" under the terms of the Act. It shows the futility of passing a Law to give rights to a Minority without at the same time making it compulsory for the Majority to accept the implications of that Law.

BASQUE CHILDREN APPEAL

Dear Friend Aldred,—As many as 300 of the Basque Children are still in England. Nearly all the elder children are supporting themselves in employment. Many others are still young and dependent on the voluntary support of their sympathisers. This recalls the two and a half years of work at Langham. Although the Colony closed a year ago, I have on my hands some little assistance to be given to one or other of them.

At Carshalton there is a Colony of twenty of these younger children, whom the responsible Committee has for three and a half years been able to maintain by appeals in the district. For various reasons (such as evacuation, the needs of the homeless victims of air-raids, and of Co.'s) support has been dwindling to the extent that the continuance of the Colony is now in great danger. Unless, in brief, more financial support comes in, and from wider area, the home cannot avoid being closed down and the children dispersed.

Clearly it is cheaper when the twenty children are kept under one roof. Individual adoption both makes a heavy demand on any family who offers, and breaks up the Spanish atmosphere by which the children have so much benefitted. The Committee is convinced that a Colony best serves the interests of the children, by developing responsibility and preserving their "Spanishness."

Three of the children who were formerly at Langham are now under the care of the Carshalton Committee. I am hoping that those who believed in the struggle against Fascism in Spain, even amid all the other wartime demands, will take it upon themselves to raise 30/- a week to keep these three children. Will you ask your readers to make a big effort to ensure some proportion of this weekly sum? The position is simply that the maintenance of these children must be spread over a wider area. Regular sums, however small, are really valuable.

Would you undertake to raise this appeal before the U.S.M. groups, or among *Word* readers. Contributions promised, weekly or monthly, should be remitted to me. I ask that it should come through me, in order to relieve Carshalton of the secretarial work, and to send them at least a clear 30/- a week. I may add that I am in personal touch with the Colony and know how difficult it has become to ensure even a reduced standard of living; but these children must not, even now, "become forgotten people."

Yours sincerely,
LEONARD READ.

Basque House,
Langham, Colchester,
Essex, December 31, 1940.

TO POSTAL SUBSCRIBERS.

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THE DUKE AND THE VICAR

On the 4th of February, the national capitalist press published a sensational account of the alleged sacking of his vicar by the Duke of Bedford. The *Scots Daily Express*, for example, set out the story under big headings as follows :—

WHY I SACKED THE VICAR.

—By THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.
Daily Express Staff Reporter.

The Duke of Bedford explained last night that he is to discontinue the stipend of the Rev. Henry Martindale, vicar of Woburn, Beds, because:—

1. My income, owing to war taxation, is about a fourth of what my father's was.

2. I intend leaving the Church of England.

3. I am linked up with a peace movement. I feel the support of the Church of England to the war is wicked and anti-Christian. I feel, therefore, I am not justified in paying the stipend of a minister of that Church.

Mr. Martindale said yesterday: "I cannot go on living on nothing. So I have to leave Woburn. The bishop of St. Albans has offered me the living of Ashwell, Herts, and wants me to go as soon as possible."

St. Mary's, Woburn, was built in 1868 by the then Duke of Bedford at a cost of £35,000, and succeeding dukes have always paid the vicar's stipend (lately £350) and the church expenses.

The *Daily Telegraph* endeavoured to obtain a special interview on the subject. This was refused, as the Duke of Bedford had experienced past press misrepresentation.

The *Sunday Dispatch*, for February 9, varied slightly the statement of reasons published in the *Daily Express*, and added to the statement of facts :—

He also informed the vicars of Ridgmont and Husborne Crawley, neighbouring parishes on his Woburn estate, that he does not propose in future to pay the rents of their vicarages.

The Duke, in an interview, said he had three reasons for withdrawing his support from St. Mary's Church.

1. "My income has been reduced by war taxation to about one quarter;

2. "I expect to join one of the Free Churches very shortly;

3. "I regard the general attitude of the Church of England towards the war to be utterly un-Christian and wrong.

"I want nothing more to do with a church which as a body supports mass murder and organised sin."

The *Sunday Dispatch* published what was said to be a reply to the Duke from the pen of Dr. W. R. Matthews, Dean of St. Paul's. This was displayed across the leader page, under a picture of St. Paul's, beneath the caption: *"Why the Church Supports the War—An Answer to the Pacifist Duke."*

Actually, the Dean's article was a very vague, metaphysical statement, and at no point answered the Duke. He made only one small reference to the Duke's action—and that reference was false. We reproduce the opening paragraphs in which the offending passage occurs :—

A certain peer has felt compelled to cut off the contributions formerly made to the stipends of certain clergymen on his estate, and among the reasons given for this step is that "the Church supports war," which, one gathers, is not the attitude of the peer in question.

I do not here touch upon the rights and wrongs of the luckless vicars, but I will take the peer's charge against the Church and ask: "In what sense is it true that the Church supports war, and what justification has the Church for so doing?"

In the full and complete sense of the word "Church," it has no policy and cannot be said to support the war. . . .

What people mean when they say "The Church supports the war" is that the vast majority of Christians in this country are solidly behind the war effort, and, further, that they are convinced they are doing their duty not only as citizens but as Christians. This is certainly true.

This statement by the Dean of St. Paul's is as glib as it is erroneous. The Duke of Bedford withdrew his support from the Church of England, and from certain churches within that Church, whose priests upheld war. This has nothing to do with the "Church" in a wide or universal sense, but with a special ecclesiastical organisation which is held by many members of the Church Universal to have no place in the Christian Communion, and to be opposed to the traditions and teachings of Jesus. *Since the "Church" exists in all the warring countries, it obviously has no war policy.* It is at sixes and sevens on the matter. The Duke's contention is that, everywhere, the Church ought to have a policy—the policy of God's Fatherhood and Man's Brotherhood, the policy of ending war and establishing peace on earth. If it cannot do this, its existence is a mockery and it has no claim to be a church. This is a clear and firm challenge. To this challenge the Dean of St. Paul's made no reply. He refers instead to *"the rights and wrongs of luckless vicars."* Why are they luckless if the Duke has not wronged them?

The Duke did *not* "sack" the Vicar, and no question of right arises, except the right of the Duke to decide in what way and in what church he shall worship God. He holds that this is a personal question that concerns his own conscience and is not the concern of the ordinary press. In a statement to *The Word*, made on February 11, the Duke says :—

"I believe in religious toleration and if other people prefer to worship Mars, it is not for me to interfere with them. They must, however, support their own Priest and not expect me to do so. At Woburn, apparently, they did not value the services of the Priest sufficiently highly to be willing to do so, although the effort would not have involved great financial sacrifice, for Woburn is a small town and not a village."

Five days later, Archdeacon Martindale preached his last sermon at St. Mary's, Woburn, Bedfordshire. His congregation wept, according to a report published in the *Daily Express* when the Archdeacon confessed that he had failed in his ministry.

Speaking to a reporter on the Friday night, Mr Martindale said that he had decided to carry on unpaid. But there was much indifference to the church in the village and he believed it was felt that he ought to leave in the hope that under a new priest the church would have better support.

The Duke's action led to tremendous newspaper discussion. Cassandra criticised him in the *Daily Mirror* for February 6, and published his reply in that journal for February 18, on the very just grounds :—*"not because I agree with him, but because even in these days of suppression, he is entitled to have his say from the same forum that attacked him."*

Cassandra admitted that, if the Duke believed war to be "mass murder and organised sin," he had *"fairly good reasons for declining to give financial help to a Church that supports war."*

Having quoted this admission, the Duke of Bedford continued :—

"He goes on, however, to criticise me for giving reduction of income owing to war taxation as a subsidiary reason for discontinuing payment of the stipend of the Vicar of Woburn. Even, however, if my spendable income were that which Cassandra estimates—which it is not by a very wide margin—would he deny that there are by now enough deserving victims of the war, as well as deserving causes, to make it easily possible for me to spend, on their behalf, five times the amount of my income without wasting money on the upkeep of a Church which, with certain honourable exceptions, worships a hybrid Martian diety instead of the Father of Jesus Christ who it professes to serve?"

Cassandra commented :—

"The charitable frame of mind that can contemplate spending five times the amount of income that the Duke now receives, should go one iota further and still spend the three hundred odd pounds that is the stipend of the Vicar of Woburn.

"The best form of charity, to my way of thinking, is not bound by rigid principles. It recognises that other people may be sincere as well as misguided, and in its deep understanding of humanity would hesitate to take action that would deprive anybody of his livelihood."

If the Vicar was a heretic, or in a minority, we would endorse Cassandra's conclusion. But Cassandra knows that the vicar is on the popular side and is not likely to be victimised.

The Star, London, for Tuesday, February 11, reproduced a letter it had published already, challenging the Duke, with his reply, beneath the heading, *The Duke of Bedford Replies:—*

POSER FOR DUKE.

To the Editor of "The Star."

Sir,—The Duke of Bedford has stopped the stipend of the Vicar of Woburn because the Church of England supports the war.

But what on earth would the Duke say if one of his tenants declined to go on paying him rent because he objected to his political activities?

CHRISSTOPHER HALE.

Battersea Park, S.W.11.

The Duke's reply was as follows :—

To the Editor of "The Star."

Sir,—Your correspondent, Mr. Hale, asks, in reference to my decision to discontinue giving financial assistance to the Church of England, owing to the latter's support of the war, what I should do if one of my tenants refused to continue to pay rent because he objected to my political views?

Although there is little analogy between the two cases, I might feel led to adopt towards my militarist tenant the same tactics as I have adopted when dealing with the Church militarist.

I might see if frank and friendly discussion resulted in my being converted to the truth of his viewpoint, or in him being converted to the truth of mine.

If, however, he remained obstinate in what appeared to me to be error defended by weak arguments, I might feel led to take further steps appropriate to persons with such a mentality and outlook.

I might tell him that, since his objection to my pacifism prevented him from paying rent, my objection to his militarism prevented me from doing any landlord's repairs; wherefore, seeing that our respective convictions prevented us from rendering one another mutual service in these matters, it would be well if the relationship between us were terminated by his removal of himself elsewhere!

As proof, however, that I bore him no ill-will, I should be pleased to send him a personal letter of recommendation to Sir Robert Vansittart!

Yours very truly,

BEDFORD.

Cavalcade, for February 22, carried the story beneath a caption explaining: *"Duke of Bedford Ends Six Centuries Patronage of St. Mary's, Woburn."*

The letter-press opened :—

"In 1550, the Court and taverns were the main centres of London gossip. Late in that year, Edward VI. provided a new tit-bit of a not unusual topic by granting the lands of the monastery of Woburn, Bedfordshire, to friend John Russell, Earl of the said county."

The article gave the history of the Russells, declaring that "the Russells have often occupied the headlines." It spoke of the present Duke of Bedford as the Marquess of Tavistock entering dramatically into the war news with his peace proposals, and spoke of him as being *"strongly pacifist, and ready to risk ostracism in the Cause."*

Describing the situation at Woburn, our contemporary says :—

"Resenting attack on one-thirty-ninth of its income more than on the whole thirty-nine articles of its faith, as a famous wit once said, ecclesiastical authority declared it would probe the records, invoke the law if it found the Duge's contribution was not a gift but some kind of statutory payment.

"'It would appear,' said Registrar Hartwright, of the Diocese of St. Alban's, 'the Duke is under the impression that the stipend has always been a voluntary payment,' and promises a full inquiry into its origins."

Cavalcade quotes Martindale's confession of failure, as indicated by *"the neglect of worship here—hundreds never entering God's house."*

Our contemporary concluded :—

"Before departing for new duties at Ashwell, the Archdeacon found some consolation for failure in a visit from the new Marquess of Tavistock. Not sharing his father's views, the Marquess is said to regret the break with a living that had been under Bedford patronage for six centuries."

We cannot understand the attacks that are made on the Duke of Bedford for being a pacifist. A Labour M.P., who is very pro-war, has sent us a cutting from *Land and Liberty* for February. We have the paper and did not need the excerpt. Under the heading *"The Bedford Estate,"* the Henry George organ reprints, from the *News Chronicle* for December 17, 1940, a description of the Bedford Estate. It then quotes the following passage from Cassandra's article in the *Daily Mirror* for December 2, 1940 :—

"I'm sure it must have struck everyone of us in this, our finest hour, to hear that the twelfth Duke of Bedford has now succeeded his father . . . His right to claim this huge slice of God's good earth extends to the Middle Ages, when the main qualification of being a successful landlord was to be an expert robber. We can safely assume that one of our main objects is to protect this vast historic loot."

These attacks would be pertinent if the Duke of Bedford was opposed to pacifism, if he were

asking the people to fight to defend his land. He is not doing so. He is opposed to war. Also, although Socialists may not agree with his remedy, the fact remains that he is opposed also to the present social system. The Duke would agree probably with Cassandra's reference to "historic loot" and object to workers sacrificing their lives in its defence.

EX-CONVICTS' TEA PARTY

Under the heading, "Should Convicts Fight?" *Forward* for February 8 published a letter from the Duke of Bedford, recalling an experience of the last war :—

Newton Stewart,
January 1, 1941.

Sir,—"Ikonoblast's" article on the value of convicts as soldiers reminds me of an incident in the last war when I had the rather unusual privilege of having tea with three murderers at once!

The aforesaid murderers had been released from Pankhurst, where they were serving life sentences, to swell the ranks of the Army. Our host was the chaplain of the battalion and I have attended many tea-parties since in less enjoyable company.

The murderers, as one might expect, did extremely well in the Army, but two of them, poor fellows, did not come back. The third we assisted to make a start in business (a new line, of course) when he was demobilised.

Yours very truly,
BEDFORD.

On February 12, the Duke addressed a letter to us, recording an amusing sequel to the tea party mentioned :—

"My friend, the Chaplain, who is a really fine fellow and a true Christian, so touched the three men by his hospitality and interest in their welfare that they decided that they would like to make a start in the Christian life, themselves. He warned them, however, that if they knelt down and said their prayers in the Barrack room they would have to be prepared to stand a good deal of 'chipping.' On being told this, the eldest murderer looked at my friend and said, with a slight twinkle in his eye, 'Sir, they won't chip *us*!'—and no more they did! So great was their religious zeal that they even went further and insisted on having grace before meals in the Barrack room and, as my friend put it, quoting the words of Scripture, 'No man said ought unto them!'"

OUR APPEAL

Last month, the sales of *The Word* were exceptional. We had repeat orders from every part of Britain, and we reprinted several times. Our circulation was 18,000. Socialist and Christian readers of various descriptions, including ministers of four denominations, wrote commending the general tone of the Duke of Bedford's analysis of the peace debate in the House of Commons. John McGovern's remarks also came in for praise. Despite the fact that so much praise haas been received, and that our journal was circulated widely without any advertisement in any other paper, or any notice by any section of the so-called Labour or Socialist press, even against boycott, the response to our appeal for funds has not been good. Unlike other papers, we lose on every copy of *The Word* we sell.

As explained, we need to raise £1971 11s 3d to save *The Word*. Last month the balance had been reduced to £1939 9s 3d. We have received £25 4s 11. This leaves a balance required of £1914 4s 4d. *Unless this sum is raised before the end of March, we must reduce to 8 pages* or less. We ask *you* to respond to *this* appeal now. When the exact sum needed has been raised, we will list the names and leave the matter.

Special mention muust be made of the splendid propaganda zeal of our comrade, W. C. McDougall, of the A.P.C.F., and editor of *Solidarity*. His circulation of pamphlets and papers is a feature of Glasgow activity in war time. Last month he circulated nearly 300 *Words*. Comrade McDougall is an indefatigable propagandist for Anti-Parliamentarism, United Socialism, and the N.C.L.

COUNCILLOR WEST

Councillor John F. West (35), 12 Rossie Square, Ferryden, Montrose, was refused exemption from military service by the South-East of Scotland Local Tribunal for the registration of Conscientious Objectors, in Edinburgh, on January 30. Sheriff C. H. Brown presided over the Tribunal.

West said that, although in a reserved occupation, he had no intention of sheltering under that reservation. He wanted his case heard, and the decision of the Tribunal given. He was a conscientious objector, and sought unconditional exemption.

West contended that war could only be ended by a change in the system of society. He was an active trade unionist in the County of Angus, and had served on various committees attached to the Ministry of Labour. For 17 years he had opposed war, and, as a public speaker, had endeavoured to convince his fellow-men that war was wrong. He joined the "No More War" movement in 1928, and had held the position of local secretary in Montrose.

It was his belief that wars were fought for economic gain, and not for any of the slogans used by any of the warring peoples. They would not get rid of war until capitalism was replaced by a new economic order. West believed there should be a negotiated peace. He declined to define his views as being political.

In 1924 West joined the Independent Labour Party because he felt that its views were the closest to his own principles. He was disappointed in this, however, and in 1926 became a member of the Society of Friends.

Councillor West publishes every week a small sheet, called *The Village Crier*. In the issue February 8, he writes :—

"I WANT TO SAY SOMETHING.

..."I was on trial yesterday. Not a criminal trial. My conscience was on trial. Yes ,I was pleading my conscientious objection to war. The Tribunal wanted to defer the hearing until such times as I could no longer be regarded as a worker engaged in a reserved occupation. I got my way, and the case was proceeded with. My friend, the Reverend Thomas Mearns, M.A., came along and verified my statement. The members of the Tribunal appeared to know my history. One of them asked me, 'Are you a member of this and that?' and referred to some of my activities in the County.

"The five gentlemen who sat on the Bench appeared to me to be old. This struck me forcibly. Imagine five old gentlemen deciding on anyone's conscience! Question time was interesting. At one point I had two or three questions thrown at me at the same time. I protested to the Chairman, who asked one of the gentlemen to repeat his question. He replied, 'I have forgotten the question I asked.' I believe the new call-up has something to do with the decisions of these Tribunals. The job of these gentlemen is to get as many men in the Forces as they can. They don't discuss conscience. They don't ask questions on conscience. I told them that, in my opinion, I considered they were part of the Capitalist machine—the machine that keeps the workers in poverty and the rich in affluence."

TO H. M.

(C.O. and Land-worker in the Last War.)

Strange man, who, in your days of lusty youth,
Fearing, you said, to take your brother's life
(Fearing, it seems, the prison gates as well),
Found in an orchard refuge from the strife;

What change befalls you that, with words of war
And patriot fervour, now *you* need not fight,
You keep in dungeons even friends of yore
Through the long horror of a raiders' night?

Critic of Hitler, yet a tyrant too,
Glorying in your power to bind or loose,
What of the future? May you one day learn
Sauce for the gander's also sauce for the goose!

—*Bedford.*

C.O. APPELLATE TRIBUNAL. CATHOLIC C.O. DECISION

The Northern Appellate (England) Tribunal for Conscientious Objectors opened its sessions in Manchester on Tuesday, February 4. Sir (Reginald) Edward Stubbs presided, and sitting with him were Sir Miles Mitchell and Mr. F. Dickinson.

Sir Edward Stubbs is the youngest son of Dr. William Stubbs, Bishop of Chester, and later of Oxford. It has been said that the Bishop's *Constitutional History of England* is more notable for its scholarship than for its liveliness of style. In its day, it was a universal text-book. In these days of totalitarian war, and government by decree and prescription, its authority may be open to question.

Sir Edward retired in 1937 after a distinguished career in the Colonial Service. He was born in 1876. On leaving Corpus Christi College, Oxford, he entered the Colonial Office. He was engaged on a special mission to the Malay Peninsula and Hong-Kong in the years 1910-11, after which he held many responsible colonial appointments, including those of Captain General and Governor-in-Chief of Jamaica, 1926-32; Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Cyprus, 1932-33; and Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Ceylon, 1933-37.

During part of this time his predecessor in the chairmanship of the Appellate Tribunal, Sir Philip Macdonell, was Chief Justice of Ceylon, a position from which he retired in 1936. In 1938. Sir Edward was vice-chairman of the Royal Commission on the West Indies.

The work of Sir Edward and of Sir Philip overlapped when the latter was president of the West Indian Court of Appeal, and the former was Governor of Jamaica. It may be said, therefore, that Sir Edward took over an old colleague's work.

The only interesting decision at this hearing was that of Leonard Brookes, of Whit Lane, Salford, who was registered by the local Tribunal for non-combatant service. Brookes is a Roman Catholic. He urged that he believed military service was opposed to Christian teaching, and that conscription had been condemned by Papal Encyclical. Under conscription he would be expected to do things against his conscience, and would be bodily and spiritually in bondage. He admitted that he had not heard or read the recent address broadcast by Cardinal Hinsley.

Sir Miles Mitchell: Would you suggest for a moment that Cardinal Hinsley would urge young Catholic men to do something that would put them bodily and spiritually in bondage?—What he said would be binding on me except when my conscience tells me that to accept military or non-combatant service would be wrong. His Eminence considers it would not be the case, but my conscience tells me it would.

Will you take it that the general tenor of his message as head of your Church in this country is that Catholic young men should do everything they can to defeat the attack that is being made on their co-religionists all over Europe?—I will accept that.

The appeal was allowed, and Brookes was registered as a conscientious objector unconditionally.

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WAR DEFENCE POWERS

18B: ITS AMENDMENT AND OPERATION

The War Defence Regulations were reproduced at length in *The Word* for June, 1940. In practice and in principle, these powers attack the rights and liberty of the citizen, contrary to the constitutional rights of freedom from arrest without charge and trial established by the struggle by our ancestors. This attack is being operated not by a Tory Government, but by a Tory and Labour Government, by men who were imprisoned as conscientious objecors during the last war, and who are members of the so-called Socialist movement. This movement is supposed to be grounded in the struggle for Freedom and to be jealous of Liberty of Speech, Writing, and Association. It has been our opinion since May, 1906, when we resigned from the Social Democratic Federation and the parliamentary "Socialist" movement, that parliamentarianism does not protect or advance liberty or commonwealth. We believe most "Socialist" parliamentarians prated "Socialism" to gain the support of the down-trodden, and to exploit their fellows in the pursuit of careerism. We believe most Labour parliamentarians to be utterly destitute of principle and to be as mean careerists and opportunists as any of the burgh-mongering politicians of the Castlereagh and Reform Bill days. Hence our opposition and antagonism.

We believe in the Socialist commonwealth. We believe in Socialism because we believe in liberty and well-being for all mankind. We believe that liberty is the goal and that liberty is the method. We are opposed to all arbitrary power assumed by any executive, whether so-called Socialist, Communist, or Fascist, or nominally democratic. We believe in constitutional rights. Under plea of war and military necessity, and with no intention of restoring the rights so hardly won by the suffering of our forefathers, the executive, blue, red, and pink, is invading the homes of the citizens with powers of arbitrary arrest. This must cease. Just as so-called forces of Right and Left have united to challenge and to deny the principles and safeguards of Liberty, so must counter-forces of Right and Left, jealous of such Liberty, unite to defend the citizen from the attacks of the Executive. The challenge is very simple. *There must be no more detention and no more arrests without charge and public trial. There must be no more trials in camera. No executive, not even an executive of angels, can be trusted with arbitrary powers.*

Below we reproduce a statement issued on the subject of the War Defence Powers by

THE LIBERTY RESTORATION LEAGUE.
38 Bedford Street, Strand, London, W.C.2.
President—THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.
Chairman—
Captain BERNARD ACWORTH, D.S.O., R.N.
Treasurer—Commander GEOFFREY BOWLES, R.N.
Secretary—Captain ARTHUR ROGERS, O.B.E.

THE DEFENCE REGULATIONS.

WAS PARLIAMENT MISLED?

There has been a number of protests, in the Press and in Parliament, against the Defence Regulations which affect the liberty of the subject particularly against Defence Regulation 18B. It is therefore important that there should be a general understanding of this Regulation and of what it means, in principle and in practice.

IN PRINCIPLE.

The Original Regulation 18B.

The original Defence Regulation 18B (*Statutory Rules and Orders*, 1939, *No.* 978) was made by Order in Council on 1st September, 1939. It provided that certain restrictive orders, including a detention order, might be made against "*any particular person*" by the Secretary of State, "*if satisfied*" (for the defence of the realm, etc.) "*that it is necessary so to do.*"

It also provided that a detained person might make objections to an advisory committee, appointed by the Secretary of State himself, the advice of which the Secretary of State was not bound to accept, thus making him judge in his own cause.

Public apprehension having been aroused as to the arbitrary and far-reaching powers which this Regulation gave to the Secretary of State (and, in practice, to unidentifiable officials), there was, on 31st October, 1939, a motion in the House of Commons to the effect that the Order in Council be annulled. In the debate which followed, the Regulation was severely criticised from all quarters of the House. It was defended by only one Member besides Sir John Anderson, then Home Secretary.

Mr. Herbert Morrison, the present Home Secretary, in his attack upon the Regulations, said (*Parl. Debates, Vol.* 352, *col.* 1844):

> "I am not going to use the argument usually put forward as a matter of courtesy that we do not believe the present Minister would be wicked but that we are afraid his successors might be. I think that any Minister is capable of being wicked when he has a body of regulations like this to administer."

Mr. Morrison ended his speech by saying that he was "exceedingly apprehensive." That was the view of the present Home Secretary.

At the conclusion of the debate, Sir Samuel Hoare, then Lord Privy Seal, gave an assurance that amended Regulations would be introduced within two or three weeks, after general agreement had been reached with the Members who had been critical. The House accepted this assurance, and the motion for the annulment of the Order in Council was accordingly withdrawn. This appeared to be a triumph of parliamentary rule over despotism.

The Amended Regulation 18B.

The amended Regulation 18B was part of an Order in Council made on 23rd November, 1939 (*S.R. & O.* 1939, *No.* 1681).

Paragraph (1) of this amended Regulation is now as follows:—

> "If the Secretary of State has *reasonable cause to believe* any person to be *of hostile origin or associations* or to have been recently *concerned in acts* prejudicial to the public safety or the defence of the realm or in the *preparation or instigation of such acts* and that *by reason thereof* it is necessary to exercise control over him, he may make an order against that person directing that he be detained."

An additional paragraph (1A), which was added by Order in Council on 22nd May, 1940 (*S.R. & O.* 1940, *No.* 770), authorises detention orders by the Secretary of State if he has *reasonable cause to believe* any person to be a member of, or to have furthered the objects of, any organisation "as respects which the Secretary of State *is satisfied* that" it comes into a category of dangerous organisations as specified in some detail in this paragraph of the Regulation.

Paragraphs (3), (4), (5) and (6) elaborate but do not materially alter the provisions for the appointment, by the Secretary of State himself, of an *advisory* committee, or committees, to which persons detained may make representations, also for monthly reports to Parliament as to the number of persons dealt with under the Regulation and the action taken.

The Difference Between the Regulations.

It is noticeable that the revised Regulation 18B, unlike the original Regulation, *does not* authorise detention orders "*against any particular person*" by the Secretary of State "*if satisfied*" that "*it is necessary*" for certain *reasons.* The revised Regulation lays down that the Secretary of State must have "*reasonable cause to believe*" certain *specified facts* concerning such persons or that he has done certain *specified things.*

Why Did Parliament Agree?

It might appear to some that there is, legally, a considerable difference between being "satisfied" as to some particular thing and having "reasonable cause to believe" some particular thing. No one can argue whether another person is, or is not, "satisfied" as to certain facts or necessities. The other person can maintain that he *is* satisfied, and that is the end of the matter. But it may seem to some that it is possible to argue whether another person has or has not, "reasonable cause" to believe certain allegations, even if it is quite clear that the other person honestly believes himself to be reasonable.

It is evident that Parliament took the view that the two expressions meant something different. There was no motion that the revised Regulation 18B be annulled, although, apart from the alterations in the wording referred to, there was no important difference between the old and the new Regulations.

There was every indication that, owing to the alterations made in the wording, the Members of Parliament particularly concerned to defend the constitutional rights of British subjects believed that any person genuinely aggrieved by a detention order would be able to obtain ultimate redress by applying to the High Court for a writ of *habeas corpus*, which would lead to an investigation into the facts by an impartial and independent Court of Justice.

Habeas Corpus.

In August, 1940, an application was made to Divisional Court of the King's Bench for a writ of *habeas corpus* in respect of a British-born subject who had been detained under Defence Regulation 18B. In his affidavit, supporting this application, the individual detained denied the allegations which had been given as the reason for his detention. The affidavit of the Home Secretary, who opposed the issue of the writ, was to the effect that he "had reasonable cause to believe" the allegations because they had been reported to him by officials whom he deemed reliable. It was also urged by Counsel for the Home Secretary that these officials must remain unidentifiable. The Court dismissed the application without hearing evidence as to the facts in dispute. Later, the Court of Appeal upheld this judgment, also without hearing evidence as to the facts in dispute, although the individual detained had been released by order of the Home Secretary shortly after the appeal had been entered.

It cannot be disputed that statutory law is not so much what the legislature intended it to be as it is the interpretation placed by the Courts upon the actual wording of Statutes and Statutory Rules and Orders. The judgment in this case of the learned judges of the Court of Appeal must therefore be accepted as a true reflection of the law, unless a judgment which in some way reverses it is at some time given by a higher Court.

The Present Position.

(1) As matters now stand there is no judicial safeguard for the liberty of the subject against arbitrary acts of the executive. This may be a matter of small concern to those who have confidence in the present executive and its unidentifiable officials. But such people should remember that we are at war and approaching an economic crisis of the first magnitude. These conditions may produce considerable changes in the executive and its unidentifiable officials and lead to a situation in which arbitrary powers may be used against persons quite different from those who have been detained hitherto

(2) The judgment of the Court of Appeal implies that the principle of *habeas corpus* has been abrogated, as never before, without a specific enactment to that effect. It has been abrogated covertly, without the full knowledge and understanding of Parliament. In past years, in

times of grave civil strife, *habeas corpus* has been suspended for defined periods and, most often in defined areas, such as Ireland. Every such suspension, however, has been effected by an Act of Parliament intended for that purpose. Whatever their faults may have been, former elected representatives of the people would never have proposed, far less agreed, that so far-reaching an encroachment on the prescriptive rights of the people be made, even in an emergency, other than openly and in the full light of day.

(3) It has now been shown that Regulation 18B has made a revolutionary change in the British Constitution. The Regulation has provided a loophole whereby the executive can evade the principle that ordinary citizens and members of the executive are absolutely equal before the King's Courts of Justice. This equality before the law has always been a fundamental right of British subjects and a bulwark of their freedom.

IN PRACTICE.

The foregoing notes should give a general idea of the seriousness of Defence Regulation 18B in its effect upon the traditional rights of British subjects. The notes below, which might be added to considerably, should indicate the degree of injustice suffered.

(1) When the Government was successfully challenged over the Defence Regulations in Parliament on 31st October, 1939, there were only thirty-five persons detained under Defence Regulation 18B. Eleven months later, on 30th September, 1940, the latest date for which figures are available, 1628 persons had been arbitrarily detained and 247 persons as arbitrarily released. Of those who have thus been detained some are naturalised British subjects, some are aliens other than enemy aliens, but 853 are British-born subjects.

(2) It is not disputed that the period between a detention being made and the person detained being given access to the advisory committee has been generally about three months but in some cases nearly four months. During this period the person detained has not known the grounds on which the detention order has been made against him, or her.

(3) On 28th November, 1940, speaking in the House of Commons (*Parl. Debates, Vol.* 367 *col.* 324-5) Mr. Herbert Morrison, the Home Secretary, stated that a detained person is not necessarily given full information as to the reasons for his detention. He said that "the committee is perfectly free to exercise its discretion in giving full information. . . "

(4) It is admitted that detained persons have not been granted legal representation before the committee (as is always given, for example, to persons charged with murder). At the meetings of this committee the prisoner is examined, but no evidence is given, so that there is no cross-examination, and the proceedings in no way resemble a judicial trial. (*Parl. Debates, Vol.* 363, *col.* 611.)

(5) It is admitted that, in some cases, detained persons have had difficulty in communicating with and interviewing their solicitors; and it is also alleged that, by order of the Home Secretary, detained persons have not been permitted to communicate with their Members of Parliament (*H.C. Paper*, 164, *9th October*, 1940, *page* 18).

(6) It is alleged that the conditions of imprisonment of detained persons are unusually severe, seeing that they are neither charged with, nor convicted of, offences against the law; and it is also alleged that they are refused access to members of the boards of prison visitors, as is authorised for remand and convict prisons (*Section* 2 *of the Prison Act*, 1898, *and similar statutes*).

(7) Defence Regulation 18B has been invoked for the purpose of detaining a Member of Parliament without charge or trial while Parliament is in session, thereby preventing him from discharging his duty to the electors and depriving his constituents of Parliamentary representation. The executive has sought to use the Regulation as a means of evading the principle of Parliamentary privilege. The continuance of Parliamentary government, and of our constitutional monarchy, demands a searching and impartial investigation of all the details of this particular detention order.

CONCLUSION.

It may be argued in support of Defence Regulation 18B in its present form that it is unfortunately inevitable because we are at war. All are agreed that, in time of war, the authorities must be empowered to act promptly in apprehending suspected enemy agents, but any special powers given to the executive for this purpose make it *more important than ever—not less important—that there should be adequate safeguards against injustice to the King's loyal subjects.*

British subjects who are detained must be given effective opportunity of access to *impartial and independent tribunals, where justice is administered under the recognised rules. Those found guilty of treasonable conduct should be executed according to law.* Any argument of the executive that such trials "would involve too many difficulties" must be an admission of timidity, or of insincerity, or else of incompetence in the civil and military departments concerned.

The state of affairs brought about by Regulation 18B is totally at variance with the principles of justice which we are fighting to uphold. For the credit of our cause it must be terminated forthwith. *This can be done simply and quickly by means of revised Regulations, which should be ordered* WITHOUT DELAY.

(End of Manifesto)

In addition to the above manifesto, the Liberty Restoration League, through its secretary, published the following letter, at first in the *Weekly Review*, and later as a leaflet, on the subject of the

COMMITTEE OF PRIVILEGES.

Sir,—There seems to have been little, if any, public comment upon one aspect of the report of the Committee of Privileges, and of the ensuing debate in the House of Commons, regarding the detention of the Honourable and Gallant Member for Peebles and Southern Midlothian.

Seeing that the present practice of arrest and imprisonment of His Majesty's subjects without trial is, happily, foreign to British traditions, there is, it seems generally agreed, no precedent to act as a guide in this particular case. The Committee of Privileges, and those who supported its report in the debate, preferred therefore to rely upon certain authoritative statements, such as resolutions of the House of Commons. Erskine May's views were quoted incompletely, while the opinions of Blackstone, Anson, and Lord Simon, the present Lord Chancellor, were swept aside.

These opinions conformed to the resolution of the House of 20th May, 1675:

> that by the laws and usage of Parliament, privilege of Parliament belongs to every member of the House of Commons in all cases, except for treason, felony and breach of the peace.

The Committee of Privileges, however, emphasised a resolution of the House of Commons in 1641:

> privilege of Parliament is granted in regard to service to the Commonwealth and is not to be used to the danger of the Commonwealth.

This resolution of 1641 was the only authority quoted by Mr. Attlee, the Lord Privy Seal, in opening, and by Sir Donald Somervell, the Attorney General, in winding up the debate in the House of Commons.

It has never been suggested that privilege should be used "to the danger" of the State, but the resolution of 1641 is less explicit than that of 1675, which makes it clear that a definite charge must be brought and does not leave it open to the Executive to decide arbitrarily what may, or may not, be "to the danger" of the State.

The Parliament of 1641, whose resolution is now deemed weightier than the others, was the same Parliament as that which brought about the execution of the King in 1649. It was itself dissolved by force, in 1653, with Cromwell's order to "remove this bauble." In 1660, all its enactments except the earliest were reviewed: those thought beneficial were re-enacted, and the remainder were held to be unconstitutional and therefore null and void.

It is unfortunate for the electors that the present Parliament—the Suicide Parliament—was influenced by arguments based chiefly upon so indifferent an authority.

—Arthur Rogers.

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CONCHIES: IN THE EMPIRE AND THE UNITED STATES

AMERICAN ACT EXPLAINED

Recently, we received *The Hindu*, Madras, for October 4 of last year. This contained the report of an interesting case heard by the Appellate Tribunal at Kuala Lumpar, on September 16, 1940. The chairman of this Tribunal is Mr. Justice Gordon Smith.

This Tribunal upheld the decision of the Perak Local Tribunal, removing the name of Mr. R. W. Smith, of Cecily Estate, Teluk Anson, from the register for conscientious objectors, and registering him as a person liable to be called up for service as a non-combatant.

Dismissing the appeal, the Chairman made the following utterance:—

"We disagree with you on your views. We certainly agree with your moral objections to war. We all think war is wrong. It has been forced on us. In this war it is a case of having to organise practically the whole of the British Empire—some parts for war, other parts for forming organisations for alleviating suffering. These organisations must remain effective. We do not feel we can allow your appeal. The order made by the previous tribunal will hold. You will be registered as a person liable to be called up for service as a non-combatant."

This is a very courteous and also a very curious statement. The Chairman does not suggest that the appellant was not conscientious. He turned down his appeal on a rule of expediency which, if applied correctly, would mean that all conscientious objectors are wrong.

Before the Perak Local Tribunal, R. W. Smith said:—

"I have a moral objection to war and all it entails. I do not think that war is justified under any circumstances. The cost of human life and suffering is far too great."

Smith stated that he was 22 years old. He was born in London and was a member of the Church of England. He joined the P.P.U. in January, 1938. He added:—

"I believe in passive resistance. War is not inevitable. Passive resistence should take the form of non-co-operation with the enemy. Disobey his laws and don't do what he orders you to do. If the whole of the nation was so trained to passively resist the invaders, then the nation will be stronger morally and be able to exercise control over the people who have over-run the country."

Capt. C. H. Dakers, one of the members of the Tribunal, made the amazing remark that passive resistance in peace time was very good but when war broke out it was useless.

Smith replied that the gesture of passive resistance had been made throughout the ages. It was the employment of moral force instead of physical force.

Replying to Mr. J. S. Ferguson, another member of the Tribunal, Smith said that his parents lived in London.

Answering other questions, Smith said that there would be no point in his taking active part against the enemy by joining the air force or such bodies. Bombing and machine-gunning of civilians and refugees were indiscriminate actions as opposed to discriminate action and were part of the horrors of war.

Applicant further added that he would not be prepared to do civilian work if it was connected with the war.

CANADIAN CASES.

The *Journal*, Edmonton, Alberta, on November 16 of last year, published a statement on the C.O. question, beneath the streamer heading: *"'Conchies' Are Problem, Official Cry: 'What To Do!'"*

The letterpress stated:—

"Conscientious objectors here are proving a headache for government authorities faced with the problem of what to do with them.

"There are two groups, both having to do with educational institutions. One is the group of university students who have refused to take military training, set down as compulsory for all male undergraduates. The second is a group of public school children who have created a dilemma by refusing to salute the Union Jack after the school board said the salutes were compulsory."

The *Journal* explained that the "train or get out" ruling had not been applied. It added:—

"The double-play in the non-salute cases was still more varied. When the school board found the students wouldn't salute, it found that it had not set out a penalty along with the ruling. So the board sent a report to the city police. The city police sent it to the R.C.M.P. The R.C.M.P. sent it back to the city. The solicitor's department sent it to the attorney-general's department. . . .'

"Meanwhile 9 of the children aren't saluting the flag. Originally the figure was 11. Two changed their minds."

The *Toronto Star*, for November 30 last, under fierce headings, reported the ultimatum delivered to a Jehovah Witness conchie:—

"'He will be ordered to put on the uniform—and he will put it on.' This was the flat ultimatum of Lt.-Col. R. B. Harkness, officer commanding the compulsory military training camp at Newmarket, when Wilhelm Hansler refused to wear a uniform on the grounds he had religious objections." Hansler formerly belonged to Jehovah's Witnesses, which has been declared an illegal organization.

"When he reported at the camp, he refused to obey orders. He is at present in hospital but on his return to the camp, there'll be no argument about it, according to Col. Harkness. 'William Hansler is under military law, just like any other of the 950 men in training here," he said. 'When he comes back he will be ordered to put on the King's uniform. He will obey that order. If he doesn't obey the command, he will pay the penalty.'"

The *Evening Standard*, London, on January 28, reported that M'Gill University had reinstated two conscientious objectors who agreed to submit to compulsory drill without musketry and bayonet drill. They will be required to practice stretcher-bearing and trench-digging instead.

IN THE UNITED STATES.

Norman Thomas, Socialist party leader, told Rutgers University students at Brunswick, N.J., on December 8, 1940, that he *"felt my sympathies going out to those students of the Union Theological Seminary who had the courage to take the hard way, the unpopular way out and fight conscription."*

Mr. Thomas, guest speaker at the university's chapel, said the students, convicted of failure to register for the draft in New York City, now *"reside in prison cells, but their courage in their convictions is still remembered."*

Conscientious objectors are not slackers, in the opinion of Dr. Thomas E. Jones, president of Fisk University, Nashville, as stated in the *Philadelphia Public Ledger*, for December 24, 1940. Dr. Jones was visiting Philadelphia to direct the placing of men who object to military service.

"They are as patriotic as anybody but don't know exactly how to serve," he added.

Dr. Jones was former national secretary of the Young Friends Movement. He has served on the faculty of the University of Keio, in Japan. He discussed, with the *Ledger* reporter, the problem of finding suitable spots for the thousands of conscientious objectors in the United States.

The American Friends Service Committee, which appointed Dr Jones, will pay for the support of those who do not actually enroll in Governmental service. The officials believe there will be 5400 objectors in every 800,000 drafted.

"There are numerous classes of conscientious objectors," explained Dr Jones. The first class will have nothing whatever to do with war and goes to jail. The second class will serve in some capacity but not under military or Governmental supervision. They are willing to work eight hours a day in reforestation or soil conservation and the demand for camps will be great.

"Class 3 will work under the civil governmental authorities and will be assigned to health service. Class 4 will serve in the non-combatant branches of the army, anything excepting the Infantry, Engineers and Air Force."

Dr. Jones did not object to absolutist objectors being jailed. He held that absolutists were willing to face such punishment. "Society has the right to pronounce a penalty," he declared.

"In the World War no provision was made for conscientious objectors," concluded Dr. Jones. "They reported in camps, refused to wear uniforms and were roughly treated by top sergeants. The present detailed programme is the result of many years' work by the Friends."

NEW ZEALAND BAPTISTS.

The *New Zealand Herald*, Auckland, for October 25, 1940, reports the attitude towards conscientious objectors placed on record by the annual assembly of the Baptist Union of New Zealand, held that week at Dunedin. It was decided to reaffirm the following resolution adopted in 1935:—

"That the Baptist Union reaffirms the historic faith in the principle of liberty of conscience for every man, and applies this equally to conscientious objectors to military service as to all others."

OUR LETTER-BOX

Dear Sir,—I enclose a donation of 5/- towards your paper, which I consider is doing good work for the cause of pacifism. I believe that the spirit of nationalism, with the militarism which invariably accompanies it, is the greatest of all barriers to progress.

Yours faithfully,

C. GASKELL.

Littleborough, Lancs.,
January, 25, 1941.

Dear Comrade Aldred,—One series of articles that I think would be of interest to your readers would be a study of other religions apart from Christianity. For some reason, many people seem to be attracted by Eastern religions, such as Buddhism, Taoism, etc. A series of essays exposing the superstitions and fallacies of these religions would be most useful.

I have not been getting on too well of late. I have been on agricultural work on a farm, which has fallen into disuse, about 14 miles from here. In all I am inclined to believe that giving agricultural work to C.O.'s is a cheap way of getting work done, that otherwise would not be done except at greatly increased cost. It is a scandal that anyone should have to work 48 hours a week for 38/-. Out of this food and fuel and other necessities have to be purchased, which leaves little to spend.

All the fellows with me so far, with one exception, are Christians of the most primitive variety, fearing hell, tongues of fire, etc. They seem to be of the "sinner converted" type.

I am at least convinced of the complete futility of parliamentarism. Even the so-called revolutionary left parliamentary groups seem to present no real challenge to capitalism. The anarcho-syndicalist way of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. groups is the only way out.

What exactly is your point of difference with the Anarchist Federation? It is strange that most of the English Anarchist writers were bores. Malatesta, Kropotkin, and Bakunin are the real theorists of the movement. It is a great pity that so much fine Anarchist literature is untranslated here.

With every good wish.

Yours sincerely,

ALBERT McCARTHY.

Shirley, February 9, 1941.

RAYLEIGH N.C.L.

Dear Comrade,—The following resolution was passed unanimously by the Rayleigh District Branch of the No Conscription League at a recent meeting:

"This Group views with deep concern the recent announcement by Mr. Bevin and Mr. Morrison which mark the extension of Conscription to the spheres of Industry and Civil Defence.

"It notes that the extension of Conscription to Civil Defence removes the right of the conscientious objector to military service to obtain complete exemption from such service.

"It would point out that the C.O.'s have in many cases volunteered for Civil Defence, and have frequently formed their own units for this purpose, but it is aware that many C.O.'s would object to such activity. It therefore condemns the lack of provision for conscientious objection in the Order.

"It condemns in particular the extension of Conscription to Industry, which abrogates the rights for which the working class have struggled, and makes every individual a cog in the war machine.

"It believes that these measures are a step towards totalitarianism, which will destroy the freedom of individuals.

"It is determined to resist these measures with all the means at its disposal.

"It expresses its sympathy with all those who by reason of their conscientious objection to Conscription feel it their duty to refuse co-operation with the Govenment on this issue."

Comments will be welcomed.

Yours fraternally,

L. ADEANE.

Rayleigh, Essex,
February 8, 1941.

THE CHURCH AND ITS DOUBTFUL ALLIES

By the Rev. HENRY JAMES ADLARD.

[The following essay is a summary of about half of the sermon preached by Mr. Adlard to the congregation assembled at Trim Street Church, Bath, on December 29, 1940.—Ed.]

Many people and churches have tried to serve "God and Mammon," and have become morally cross-eyed in so doing. To such, a timely word in modern dress comes from Jeremiah, one of the world's great pacifists, and true prophet-statesmen: "*What will you say when you feel the sway of those you trained as allies*" (Moffat translation).

Jeremiah saw the inevitable result of calling in certain neighbouring nations as allies, for the ally may rise to place of master, usurp the leadership, exploit the situation, and enslave those who brought him in. The realists of those days despised Jeremiah. He was a dreamer, impractical. This has ever been the answer of the realists, or the disciples of Machiavelli, when the ethical side of national questions has been raised. "The source of our world confusion," says a world-famed thinker, "is our contemptuous dismissal of ethics."

Leaving courageous Jeremiah, this prophecy of calling in questionable allies on the grounds of success or expediency fits in at several points with startling exactitude with the history of the Christian Church. With all the wailing, the self-examination and questioning as to the ineffectiveness of the church to-day, this matter of queer allies has not been honestly recognised. I propose to look at it in three or four spheres.

(1) *When Christianity became the State Church.*

Here, many historians think, and rightly, that the cardinal, epochal error of the Christian Church was made, and why to-day it is not preaching the essential gospel of Jesus. To find out where this fatal twist was taken we must return to the fourth century. The early Christian Church, composed in the main of common people, was taken over by the State under Constantine—and ruined.

Someone has said of that period it was as though the church entered a tunnel. It went in at one end with a simple, vital, courageous, buoyant world-challenging gospel. It emerged complacent, wily, time-serving. Its valiant note was gone. It was now popular, if not prudent, to be a Christian. It was not now a case of rendering unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's. Jesus was brought under the heel of Caesar, and has been there ever since. The ruin of the religion of Jesus was its undue friendliness with "the powers that be."

Referring to the Middle Ages, to show the vast temporal power of the Church, J. A. Hobson says, that it owned one-fifth of the cultivated land of Europe, and, say it slowly, "the Son of Man had not where to lay His head."

(2) *The Church of England.*

The ruler of England must be a member of that Church. That Church must support him and the State. I have a good deal of affection for the Church of England—its noble buildings, its great scholars, its superb music, its liturgy, dignity and traditions. That is its credit side, but it is in many senses a kept, favoured, privileged church with its hand and tongue too much tied. It has never been served by more devoted, liberal, socially-minded men than to-day, but in a national crisis it is gagged. It cannot very well attack the State which is *not* Christian. On the contrary, a truly free church, based on democratic principles, is free to proclaim, prophesy, and declare let the chips fall where they will.

We think of the sources of its income, its patronage, the gift of livings, which means, and must mean in many cases, that the incumbent must everlastingly keep his eye on his donor and be *just right*. There is a Rectory not far from where I write, where the occupant must be just what the Manor House ordains. Where the gospel of the insurgent Jesus will get its chance it is hard to say. The Church of England is inevitably tied up with military pomp, parades, with flags and banners, yea, in the sanctuary itself—I recall Military Sunday in York. The United States has no State Church. State and Church are rigidly sundered. Religious freedom obtains; but there are times even there where the State says: "I am a jealous god and thou shalt have none other gods before me." The famous case of Prof. Mackintosh of Yale, who sought citizenship, but demurred at the oath to fight, is still fresh in some minds.

(3) *The Ally of Wealth and Privilege.*

The Church cannot be run without money; but there is some money it cannot afford to take. The vast temporal power of Rome has already been cited; but we may come nearer. We all know of the man who subscribes heavily, wants to dictate and call the tune, those who try to "own" the minister, intimidate him, make him their private chaplain, until he scarcely dare say "booh." It is very alluring to some ministers to be in with the "best families.' It smooths things for them. It also takes the iron out of their gospel.

I knew a loveable Congregationalist minister in America. He lost two churches during the last war through his Pacifism. Later he "came back," secured a splended new church, but he had one man, his biggest subscriber, who, in his own words, gave my friend "a hell of a time."

I recall the words of a man replying to an annual budget appeal.

"For good reasons, which are sufficient to myself, I cannot subscribe to your church budget this year."

It was cleverly worded. He was a lawyer, and I must have spoken a painful truth one Sunday. I recall my friend, John Haynes Holmes of the Community Church, New York, scholarly, devoted, crystal-clear in his preaching, full of social passion. When he came to the church 30 years ago he was as a breeze from heaven, he cleared out the wealthy drones just by what he said; but as they departed by the front door, "offended at his word," he preached others in at the back, and is to-day one of the great fearless voices of the U.S.A.

There is the inescapable matter of how the wealth of church members is obtained, how they treat their employees, what wages they pay, what unholy tenements' rents may swell their income, whether they are brewers, whether they profit from armaments. I am not advocating wholesale attacks on such, or proposing some definite economic solution, I am pointing out the subtle danger of wealthy allies. Wealth is not unwelcome, but it must be clean, for when one man owns a church, a church of Jesus, it ceases to be one. The preacher is henceforth gagged, bull-dozed and silenced.

(4) *The Ally of Art.*

To which I am by no means insensible. It is an ally to worship. It meets psychological, aesthetic and emotional needs. In fact, art is part of religion; and religion itself is the greatest art of all. Art has quickened and sensitised the spiritual aspirations of man. The Puritans and Quakers were mistaken in throwing it out.

I am all for beautiful places of worship. I love order, beauty, dignity. We need the construction of a rational ritual, such as has been built up by Dr. Stanton Coit of the Ethical Society.

To-day, in the desperation caused by crumbling creeds, the world chaos, the perplexed hearts, many people are turning to Rome or Anglo-Catholicism; not always, I am persuaded by their intellectual appeal. No, but from the spiritual anodyne they offer in the way of art. It involves no particular belief. It makes one *feel* good, secure, comforted, quiet. It is psychology rather than theology. Architecture, music, ritual, liturgy, even vestments have rendered some service to organised worship. They all meet human needs. Frail humanity needs a lot of crutches, but all too often they have usurped the throne. The ally has become the king. Form has enslaved the spirit. The ends have been forgotten in the means. To many these are but raptures and ecstacies of the moment. The question is: how do they impinge on, or relate to, life. Christianity, as Jesus taught it, minus all its frills and ecclesiastical millinery, is a terrific ethical and spiritual adventure. It is simple but strong, it allows no compromise or coddling. Meeting-house and market-place must, somehow, be vitally connected.

* * *

State—our State Church—wealth, and privilege, and art may be allies. They are part of the picture as we see it. To wholly uproot them is difficult. They must be dealt with however.

I hold that a State Church is a contradiction in terms, and that the State must have no power over the human soul. Wealth is here, but it must have no privilege. Rather it should lay to heart the lesson of the rich man and Lazarus. Art must not becloud the real issues by images and incense.

The church's right to exist, its justification, is that it has a way of life to offer which is sharply different from that of the world. It is to "overcome," not to be overcome by the world. It is to challenge society, "turn the world upside down," and change it.

Hobson says of Calvanism, "Mammon in fact was taken into the service of God as a junior partner." He adds: "It is the almost complete failure of the church to apply Christian ethics to the theory and practice of social reform that explains its loss of hold on the people to-day."

Until the Church deals faithfully with the matter of how wealth is acquired—not spent—until it realises that all wealth is socially acquired, it will go on finding good reasons to believe what it wants to believe—Let the Church beware of its allies. A man is known by the company he keeps. If the Church is a sort of omnibus where anyone may get on and ride no matter what his ethical concepts, then the sooner will the word "Ichabod" be daubed on its doorposts —and serve it right too.

LETTER BOX.

Dear Comrade,—I was rather astonished to read your "puff" for "Vanguard." I received a copy of this recently and I find it disgustingly anti-Semitic and anti-Catholic. It is true it is anti-war but the other exhibitions nullify this, for the true pacifism is tolerant of other persons' beliefs.

You may be interested to know that I was registered for non-combatant service by the Birmingham Tribunal in July last and my appeal was dismissed at London on December 13th last. I have been in my present job since last May, but this does not apparently "cut any ice" for the Tribunal, for in my statement I said I would do work of "international importance." At my appeal I told the court that I believed in saving the women and children of the next generations from being bombed. My objection was on political and philosophical grounds. I have just resigned my membership of the I.L.P. and I now take the Anarchist position which I feel is the only one consistent position with pacifism.

Yours in the Cause,

JOHN ROBINSON.

Birmingham, Jan. 13, 1941.

[We have written to Comrade Robinson privately. We never "puff" papers or persons. We write freely, as we think; and we expect our colleagues to do the same. We really believe in Freedom—Freedom of Thought, Speech, Writing, and Living. We hate dictatorship and imposed ideas, religious or irreligious, Fascist or alleged anti-Fascist. Comrade Robinson ought to know that, in these columns, we have defended Catholic C.O.'s; published an account of Pax, which is really a Catholic "conchie" association, although not exclusively so; and upheld the stand of Philip Boyle, who is a Catholic and one of our best friends. We are opposed to the Catholic Church, but we do not share all Mr Ratcliffe's views in this matter. We object to many things he says. Also, we are not opposed to the Jews. We believe in the equal right to happiness and well-being of all men and women, irrespective of race, creed, language, or colour. That is democracy. The fact remains that Mr Ratcliffe writes vigorously on the war issue and we approve of his fearless expression. In these columns, we quote Unitarians. Mr Ratcliffe insists, in *The Vanguard*, that a Unitarian cannot be a Christian. We insist, in our pamphlets, that, *theologically*, a Unitarian is nearer true Christian teaching than a Trinitarian. We would unite all enemies of war and all friends of non-violence in one great federation, if we could.—*Ed.*]

MARY S. ALLEN

Under the title, "Lady In Blue," Mary S. Allen, O.B.E., Commandant of the Women's Auxiliary Service, tells the story of her life. This work was published in London, by Stanley Paul & Co., Ltd., in 1936.

The list of illustrations include the following:

"*Commandant Allen Working as a Suffragette.*" Facing page 16.

"*Enrolling National Defence Recruits During the General Strike, 1926.*" *Facing page* 120.

In connection with the last picture, on pages 93 to 95 of this book, Mary Allen describes how she organised the women of the country into the defence services, to defeat the so-called, but mis-called, general strike of 1926. This strike of the industrial workers, in support of the miners' struggle against their evil conditions, this woman describes as "*a Communist coup.*" What has Herbert Morrison, the Home Secretary, to say to this description? Can Thomas Johnston reconcile it with his *Forward* articles? Can Lord Provost Dollan reconcile the statement with his 1926 pronouncements?

On pages 148 to 155 of this book of memoirs, Mary S. Allen eulogises Hitler and Goering, and describes Hitler as "*the barrier holding back the tide of Communism.*" We reproduce this eulogy as a separate article.

This woman has not been interned for her enemy associations, but small shopkeepers and ex-servicemen are interned to-day for the duration, without any charge being made against them. Here is a woman who rejoices in having sabotaged the General Strike of 1926 honoured under a Government, whose Cabinet includes Bevin, Greenwood, Johnston, Attlee, and Morrison. We put the facts to the workers of Britain and demand an end to the scandal. We do not ask that Mary Allen should be interned, for we do not believe in internment. We ask only that the workers read her eulogy of Hitler and Goering and we demand her dismissal from the Women's Auxiliary Service.

The Mary Allen scandal must cease.

Hitler: The Barrier Against Communism

By

MARY S. ALLEN, O.B.E.

Commandant of The Women's Auxiliary Service.

[This tribute to Fascism is extracted from *Lady In Blue*, pages 148-155, chapter XI. This work was published in 1936, and is referred to under another heading. Remember that strike breakers of the Mary Allen type built up Hitlerism in Europe and so assisted to make the present war inevitable. Now she enjoys official position in the Services, under a Government which includes alleged Socialists and Trades Unionists, who were supposed to represent the workers' struggle in 1926. The entire business is a disgrace to public life and a scandal that ought to be concluded. Mary Allen should be dismissed from the public services and our Labour Leaders who associate with her should be expelled from the Labour Movement.—Ed.]

In 1934, I went abroad again on one of the most interesting foreign visits of my career. I was invited to Germany, just after the burning of the Reichstag Building in Berlin and the great Nazi development.

I had always been particularly anxious to see a successful Women Police movement in Germaany, because of the Cologne Experiment which I had initiated. The German women whom we trained then in police duties had proved themselves invaluable to the country after the British troops and policewomen had been withdrawn, and had formed the nucleus of a force of German policewomen several hundred strong.

But when Herr Hitler came into power, he swept away much of the existing police organisation, and most of the policewomen in Prussia went with it. On my visit to Berlin, I sought to discover why this had happened, and to see whether a new force of Women Police could not be built up in accordance with Nazi principles.

I was fortunate enough to reach Germany in time to be present at the enormous meeting following the Reichstag burning, when Herr Hitler explained his policy in full for the first time, not only to the thousands of waiting Germans, but to a breathless and uneasy world.

For two and a half hours I sat absolutely entranced beside the Chancellor's charming sister, listening to the great Dictator. When he sat down at last, I looked at my watch thinking he had been speaking about half an hour!

My German is elementary, yet this man's hypnotic gestures, his passionate, forceful voice and his visionary eyes held me spellbound.

He is one of the greatest orators who have ever lived.

In the packed theatre listening to his speech were thousands of German war veterans. They were grey-headed men, but their lined faces shone with sheer worship, and more than one blinked back tears of fierce emotion as they watched the Fuhrer speaking.

Rotund German Generals in frayed and faded war-time uniforms, their bald heads pink with excitement, ceased to seem pathetic or comic and became symbols of a great national pride that can never die while Adolf Hitler lives. Rubbing shoulders with them were thousands of members of the Stalhelm and of the new German Youth Organisations—potentially some of the finest soldiers in the world.

I have never in the whole of my public experience known such waves of emotion as one could feel sweeping through the theatre, while irrepressible growling cheers punctuated each new sentence of "The Leader."

The following night he was present at the Berlin Sports Palace for a great musical festival, and was ushered in by the crash of military bands.

I sat not far from him with Countess von Bernstorff, and watched with interest the intense excitement created by his presence. His love of music is well known, and his appreciation of the programme was obvious.

I felt afraid that, with all this extraordinary activity going on, there might be no time for the interview with Herr Hitler which had been arranged for me. I need not have been apprehensive, for at the close of what must have been to the Chancellor a day of superhuman mental and physical strain, I was told that he would receive me at midnight.

It is a recognised psychological fact that succesful Dictators are invariably men of exceptional physique, and Herr Hitler is no exception to the rule. He works eighteen hours out of each twenty-four, and yet keeps fitter than most of his staff.

He sent his representative, Dr. Ernst Hanpfstaengel, to the Kaiserhof Hotel to fetch me, and together we crossed the square, covered in snow and wrapt in midnight silence which our muffled footsteps did not break. We entered a large house in the Wilhelmstrasse.

A few moments in the lift, a short walk through anterooms piled high with flowers, and I was in the presence of one of Europe's most remarkable men. He rose, made the famous Nazi salute, shook hands, and asked me to be seated.

In private, he is a charming man, courteous, quiet, patient. But the steadfast eyes and the unflinching mouth do not let one forget that sincerity and fixity of purpose which have carried this "little corporal" from political refugee to virtual ruler of one of the greatest nations in the modern world.

I told him that I had been responsible for the Cologne Experiment of 1923, and asked him why policewomen in Prussia had since been disbanded, and whether we might hope soon to see a new force inaugurated.

Very courteously, he explained that the disbanded units were not of his political persuasion, and that it was impossible to retain officials who did not subscribe to the United Nazi front. He compared such action with the idea of enrolling Communist agents, who refused to take the oath of allegiance, in the British Police Force.

He was, however, much interested in my arguments in favour of Nazi policewomen, and said that General Goering had provisionally agreed to enrol a hundred policewomen in Berlin under his own charge.

Herr Hitler assured me that I was most welcome in Germany, and reiterated that he was very friendly to England, and had a great admiration of our methods. He said that Germany would prefer the friendship of England to that of any other European country, and that Germany and England together could ensure peace in the world.

Our conversation was held in German, and it revolutionised my ideas of the Fuhrer. I had gone to Germany insensibly influenced by the propaganda used in England against him, prepared to find a man ruthless in his power and impatient of everything except the progress of his own advancement.

Instead, I discovered a patriot whose sincerity and faith in his country's future enables him to mould the passions of somewhere near a hundred million people, and whose first-hand experience of trench warfare, of which he carries permanent scars, makes him one of the greatest factors in preserving European peace to-day—a greater factor than many European statesmen who, in the last twenty years, have grown famous in office.

I recognise in him an enduring friend of England, and a blood-brother of the ordinary decent people of Europe, whatever their nationalities, who want peace for their trade and safety for their children.

Before I left him, the Dictator suggested to me that I might like to visit the Secret Police Headquarters, and see the Communist exhibits collected by the German police during the recent rising.

"You in England do not realise how closely Communism threatens you," he said as we parted. "You think we are fanatical here? Well look over the exhibits in that Museum and see whether they confirm your views. You will be one of the first women ever admitted there."

I saw the Exhibition, which I considered a great privilege, as it is an official police collection, rather like the Black Museum at Scotland Yard.

When I entered the main room, I stood still for a moment in horror. With uncanny German thoroughness, life-sized models have been arranged in realistic poses about the place, evil-faced rebels crouching over machine-guns, torturers operating on victims with devices worse than the "Boot," the "Maiden" and the "Rack" of the Middle Ages, warders wielding knouts filled with glass and steel over shrinking prisoners (similar knouts were taken recently by police from Communist rioters), and all sorts of incredibly foul and blasphemous pamphlets scoffing at religion, decency, home-life—in fact, everything the normal man and woman hold sacred.

One part of the Exhibition was fitted up as an actual Berlin street scene during the coup when Herr Hitler overcame the ruthlessness and violence of the German Communists. With its groups of riflemen, machine-gun nests and barricades, it looked terribly vivid.

From my knowledge of crime and underworld organisations here and elsewhere, I believe we should have this sort of thing in England within six months of Adolf Hitlers fall, unless strong police and military precautions were taken to prevent it.

Hitler and no one else is the barrier holding back the tide of Communism from Western Europe. The Communist-fed propaganda against him in England is spread at the instance and expense of Moscow because, once he is gone, Moscow expects to gain control not only in Berlin but in London, when a handsome return would be taken from our banks for all propaganda

moneys spent up to that date.

A Special Branch Detective-Inspector of Scotland Yard, formerly a Royal detective and not at all the sort of man who would make exaggerated statements, wrote recently of a Communist plot in England, led by an Irish Colonel of one of His Majesty's regiments, which was worked out in detail to seize banks, churches and arsenals, and enforce a Communist Dictatorship here.

The plot was frustrated when two shiploads of rifles and ammunition were discovered in the Thames, the cargo covered by a camouflage of timber. The Colonel was arrested and imprisoned, and the plot broken up.

That plan was not the only one of its kind to be exposed during the last few yeears. If we want street fighting and mass murder in England, the surest way to attain it is to continue the hysterical anti-Hitler propaganda in which certain of our newspapers have recently been indulging.

A significant feature of the material taken from the Communist Headquarters was some elaborate apparatus for forging passports. This included beautifully made seals, coloured inks, printing machines, and samples of papers used by various Governments. There were examples of passports for every big country, including a forged British one. I was told that it was practically impossible even for an expert to detect such forgery until the use of ultra-red and violet rays was discovered. How easy for revolutionaries to enter with subversive propaganda any chosen country, with several such passports at their disposal!

During my visit, I had a long interview with General Goering, Prime Minister of Prussia, Minister for Air and then Chief of Police. More soldier than politician, he is quick to make big decisions, stern in action, a magnificent airman and a fluent speaker. He says what he thinks, no matter to whom he speaks. Like other famous men, he does not lack enemies who take down his words, alter them, and try to make him look ridiculous.

They may succeed to some extent outside Germany, but in his own country he is worshipped.

He informed me that he was going fully into the matter of appointing Nazi policewomen, and he will keep his word. He spoke freely of affairs outside Germany, and I was specially interested when he told me that the chief aim of German policy is to get Paris, London and Berlin together to keep the peace of the world.

It was General Goering who gave me some idea of conditions in Germany immediately prior to the Nazi régime. What had happened was that two revolutions had clashed—nationalism and internationalism, loyalty and disorder. The police, the political parties, the financiers and leaders of Germany were divided into two camps. On them Hitler came down like a wolf on the fold.

He did not subscribe to the Communist ideals, and simply swept them out of existence. He was ruthless; for he saw that Bolshevism, which had been gaining ground since the end of the war, must be firmly checked, or there would be no freedom for the German people and no safety for the nation. He believed that the Communist plan was to spread from Russia, first to Germany, then to France, then to England, and he found ample proof that these suspicions were correct.

I am not in a position to comment on Herr Hitler's methods except as regards the German police. He went through the police with a small-tooth comb, and he was right to do so. When he came into power, the police force was riddled with Communist propaganda. Many policemen were loyal and courageous, but others were ready to turn their revolvers on the populace they were paid to protect, and loot the houses they were detailed to guard.

We in England only know a perfectly reliable police force. What would happen in the country if any civilian might be beaten on the head with a police truncheon because of his political views, or any shopkeeper might find a posse of uniformed figures emptying his till into their own pockets on the ground of political expediency?

Herr Hitler weeded out his police force, caring nothing for name, length of service or rank, and retained only men whose loyalty to Germany was beyond suspicion. As a result, he opened the way for the splendid and courteous force that operates in his country to-day.

In addition, by restoring public confidence, he saved Germany from Communism and disaster, and restored a spirit of national pride that had almost faded away. That pride itself may conceivably grow to undesirable heights, but without it nations sink to obscurity, squalor and despair.

One of the points which I put to General Goering during our interview was whether the Nazi policewomen, when appointed, should wear uniform. His reply was enlightening.

"No one can do official work without the right to wear uniform," he said. "It inspires confidence and ensures authority. It divides the policewoman from the agent provocateur and the spy."

That exactly sums up my own views on the subject, which is one of the most controversial matters concerning policewomen all over the world.

I left Germany much impressed with the new régime and its bearing on the enrolment of Women Police. Undoubtedly, in the interests of the women in the country, the need for policewomen is very great.

If Herr Hitler and General Goering between them can evolve as fine a service of policewomen as they have of policemen in Germany, they will be doing a great service not only to their own country but to the cause of Women Police throughout Europe.

SOCIALIST AND ANARCHIST REMINISCENCES

By MATT KAVANAGH.

I came into the Anarchist and Socialist movement at a most interesting time. The old Socialist League was in existence still, although on its last legs. Its organ, *The Commonweal*, was edited by David Nicoll who had, just previously, been running *The Anarchist* from Sheffield. He had not then been in prison over the Walsall affair, and was at his best. So also was Mowbray. The latter was a different man from the Mowbray whom Guy Aldred knew. America ruined Mowbray and turned him from an idealist into a charlatan. At the time that I knew him first, he was a great open-air speaker, possessed of tremendous drive and energy. I would not call him an intellectual speaker. Perhaps his want in this respect explains his later opportunism, which cost him his reputation for integrity to very little advantage to himself. Kitz was a fine speaker. He was at his best, also, at this time and did splendid propaganda.

Apart from the good speakers and workers that constituted the Anarchist and Socialist movement of those days, the period was exceptional. It was the time of Ravachol, Henry, Santo. London was the home of Kropotkin, Stepniak, Malatesta, Merlino, and Louise Michel. To term oneself an Anarchist was to be notorious. Public speaking was an attraction. There were no cinemas.

When I first came to London, the Anarchist and Anti-Parliamentary movement possessed four papers: *Freedom; The Torch; Commonweal; Liberty. The Anarchist* was, in addition, being run from Sheffield. There were active groups in Sheffield, Leeds, Leicester, and Manchester. We started a group in Liverpool which was destined to become one of the most active Anarchist groups in Britain. At a later date, this group was assisted by Portett, who held a post at Liverpool University, until, as Ferrer"s heir, he returned to Spain to take over the Modern School property and publishing house. Ferrer stayed in Liverpool for a fortnight and we held a meeting to welcome him, and he spoke in English. His vocabulary was good. His knowledge of English literature was comprehensive. But his accent was bad. He impressed the audience by his sincerity. We recalled this visit later, when he faced the firing squad in Montjuich.

There are very few comrades alive to-day who could have known Marx in the flesh. I have both pleasant and unpleasant recollections of persons who knew him intimately. Foremost was his daughter, Eleanor Marx. She had the misfortune to be associated for the greater part of her life with that brilliant scoundrel, Edward Aveling. They kept to the strict Marxian line so long as Frederick Engels was alive to pay their bills and to enable them to live a bourgeoise life in the respectable suburb of Sydenham. Eleanor Marx rarely mentioned her father on the platform. For the greater part of her life she advocated all manner of economic nostrums, which were miles away from every semblance of revolutionary Socialism. She and Aveling flitted from one political organisation to another, many of them of a most distinctly reactionary character. It is noticeable that the self-appointed custodians of the Holy Temple of Marxism in Leningrad, wisely, ignore his family; like the Roman Catholics who ignore the rest of Mary's family. Marx's youngest daughter was one of his favourites but she left no mark on Socialist history. She led a tragic life and died by her own hand.

I also knew, most intimately, Fredrick Lessner who, although he is hardly remembered to-day, was himself an intimate of Marx—perhaps for a longer period than anyone else except Engels. Though Lessner was the complete hero-worshipper, he was not blind to the faults of his "Master." He realised the rot that had set in when the Party became immersed in Parliamentary politics. But he lacked the strength of character of Most, and, instead of fighting it, became the tool and toady of Wm. Liebknecht and Bebel. He became the agent in London for the German Social Democratic Party, which meant diving into the filthiest depths of political intrigue. Finally, when the party organisation was used to betray Most, and the comrades who were helping him to secretly distribute his paper *Freiheit*, to the police, Lessner justified that action, although it was completely foreign to his nature, simply because Marx said it was right.

Lessner remained friendly with Marx until the latter's death. But when, afterwards, the seat of authority was moved to Engels's residence at St. John's Wood, he did, at last, assert his independence. When Engels, under the influence of the Avelings, advised all Marxians to leave the S.D.F. and join the I.L.P., Lessner refused, pointing out that the I.L.P., in those days, denied the class struggle and was purely reformist and anti-revolutionist.

It remains a pity that Lessner did not write his reminiscences for, with his intimate knowledge of Marx and of his faults, he could probably have destroyed many of the fictions that are being circulated, for their own interest, by the present-day Marxist factions.

A. S. Headingly is another whose name conveys little to the comrades of to-day. He too was a contemporary, and at one time a friend, of Marx. Actually his real name was Adolph Schmidt and he took the name of Headingly from a Norfolk village where he lived for a time when he first came to England. He had lived for some time in Paris and participated in the Commune. He went back to Germany and, in the days before the canker of parliamentarianism had killed all idealism and enthusiasm, he was always in the van. When the Bismark repression came he escaped to England which he made his home. He did much writing and lecturing, mainly for the old S.D.F. He had been friendly with Marx in Germany and in France and it was he who introduced Hyndman to Marx and, to some extent, brought him into the movement. But later Headingly was continually slandered by Marx

and Engels because he refused to have anything to do with the charlatans and adventurers, like John Burns, who later surrounded Marx. And when Bakounin and Morris were variously attacked in the course of the Marxist intrigues, Headingly defended them. It is probably because he preferred to retain his integrity rather than participate in these intrigues, which in these days are carefully suppressed, that Headingly, though a man of considerable ability, has not passed into history. He, and others like him, who refused to bow the knee and become hero-worshippers are ignored in favour of the sycophants and toadies. Nevertheless they are the men who have really built the movement, the nameless ones whose work will live on, an inspiration and guide to those who yet will carry the banner to victory.

Wilhelm Leibknecht and his son Karl formed as great a contrast as it is possible for two mer to form, the father with his eyes on the past, the son living with his visions of the future. The father's mind was warped and limited by political expediency, the son's full of revolutionary zeal, and prepared to take any action for the cause of the workers. Some time before the Great War I met Karl Leibknecht in the Communist Club in Charlotte Street. At that time, in conjunction with a few others, we ran an Anarchist Sunday School which was affiliated to Francisco Ferrer Modern Schools. Parents and visitors were encouraged to come and see what our methods were like. This particular aftenoon our only visitor was a tall, dark man, who was evidently very interested, especially following the remarks of the children closely. After the school was dismissed we had tea, and discussed the question very thoroughly. He wanted to know what were the reactions of the children to the various topics, and how far they were capable of grasping abstract questions. How in the absence of any discipline it was possible to control. Above all he was keen to know all it was possible to know of the man Ferrer, whose dastardly murder by the combined forces of the Church and State was still afresh in the minds of everyone. This crime against humanity had united all sections of thought in a solid block of protest throughout the world. All in vain. The Past triumphed over the Present; the Dead Hand of organised Authority crushed in the person of Ferrer the hopes of a Free Humanity. This is where one saw the limitations of a great soul, and of a great mind, by the policy of slander, which has been consistently pursued by the Marxists, of both the Social-Democrats, and the Communist school. The elder Leibknecht was one of the worst offenders, especially against Bakunin. Karl Leibknecht was undoubtedly influenced by these lies.

Like the Rationalists, he was loth to look upon Ferrer as an Anarchist, and would have like to claim him as a mere educational reformer. Stranger still, in the light of subsequent events, was his attitude towards revolt, which was surging in Spain at that time against the foreign policy of the Spanish Government. He deprecated organised violent revolt, and thought all legal methods should first be exploited. It was pointed out to him that most Anti-Parliamentarians had like Ferrer arrived at their position through bitter experience rather than by armchair reasoning. Life itself had driven them to see the folly of ever being able to use the State as an instrument of class-emancipation. The same forces drove Leibknecht into the same position in spite of, and not because of, his political philosophy. History has proved his honesty of purpose and the strength of our position. His name will be known when the names of his traducers will be forgotten.

GLASGOW CLARION SCOUTS
(144 Wellington Street).

SUNDAY EVENING, MARCH 9, at 7 o'Clock.
Speaker: **Annesley Aldred.**
Subject:
"Socialism During and After the War."

Questions and Discussion.
Unattached Socialists are Welcomed to these Meetings.

GOD AND THE SOCIALIST

(By S. D. FRANCES)

The benefit of mankind, the betterment of man's outlook on life, co-operation, freedom and justice. All these things are desired equally by the christian and the socialist. Yet the christian and the socialist rarely find that their paths are the same even though their goals be so similar.

An understanding of the fundamental differences between the two opinions may well set Christian and Socialist alike, thinking.

Our Socialist is logical and likes to have reasons for what he believes in. He is not prepared to accept this doctrine or that ideology purely because it has been sold to him by a good orator who has appealed not to his reason but to his emotions. It is known only too well how people's opinions may be played upon to produce certain reactions. The last war and the emotional propaganda that accompanied it was recognised only when it was shown for what it was. The lurid tales of pillage, rape and injustice of the "Huns," the emotional cries of "the war to end wars," "Hang the Kaiser," "Britains never will be slaves," etc., were recognised as political strategy, only when its need as political strategy had disappeared.

Our Socialist is made of sterner stuff however. And in the same way that he looks askance at Government propaganda so does he also eye with suspicion any faith or belief that is not based on fact and is based only on emotion.

He will adopt the attitude that all men are born into this world without any preconceived ideas. How then should man come to believe in God? The Christian will state definitely that he believes in God and knows God exists. The Socialist cannot immediately agree to this. Unless the Socialist has reason to believe in God he cannot, with justice to himself, accept God. To the Socialist, to accept God without reason for doing so is to make himself a hypocrite. Having witnessed no miracles, having not seen a divine manifestation, not having even received any idea of God except through religious connections, the Socialist, learning something of Christianity, is immediately struck by the thought, "how does a Christian know that God exists?"

Being of an enquiring turn of mind, and probably finding much in Christianity which appeals to him, our Socialist immediately seeks information. "How do you know there is a God?" he asks a Christian friend. It is at this point that the breach between Christian and Socialist widens. The Christian undoubtedly believes in God; he also states emphatically that he knows there is a God; but how he knows or why he knows is a question he can never answer. An argument ensues, the Christian, hard pressed, may even go so far as to point at nature and say "how do you think all this came about if it were not created by God?" and eventually, if he is honest, will say "I do not know why I believe in God, but I have faith."

Our Socialist ponders on this. The Christian believes in God. He has no reason to believe in God—he just has faith. Surely this is the result of education and propaganda. A child reared in a family which believed implicitly that the world was flat and supported on the shoulders of a giant; a child which was taken to a place of worship and taught to say prayers to this giant, might well grow up to have 'faith" in the existence of this giant, even though he had no proof of its existence. Now, when science has proved to man's senses that the world is not flat but round, to believe otherwise would be to deceive oneself. Science has not disproved God, but nothing of practical experience of anyone living has given credence to it. Our Socialist therefore, with some justification, looks upon the Christian as having an unreal conception of life. The Christian however gains something by his faith that is denied to the Socialist. By his belief in God he is happy. He need only do good to people to merit the pleasure of God. The trials and tribulations of life are shouldered readily and with the confident belief that divine guidance is behind all things. The catastrophes of life, the wars, the poverty, the injustice, all these things are all part of a large scheme which God has knit together in his own mysterious way for the subsequent revelation of "good." The Christian must play his part within God's framework and this world is not the end for him; even though he endures a veritable hell on this earth, eternal happiness awaits him in the next.

Our Socialist, perhaps, would be only too pleased to embrace these ideas. If these things were true our Socialist could remove the burden of man's destiny from his own shoulders, knowing that it was being borne more efficiently by God's. But instead, being honest with himself, our Socialist considers it his duty to mankind to look at stark reality and produce his idea of the Kingdom of Heaven with the raw material at his disposal. At the same time his opinion of the Christian lessens considerably.

The next step forward is again a step away from the Christian path. Economic circumstances our Socialist recognises as responsible for most troubles. With much patient research and trouble both the Christian and the Socialist realise that inequality of economic status gives lopsidedness to man's character and unhappiness in many cases. To remedy this is the aim of both. The Christian, however, resorts to his prayers and to the "true" nature of individuals. The wrong that people do must be made apparent to them. The trouble and suffering that is caused by economic circumstances should be righted. But only by the evildoers realising that they are doing wrong. And this realisation will only come to them by the preaching of Christianity and by the grace of God. Our Socialist again, believes this to be a much better way of changing conditions but cannot accept the belief that preaching to hard-boiled munitions manufactureres will have very much effect. At the same time, if God is going to co-operate he might be a little more alive. Poverty and unhappiness have endured for generations, and our Socialist, soft of heart and indignant at injustice, is by nature quick to right a wrong. Our Socialist therefore finds the Christian methods lacking in determination and effectiveness as well as in foundations.

The Christian, willing and anxious for a change, wants the change to come about by people's ideas becoming less narrow, by the development of a brotherly feeling, by a spontaneous desire for all people to live happily and in harmony. But the Socialist sees only an economic structure that sets man against man, nation against nation, greed and lust against fraternity and "love of thy neighbour." And in the Christian himself the Socialist sees a man, a victim of environment, weighed down by his belief in the unknown, and too, because of this belief, setting himself against his brother—the Socialist. The only remedy the Socialist can see being, in changing those things that made man what he is, and changing those things into something that the Socialist and Christian alike want to see in existence. That change the Socialist recognises to be important and necessary, and if humanity is at stake, well surely then drastic means may have to be adopted. Yet he can expect no co-operation from the Christian.

Is he justified then in believing Christians to be acting *against* the interests of humanity?

BAKUNIN HALL
29 CASTLE STREET, GLASGOW,
Every Sunday, 7 p.m.

Speaker: CUY ALDRED.

Questions. Discussion. Collection. All Welcome.

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THE WORD

To Rouse The People, To Combat Fascism, and To Speed Commonweal.

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APRIL 1941.

Over the plough the joyful peewit tumbles
Or beats through his domain on humming wing.
Over the moor the curlew's rippling music
Proclaims the coming of another spring.

Only for man, blind man, engrossed in slaughter,
Though God hath given to him the widest range
Of power to vanquish suffering, sin, and sorrow,
The changing seasons bring no joy in change.

—BEDFORD.

OF THE DEAD

"KILLED THROUGH ENEMY ACTION."

We do not know if London or other British cities published blitz obituary notices. We do not know if the State-controlled press of the German cities is permitted to publish such notices. We suspect not. The Glasgow press has done so. We kept several days' issues of the Glasgow *Evening Times*, carrying these notices. We select, at random, from one issue, Thursday, March 20, 1941. Here are a few notices:—

DEATHS.

ADAIR.—Killed in March, 1941 (result of enemy action), William, dearly beloved husband of Jean Jackie Adair, of Windsor Place, Bowling.

ANDERSON.—Killed through enemy action, John C. Anderson, of 158a Second Avenue, Clydebank, beloved brother of Beatrice A. Flanigan, 16 Millarbank Street, Springburn.

BARCLAY.—In March, 1941 (by enemy action), John Hicks Barclay, A.R.P. Warden, husband of Jane Keillar Ritchie, of 56 Dumbarton Road, Old Kilpatrick.—Inserted by his Wife, 223 Overton Road, Kirkcaldy.

BELL.—Killed by enemy action, Mach 1941, Robert Kerr Bell, his wife, Wilhelmina May, and son, Rannoch Kerr.

CARSON.—In March, 1941 (result of enemy action), Margaret Carson and her daughter, Jean.

CLEMENT.—In March, 1941 (result of enemy action), Janet Young, aged 90 years, wife of the late Alexander Clement, also daughter, Helen, and son, Alexander; dearly beloved by all.

CONNELL.—In March, 1941 (result of enemy action), Janet Cochrane Connell, of 1034 Crow Road, Temple, Glasgow, W.3, eldest daughter of the late Mr. and Mrs. Hugh Connell.

CROMBIE.—In hospital, March 1941 (result of enemy action), Peter, aged 72 years, of 543 Dumbarton Road, Dalmuir.

DALLING.—In March, 1941 (result of enemy action), Christina M'Callum Dalling, youngest daughter of the late Mr. and Mrs. John Dalling and sister of Mrs. J. Connell, 100 Earl Place, Scotstoun.

DEANS.—In March, 1941 (by enemy action), Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Deans, jun., and their son, Allan; deeply regretted.

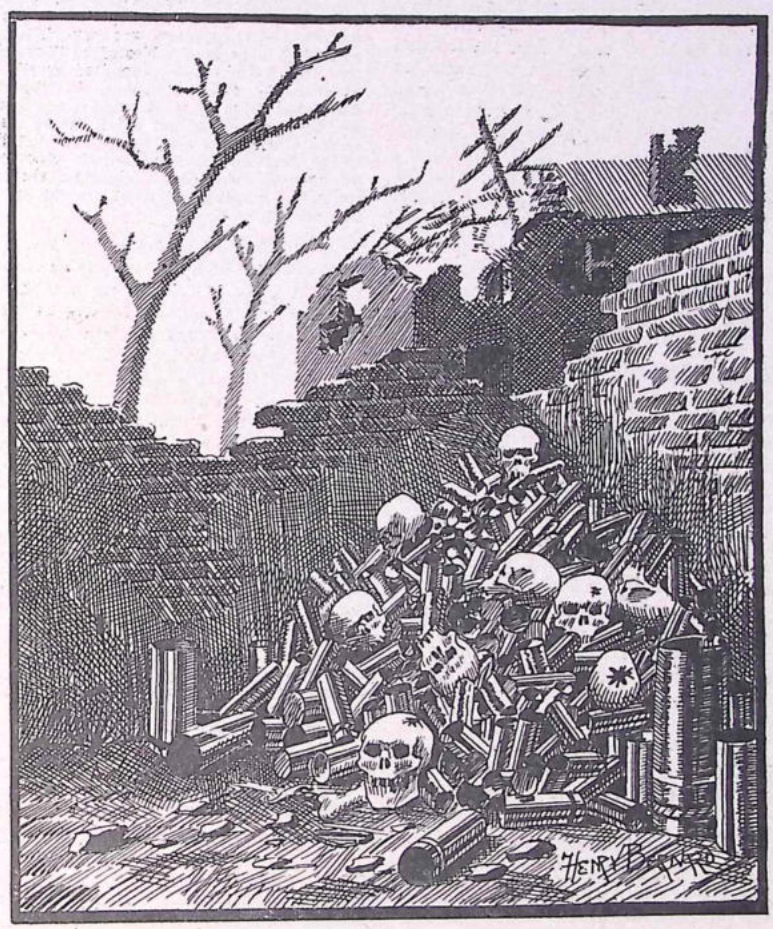
DOONAN—FALLEN.—In March, 1941 (result of enemy action), Mrs. Doonan and Mrs. Fallen (Mary and Kate, sisters).

FALLEN.—Killed by enemy action, March, 1941, Catherine M'Gowan, beloved wife of Owen Fallen; R.I.P.

FORSYTH.—In March, 1941 (result of enemy action), Mary Arnot Forsyth, of 24 Glenburn Street, beloved wife of William Forsyth.

GEDDES.—In March, 1941 (result of enemy action), John Geddes, aged 37 years, son of Mr. and Mrs. John Geddes, and husband of Helen Watson.

GILLILAND.—Killed by enemy action, March, 1941, Charles Gilliland, aged 17 years, eldest son of Mrs. Helen Gilliland and the late William Gilliland, of 30 Livingstone Street, Clydebank.



Reproduced from *The Spur*, June 1918.

EMPTY SHELLS.

McANDREW.—In March (result of enemy action), Appolina Stewart, beloved wife of John McAndrew (late of Springburn and Alexandria).

McCABE.—In March, 1941 (result of enemy action), my beloved cousin, May McCabe.
She sleeps where all is peace.
—Inserted by C. McKay and Family, 29 Ayr Street, Springburn.

McCASKILL.—In March, 1941 (result of enemy action) Sarah McCaskill, of 1249 Govan Road, beloved sister of Donald McCaskill, 6 Aboukir Street, Glasgow, S.W.1.

MACDONALD.—In March, 1941 (result of enemy action), Agnes Gray Smith, beloved wife of Norman Macdonald; also Maureen Agnes Macdonald, aged 4½ years, and Joan Macdonald, aged 1½ years, beloved daughters of Norman Macdonald.
In God's sight is all that matters.

McKECHNIE.—Killed by enemy action, March 1941, Allan McKechnie, dearly beloved husband of Margaret Neil, of 11 Bruce Street, Clydebank, and eldest son of Archibald McKechnie and the late Mrs. McKechnie, of 346 Dumbarton Road, Dalmuir.—Australian papers please copy.

MACLEAN.—Killed by enemy action at his post in March, 1941, John Kiggens (Jack) A.F.S., dearly beloved husband of Peggie Gemmell.

MACLEAN.—Killed by enemy action, John K., A.F.S., dearly beloved son of Hugh and Mary Maclean, 285 Alderman Road, Glasgow, W.3.
"Sure and steadfast" to the end.

McQUEEN.—Killed, in March, 1941 (result of enemy action), Margaret Leitch, wife of the late Adam M'Queen, and her daughter, Mary.

MURRAY.—In March, 1941 (result of enemy action), Mr. and Mrs. James Murray and family.

NICOLSON.—In March, 1941 (result of enemy action) Isabella McCaskill, of 1249 Govan Road, beloved sister of Donald McCaskill, 6 Aboukir, Street, Glasgow, S.W.1.

PILLAR.—Killed by enemy action, March, 1941, Samuel Pillar, plumber, beloved husband of Mary W. Risk, of 14 Beatty Street, Dalmuir.

REAVEY.—In March, 1941 (by enemy action), Charlotte Sharp, beloved wife of D. G. Reavey, of 59 Whitecrook Street, Clydebank.

ROBERTSON.—In March, 1941 (by enemy action), William Aitkenhead, Auxiliary Fire Service, aged 36 years, dearly beloved husband of Una Burt Beatson, 62 Kirkton Avenue, Knightswood, Glasgow, W.3, and second son of Mrs. Margaret Robertson and the late Mr. John Robertson, 173 Parliamentary Rd., Glasgow; deeply regretted.

SHARP.—In March, 1941 (by enemy action), Jeanie Munro Sharp, sister-in-law of D. G. Reavey, of 59 Whitecrook Street, Clydebank.

THOMSON.—In March, 1941 (result of enemy action), William Howie Thomson, his wife (Isabella McAndrew), their family (John, Margaret and Lena), also Mrs. John McAndrew, grandmother, of 144 Earl Street, Scotstoun (late of Springburn).

WOODLOCK.—On 13th March, 1941, death came to Barbara Barclay, aged 34 years (beloved wife of Fred. H. Woodlock), and Audrey, aged 2½ years. Peace.

Note the ages of the victims. A child of 1½ years; a woman, 90 years of age! Fancy building the plane that sent death from the skies to these! Fancy launching the bomb or land-mine!

What criminal irresponsibility! Fancy returning home and expecting to receive the welcome smile from children or to be embraced tenderly by women, after committing such outrages!

And this is war! Against it, in no country, must he or she who thinks and feels, utter one word of protest under threat of being charged with cowardice or anti-patriotism!

We utter no protest. We are living and must be silent. We reprint but cold records. We pay sorrowing tribute to the recently dead of whom these records tell. We bid their cold lips frame, in the silence of the grave, the censure on contemporary civilisation that we would speak from the warmth of living indignation. For they are dead and speechless and may be heard. They rest beyond fear. We are able to speak and to us none will listen. For we, being alive, are yet dead, and dwell in fear. The silence that possesses the living is with us. It will make the world a mortuary unless the voice of the dead be heard in all lands, above the drone of planes, the explosion of bombs, and the thunder of guns. Let the dead speak that the living may be no longer speechless. Let their graves deliver us from the continued crime of sudden and violent death. They have sacrificed and have been sacrificed. Their sacrifice must not be made a vanity.

Baptists Defend Conscientious Objectors.

In the January issue of *The Word*, we published an article, headed "Baptists and Conscience," in which we criticised the Rev. M. E. Aubrey, General Secretary of the Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland. Mr. Aubrey feels that the comments contained in that article were unjust. He would not have sought to correct the injustice, had he not thought that the injustice rose from respect for the conscientious objector and the right of heresy, and was therefore unintentional. He has placed before us facts that prove that the Baptist Union is not indifferent to the right of conscience.

The *Baptist Times* for May 11, 1939, reported in part the speech made by Mr. Aubrey at the Baptist Assembly at Birmingham the previous week. Speaking to that part of the Report which dealt with Baptists' responsibility to youth, Mr. Aubrey said:—

"The Conscription Bill places on all the Churches a heavy obligation. Many of our young men, Sunday-school teachers, leaders of our young people, and others, will shortly be drafted into the Army, where they will have to face new and strange conditions which will test their manhood and their faith. Those among us who regard a measure of conscription as inevitable or necessary deplore the necessity. Those who do not, deplore it even more. We shall probably all deplore it. I have felt it incumbent upon me already to inform the Government that, unless it carries out in the spirit as well as in the letter its pledge to conscientious objectors, it may expect trouble from the Free Churches."

Commenting on this utterance, in his notes "From The Secretary's Chair," Mr. Aubrey said:—

"That declaration was warmly endorsed by the Assembly which, in effect, supported it by passing unanimously a little later a resolution on Religious Freedom which called upon the Churches to stand by men who were honestly convinced that in loyalty to Christ they could take no part in war. . . . Our own attitude on the question of conscientious objectors is, I am assured, that which will be taken by all the Free Churches."

The following is the resolution that was passed by the Assembly:—

"That it is the duty of all Christian Churches to stand by any who, in their honest interpretation of the will of their Lord, declare themselves unable to join the military forces and to urge the State to provide for these such forms of service to the community as shall not violate personal convictions. They regard such concern for personal freedom as conducive to the true welfare of the nation which has in fact no more precious asset than the fearless witness of its citizens to what they believe to be right and true."

We are glad to give space to this resolution. We think Mr. Aubrey will agree that the terms of the first portion of the resolution ought not to have confined its application to Christian objectors. There are Atheist and Ethical objectors, Socialist, humanitarian and Buddhist. Why not have included all by implicit declaration?

In practice, the Baptist Union did not limit its concern to Christian objectors, as is evident by its concern at the treatment of the Liverpool C.O.'s.

When allegations about the conduct of the A.M.P.C. Camp at Dingle Vale, Liverpool, were brought to its notice, the Baptist Council, in November, 1940, passed the following resolution:—

"The Council of the Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland (while appreciating the provision made to meet the convictions of conscientious objectors and also the consideration shown to them by the Chairmen and members of many of the Tribunals), having heard allegations made that in some instances objectors who have failed to secure exemption have been subjected to ill-tratment, welcome the official inquiry promised by His Majesty's Government, after discussion in the House of Commons; urge that it should be concluded as speedily as possible and a full report made public so that the nation may be assured that the law is being observed and the declared intention of the Government that sincere objectors should not be victimised is being carried out in the spirit and in the letter."

This resolution was drafted by Mr. Aubrey. It makes plain his attitude towards all conscientious objectors. He is concerned not about being misunderstood personally, so long as the denomination, which it is his privilege to serve, should not be misrepresented and any impression get abroad that Baptists have not been as eager to stand for the rights of conscience during this war, as they have throughout their past history. They claim to have a fairly clear record in this respect, and are tenacious of their tradition and jealous of their good name.

Mr. Aubrey, replying to our criticism, says:—

"I know there are some tribunals in which conscientious objectors do not get proper treatment, and I may say that I have protested in the proper quarter concerning this. I can well understand your feeling strongly concerning the "volte-face" of some politicians.

"In the article to which you took exception there was not the slightest desire on my part to contrast favourably the objector to combatant service with the absolutist, and I am sorry if it should have made that impression upon you."

NON-COMBATANT C.O.'S
CECIL WILSON'S COMPLAINT

Cecil Wilson, M.P., told the Northern Appellate Tribunal for conscientious objectors, sitting in Manchester on February 24, that there was a case in the hands of the War Office of a man in the non-combatant corps being sentenced to three days' solitary confinement with four days' remission of sentence for refusing to name the parts of a rifle.

Mr. Wilson was giving evidence for Harold W. Barratt, of Handsworth, Sheffield, whom the Leeds tribunal had registered as for non-combatant service in the Army.

The Chairman (Sir Edward Stubbs): If a man in the non-combatant corps is called on to do combatant duties it is a breach of the Act of Parliament.

Mr. Wilson: You are not suggesting that if the necessity arose the War Office and the Army are not going to over-ride an Act of Parliament.

Sir Edward: You mean that in a state of emergency a man may be called on to take up a rifle?—In the case I am referring to, without any emergency, they are going behind an Act of Parliament.

Sir Edward: That, as you say, is sub judice.

The appeal was allowed and Barratt conditionally registered as a conscientious objector.

As Aaron's serpent swallowed snakes and rods,
As God alone is greater than the gods,
As all stars shrivel in the single sun,
The words are many, but *THE WORD* is one.
—G. K. CHESTERTON in *The Loyal Traitor.*

War, Suez, and Gibralter
BY THOMAS JOHNSTON, M.P.

[The following important article is reprinted from *Forward*, April 8, 1939. It was published by the present Secretary of State for Scotland under the title, "*No Conscription, Why?*"—Ed.]

I do not oppose conscription upon the grounds taken by some of my pacifist friends. I am not a non-resister to Evil. I do not believe that incantations or invocations or prayers for mercy to the Cavemen and Concentration Camp bullies serve any purpose. . . .

What I should like to do is to set down half-a-dozen reasons which appear to me as a Socialist and as a citizen to be good and sufficient justification for Socialist and citizen opposition to Conscription:—

(1) Conscription does not mean equality of sacrifice as some people pretend it does mean. There can in fact be no equality of sacrifice between the millionaire and the pauper. There can be no equality of sacrifice between the man who has no dependant children, and the man who has several dependant children, between the man with a widowed mother to maintain and the man who has no aged relatives to support. Even away back in the times of Henry V, five centuries ago, there was a clear appreciation of the fact that equality of sacrifice was impossible. . . .

(2) Conscription places business and commerce under the control of the military mind, with disastrous results to the nation. Officers commanding and military service tribunals are frequently incapable of wise decision in selecting the men whom they believe should be compulsory withdrawn from industry and commerce. One heard during the last war of key men in business who were conscripted, and when they had gone the industry or business they had left all but collapsed. Army conscription in the Great War crabbed the output of military material as well as production and distribution of civilian necessities; and I read—I think it was in the "Times"—of a key man chemist in an important industry who was discovered in khaki as a C3 soldier going about Battersea Park picking up waste paper!

(3) Conscription has been used certainly in France as a means of breaking political or economic movements of the working classes. Men called to the colours are then under military law and prohibited from taking futher part in their civilian activities.

(4) Men like Captain Liddell Hart, the military correspondent of the *Times* and Sir Auckland Geddes, who during the last war was Director-General of Recruiting are opposed to conscription on both economic and military grounds. . . .

(5) The people who are urging conscription of life, are not urging conscription of capital wealth. Indeed they are opposed to conscription of capital.

(6) The last war, you will remember, was to be the war to end war. When it was over the ruling classes in the victorious countries seized everything stealable. They set up no Tribunal of Equity for the future, and I hear of no proposals even now for the *internationalisation* of the Suez Canal and Gibraltar.

Might it not be that a proposal for such an international control of the ingress and egress to the Mediterranean would take Italy out of the "Axis" and so be worth twenty military divisions to us. . . .

Even if we have a war: even if we "won" the war, we should still require to internationalise the highways of the world if we want peace.

So why not propose it now.

I submit that as a security for our lives and our civilisation, such a proposition is worth twenty conscriptions!

The only remedy for the errors that pervert the minds of mankind from one end of the world to the other is mutual tolerance.—VOLTAIRE.

FATHER BADLY TREATED
MANCHESTER ASSESSOR'S PROTEST

The action of the aliens authorities in July on a complicated nationality problem led a Manchester man living in Moss Side, who believed his father to have been badly treated, to register as a conscientious objector. The chairman of the local tribunal, Judge Burgis, on March 7, while holding that the appellant, on his statements, did not come within the provisions for conscientious objectors, commented that the father had been badly treated. The case must be a matter of great regret to every right-thinking citizen.

The appellant was Nicholas Solar, an assistant assessor under the Board of Trade, living at Raby Street, Moss Side. He is 20 and the British-born son of a man of Ukrainian extraction, who came to this country from Galicia 28 years ago, when the country was part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. In the settlement after the last war the territory was restored to Poland, and it was one of the parts of Poland which were occupied by Soviet Russia early in the present war.

Solar, in his written statement, said that his father was interned in July, 1940, in spite of assurances by the aliens authorities that he would not be. He could not fight for a country that had so ill-treated his father. He alleged that his father had an eleven-hour wait at a Manchester police station without food and that the food in the camp was bad and inadequate—on his first day only two pieces of bread and margarine and some tea. He also complained of lack of opportunities for his father to communicate with his family.

His father's interests and associations, he added, were entirely British and he had no connections whatever in Germany or Austria. He could not speak the German or Austrian language. The Home Office had informed him that until he registered as a Polish national he would not be released.

Judge Burgis, the chairman of the tribunal: Your father was interned because he was a citizen of the German Empire?

Solar: Yes, but he was only made an Austrian in 1939. Officially he was down as a Ruthenian. The aliens office decided that he had better be treated as an Austrian.

Ernest Kurkjian Sentenced
JUDGE EXPRESSES REGRET

In the February *Word* we reported in some detail the case of Ernest J. Kurkjian, divinity student, of Temple University, Philadelphia.

On January 6, Kurkjian appeared in the Federal District Court, Philadelphia, and read a six-paged treatise, explaining why and how his conscience would not permit him to register for the draft.

Kurkjian declared that to register for the draft *"will not promote God's will."* He added that *"every man who believes in God must oppose conscription."*

Kurkjian pleaded guilty to refusing to register. He justified his guilt as obedience to the higher law of God, and said:—

"In registering I would have only dropped incense on the fire now burning on the altar of hate. . . . If I do not obey the law and accept the penalty for its breach, this action involves sacrifice itself."

Judge George A. Welsh said that millions in the United States of America, and in Europe, had *"high ideas of Christianity"* and were *"just as strongly against the hate"* Kurkjian mentioned. But they had to face the realities of the war thrust upon them by Totalitarianism and Fascist aggression. The English-speaking peoples were opposed to war and did not want war. They hated the idea of conscription, but they must defend democracy against dictatorship. He did not wish to sentence Kurkjian, who was "thoroughly sincere." But Kurkjian ought to have registered as a conscientious objector and so have met the law's desire to recognise his genuine conscientious objection to war and militarism. American law did not wish to persecute conscientious objectors and it did recognise that valuable services were rendered to progress by conscientious objectors. As it was, the law, and Kurkjian's own attitude, compelled him to pass the sentence prescribed by statute. Kurkjian must serve a year and a day in the Federal Penitentiary at Lewisburg. If only Kurkjian conscientiously had felt able to record, officially, his conscientious objection in the manner required by the Act, he would not have been called upon to suffer such imprisonment.

"Dogmas Discarded" or Adopted?
A UNITARIAN CRITICISM
BY THE
REV. FRANCIS WOODRUFF
(Minister, High St. Unitarian Church, Warwick)

Warwick, 28/2/41.

Dear Sir,—What a remarkable young man you must have been. No intellectual problem frightened you. Not only did you solve the riddles of the Universe, but set up as public instructor at a tender age. Though calling your autobiography "Dogmas Discarded," you show none of the broad, liberal, non-dogmatic spirit. "Dogmas adopted" would have been an equally apt title, but to your credit is a readiness to go anywhere that the search for truth appears to be taking you. This readiness to change your convictions is indeed helped by your lack of reverence for your teachers, however venerable.

You show your independence of mind by picking quarrels all too easily. Sometimes, as with your Anarchist friends, there is no real difference of conviction, only a personal dislike of some of their methods and personalities. And when one thinks that Mr. Voysey was a venerable septuagenarian when you became his disciple, one might have thought that reverence for such a master might have made you pause longer to think before deserting him.

Personally, I have had much occasion to discard dogmas; I was a Roman Catholic Priest and now I am a Unitarian Minister. I did not leave the Roman Church lightly, but had over a year of mental and spiritual searching. As a Unitarian I have had many occasions to disagree with the dominant spirit among Unitarians, but I am held to their free fellowship and am not out to pick a quarrel.

This lack of reverence for elders and teachers in your make-up gives the clue to your failure to appreciate Martineau, for that eminent Unitarian puts "reverence" at the top of human activities in ethical value. By it he means that homage we pay to all forms of greatness wherever perceived. The good, the true, and the beautiful, all deserve "reverence," and what we recognise as worthy of supreme reverence is God for us. Hence you have no use for the "Worship of God," which means giving reverence to what is highest and best in existence.

Belief in a "Personal" God is simply the recognition that in personality we touch something greater than "impersonality" can ever achieve, but no term is applicable to the absolute in any but a limited or relative sense. Absolute reality is personal, seems nearer the truth, than Absolute reality is impersonal. Similarly with many other terms.

Your attempt to link work for humanity irredeemably with a materialistic dogmatic atheism is on a par with the Catholic attempt to make belief in Catholic dogma a *sine-qua-non* to good works. Any who try to co-operate with you must either share your dogmatic position or suffer constant jibes and attacks on their cherished convictions. That is why, despite your abilities you are not the leader of a great movement. If you were only liberal-minded enough to respect other philosophies, and to keep your socialistic writing more on the point, things would be different. You may see aspects of truth that others don't, and conversely others may see aspects hidden from you. You may think an Anti-God Movement an essential part of Social Reform, as the Pope thinks no social reform can come until the Theology of the Church holds the minds of men. Liberalism wants men to co-operate whatever their philosophy, and to respect each other's convictions.

I have practically confined myself to my stronger reactions to your writings, but of course I find much more to agree with. Your humanitarian sympathies, your conscience about War, your appreciation of Jesus as a Man (though you don't appreciate his insight into the nature of reality), all seem good to me though your main philosophy of materialism is impossible to my mind. In fact the extreme view of the Christian Scientists in which Mind alone is real, and Matter an illusion, is moore thinkable to me. Your Publication of material *re* Mr. Adlard's activities shows that I need not point out that there is room in Unitarianism for such as you. But remember that any free movement is likely to contain an erring majority, so you would have to tolerate it.

Yours truly,

FRANCIS W. WOODRUFF.

[Our view is that Mr. Woodruff's criticism is, unintentionally, unjust. Nevertheless, since we criticise freely, we are open to criticism. Readers' and friends' opinions are welcomed: and we are prepared to publish the most severe criticism without necessarily wishing to reply.—Ed.]

By The DUKE OF BEDFORD.

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Protestantism, Pacifism, and Tolerance

By ALEXANDER RATCLIFFE

I have noted Mr. John Robinson's objection to *The Vanguard* as "disgustingly anti-Semitic and anti-Catholic," and perhaps you will be good enough to permit me to deal with his rash charges which, I take it, are made in ignorance, but, I hope, without malice.

The Vanguard is neither anti-Semitic nor anti-Catholic if to be anti-both is to be against individual Jews and Roman Catholics. *The Vanguard* is essentially a Protestant Christian journal as it represents Protestant Christians. It is no more anti-Catholic than is *The Word*.

The Word, I understand, is against the false claims of the Papacy; so is *The Vanguard*. The latter paper has not once sought to attack Roman Catholics, individually or collectively. But it attacks the Roman Catholic *system*.

Perhaps Mr. Robinson will try to bear in mind that to be anti-Catholic is to be against the "Catholics" in every possible sense. We would be anti-Catholics were we to seek to deprive Roman Catholics of the civil and religious liberty which they enjoy in this Protestant country, and which Protestants do not enjoy in most Roman Catholic countries. Were we anti-Catholic, we would urge the absolute boycott of Roman Catholics everywhere, and in every manner. Instead, we contend for the rights of the Romanist, as we do for the rights of the Protestant. In a word, we are out for equal rights for all, and special privileges to none.

As for being anti-Semitic, this is another absurd charge. To be anti-Semitic is to boycott the Jew; to deny him his civil rights; to ban him from the professions, etc. We do not stand for that sort of thing. But we are not at one with the Jews when they claim to be God's Chosen People. Our main controversy, however, *on* the Jews, is not *with* the Jews. It is with those who are not Jews, but who say with the Jew that the Jews are God's Chosen People. We contend for every civil and religious right for the Jew, as for the Romanist or Protestant.

An example: when I stood for Glasgow Town Council I battled for the Jews having the right as enjoyed by Protestants and Roman Catholics to have their children receive religious instruction in the day schools. As a matter of fact, the last time I stood for Glasgow Town Council I published literature revealing and exposing the anti-Democratic policy of the Labour Parties that stood, and still stands, for religious instruction for the Gentiles in the public schools, but none for the Jews. When a member of the Council, I spoke out, and this in the presence of Jew members, against the manner in which Jews were treated in this connection.

I am inclined to the opinion that Mr. Robinson is, or has been, a Roman Catholic, for I do not think that anyone but a Romanist would so write regarding *The Vanguard*.

I do not expect Mr. Robinson, or even the Editor of *The Word*, to agree with even half the things that appear in *The Vanguard*, neither being Christian. At the same time I expect the person who makes profession of tolerance, himself to be tolerant.

Mr. Robinson's claim that "true pacifism is tolerant of other persons' beliefs" is a true statement; but if Mr. Robinson is not tolerant of my beliefs, then how can he be a disciple of "true pacifism"? I am tolerant of the beliefs of all, but surely that does not mean that I am not to try to show that such beliefs are wrong and even dangerous, if I so believe them to be! Why should Mr. Robinson be at liberty to advance his views so that others may be as he, whilst I am not to be allowed to advance my views in order that others might see eye to eye with me?

I do hope your correspondent may be able to get rid of his prejudice against *The Vanguard*, for only by being tolerant of the views of others, as Mr. Robinson points out, can one be a true pacifist.

Might I be permitted to add that I will gladly send a specimen copy of *The Vanguard* with a copy of my two non-religious pamphlets "Are we fighting for Democracy?" and "Mr. Churchill on Trial" for six penny stamps to any address in Britain.

[Mr. Ratcliffe's reply was sent in the form of a letter, but we thought that it was more suitable for publication as a small article. Mr. Ratcliffe's address is 2 ENDRICK DRIVE, BEARSDEN, DUNBARTONSHIRE, SCOTLAND. Comrades and readers who wish to get in touch with him can write direct.—Ed.]

TOM MANN

In another column, in the essay on *Nemesis*, we mention Tom Mann.

Mann died at Grassington, Yorkshire, on March 13, aged 84. He was cremated at Lawnswood Crematorium, Leeds, on Sunday, March 17.

Mann was born at Foleshill, near Coventry, in April, 1856. When nine he began work on a farm, and at ten went into the pits. His family moved to Birmingham, where he became an engineer and attended evening classes. In 1877 he went to London.

In the London dock strike of 1889 Mann led the men with great success. The dockers' victory gave a great stimulus to trade unionism. Mann was then made president of the Dockers' Union. As a result of his campaign for the municipalisation of the London docks the London Reform Union was started. Mann was a member of the Royal Commission on Labour in 1891-4, and signed the minority report. In 1894 he became secretary of the I.L.P.

During the next 15 yearsMann spent much time in organising abroad. On returning to England he decided to introduce an "avowedly revolutionary" type of Syndicalism. The Transport Workers' Federation was formed and the Industrial Syndicalist Education League. In 1911 he assisted in the seamen's successful strike. The following year he was involved in the "Don't Shoot" leaflets prosecutions.

His conduct in connection with these proceedings, in seeking defence by Counsel, was one of the complaints we made against him at the time. We also attacked him for his Australian activity, and for his association with South Africa. The willingness for labour leaders to be defended by counsel and solicitor, when in trouble—as contrasted against their desire to dominate meetings—has been a ground of criticism taken by us since our entrance into the Socialist Movement. We object to such behaviour on principle. It is absurd for an alleged spokesman of the movement to be so great in the public meeting, or private gathering, so anxious to brush aside any possible rivals for fame or recognition; and then to stand in the dock, a cowed and silent figure, an inarticulate cadaver, whose case is urged, in broken tones, by some legal climber, who rarely enters into the spirit of the defence. Tom Mann does not stand alone in this reprehensible conduct. It is a feature of parliamentary Socialist activity. The conduct was repeated last month by John Barfield Barclay, of the Peace Pledge Union.

In 1919 Mann became general secretary of the Amalgamated Engineering Union, and he was sent to Moscow as delegate to the congress of the Red Trade Union International. This visit led to his becoming a confirmed Communist. He was made honorary chairman of the National Minority (Communist) Movement. In May, 1926, he returned to Russia to get help for the miners on strike.

It was typical of Mann that he retained his allegiance to the Moscow bureaucracy, through all the persecutions engaged in by the ruling clique. He said nothing against the crimes of the *Cheka* or of the *Ogpu*. He saw Anarchists, Anti-parliamentarian Communists, and Social Democrats cruelly persecuted by the so-called Communists in the Soviet Union and uttered no word of protest. When Trotsky fell, and the Trotskyists were persecuted and murdered, he was silent. Since Stalinism was established, he was Stalinist. The Anarchists ought to have known of this opportunist characteristic that defined Mann's career. At one time they praised him and only repudiated him after he had repudiated them.

When he was 76 he was sent to prison for two months because he would not give an undertaking about his future conduct. Comrades will remember that no charges were made against him and that his internment at Brixton Prison was an Emergency Power detention at the instance of the Ramsay MacDonald Government. It was ordered by the magistrate, but without charge made, and so was on the way to the total suspension of *habeas corpus*.

At the time, the newspapers featured George Lansbury's vain trek to Lossiemouth, in an endeavour to persuade Ramsay MacDonald to release Tom Mann.

On another occasion Mann was tried, with Harry Pollitt, on a charge of using seditious language in South Wales. Both were acquitted.

Mann's writings express and exhibit no deep thought. They include "From Single Tax to Syndicalism," "Russia in 1921," "A Socialist's View of Religion," "The International Socialist Movement," and his memoirs.

PEACE SPEECH FINE

John Barfield Barclay, national organiser of the Peace Pledge Union, was fined £10 at Liverpool, on Friday, March 7. Barclay's age was given as 45, and his address as Ellerton Road, London, S.W. He was accused of making statements likely to cause alarm and despondency.

A second charge of having endeavoured, by a false statement, to influence public opinion in a manner likely to be prejudicial to the defence of the realm, was withdrawn.

Barclay was alleged to have said at a P.P.U. meeting in Liverpool:—

"Anyone found reading the newspapers or listening to the wireless should be shot at dawn. . . .

"Wholesale looting is going on in the flats of London. The people are down in the Tubes. Nobody lives in the upper flats. . . . Fascism will rise in this country when the people are so cowed that they don't want to go on with the war. . . .

"How can he (the Archbishop of York) possibly say that it is right for any young man to drop bombs on Germany. . . .

"No. R.A.F. man can be able to say that he is hitting his target and not hitting people.

"Say so. They can't have you up for the truth. They can only have you up for sedition.

"The outcome of this war will mean that this country will become a poor agricultural country because the whole of the money power of this country has passed to Wall Street.

"Willkie came here determined that this should come about.

"If you want to overcome your enemies you have got to love them."

Detective Constable Ferguson, who took shorthand notes at the meeting, agreed that one theme of Barclay's speech was that all had got to be strong enough to bear what was coming to them. The audience was drawn mostly from religious people, and the speech made reference to love being the predominant motive in life.

The chairman said they had been greatly cheered by the speech.

Barclay was defended by Mr. Platt Mills. The latter cross-examined the witness:

Did you see anyone who had been caused to be despondent?—No.

Don't you think that if people know all that is going on they will stand up to it better?—Perhaps so.

The reports we have seen do not make it clear how far Barclay denied having uttered the *statements* accredited to him.

This case co-relates itself to the complaint made in the article entitled *Nemesis*, which we have written in the first person singular. Also the complaint made in the short comment on Tom Mann.

QUO VADIS?

BY THE DUKE OF BEDFORD

There is an old legend that when St. Peter was in Rome at the close of his missionary career and the threats of implacable enemies grew ever more menacing, his nerve failed him as it had failed him on two previous occasions, and he started to make his escape from the hostile city. But as he was fleeing for his life our Lord met him and asked him "Quo Vadis?"—"Where are you going to?" and, at the reproach of those words, St. Peter turned and went back to Rome where he faced a martyr's death bravely, by crucifixion.

Although the writer is on principle opposed to war which he believes to be foolish, wrong, and quite unnecessary, this article is not written for those who, with a clear conscience and believing war to be a crusade for liberty, or at least an unavoidable evil, act in obedience to such political leaders of this country as are upright and efficient; either in the fighting Services; as members of the Secret Service trying to find out the plans and dispositions of the enemy, or as employees of the Censorship, preventing thoughtless or disloyal persons from transmitting information of value to the enemy; or as members of the police engaged in their normal duties or shouldering those extra responsibilities which it is natural and unavoidable for them to undertake in time of war.

This article is however addressed to those who, for the protection of indefensible policies or unworthy individuals, may be required to act with injustice, falsehood or meanness: to judges who may be called upon to repudiate the authority of the law that State officials may usurp it for purposes, or to an extent, not to be defended by any democracy, even a democracy at war: to prison officials who may be directed to deny to political prisoners rights to which they are by law entitled; to police agents called upon to snoop and spy upon the words, actions and correspondence of loyal citizens whose legitimate criticism of those in high places is resented and feared: to other agents sent out to trip, by falsely simulating hostility to the war, war-weary people into making criticisms of the war or of the government, criticisms which are then used as a means of securing their imprisonment; to editors of newspapers and B.B.C. staff called upon to disseminate news which they know to be false, or views which they cannot feel to be in their country's best interests—to all these I would say "Where are you going to?" "What do you think you are doing?" "Where is this going to land you—you and others also—at the finish?"

There are two answers that might be given to my questions.

Some might reply that they hate having to do these things and have no respect for those who order them, but we are at war and faced by a dangerous and powerful enemy and it would not do to weaken the country by division or by giving cause for distrust. When the war is over a day of reckoning can and should come, but for the time being the appearance of a united front must at all costs be maintained, even if the innocent have to suffer and the guilty have to be helped to a coat of whitewash which they do not really merit.

This point of view is one which I can both understand and respect but for all that the arguments are not sound arguments. The graver the crisis the more urgent is the need that at the head of affairs we should have men of ability and integrity *and such men only;* and conversely the greater is the danger if the incompetent or unprincipled are allowed to continue to wield an authority they do not deserve. Let the enemy scoff if he will and the foolishly confiding experience unpleasant surprises; the purge is none the less necessary to safety and to strength.

Others may reply, "Well, we don't exactly like doing this, but if we were to refuse we should lose our jobs." No one who, like myself, has never had to face the sufferings and anxieties of unemployment has a right to condemn too readily those who hesitate to take the risk of losing their jobs and if he decides to offer criticism he should do it in a spirit of real humility. Yet in that spirit I do suggest that there are occasions, of which the present is one, on which a man *should* take that risk and suffer that martyrdom sooner than act as an instrument of tyranny and falsehood and a protector of the foolish and the guilty at the expense of the wise and the innocent. Such conduct can only help to prolong needlessly the slaughter of war if by wise diplomacy and a plain statement of peace aims a just peace can now be concluded: and if a just peace be not yet attainable, it must increase the risk of defeat, preserving an outward appearance of solidarity while the inward canker of tyranny and inefficiency makes final collapse more certain and more devastating.

Prudent men, even in their own interests, also do well to look to the future. If they choose to be the tools of tyranny and inefficiency what will be their fate when their masters fall—as fall they must? Some may hope that their connection will be overlooked or forgotten in the social upheaval following the war. It may be; or it may not. But even if they succeed in hiding their ill deeds from men they will not hide them from God and what they sow that will they most certainly reap.

Many, I have no doubt, do not believe in God, and if this be so there is another way in which the question can be presented. *No man can get away from himself.* Tighter than Sinbad the Sailor's Old Man of the Sea will his past meanness cling round his neck. More inexorable than his own shadow will it follow him. Sinbad got rid of his human burden by making him drunk, but no dope will rid *you* of the company of your unworthy self. Only by refusing to be the accomplice of evil can you throw it off, and the longer you delay the harder the task will prove and the mo re bitter, in after years, will be the burden of memory.

THE DUKE EXPLAINS

[The *Star*, London, published the following letter from the Duke of Bedford in its columns for March 1. The Duke replied to points raised by readers of the *Star*, who wrote after he had published the letter reproduced in the February *Word*. Our London contemporary does not identify itself with the Duke's opinion.—Ed.]

To the Editor of *The Star*.

In reply to Mr. Webber, the Duke of Bedford to whom he refers was not one of my ancestors.

Even if he had been, however, I do not feel that what my ancestors did in the remote past, when most persons who had the power to do so indulged in somewhat predatory behaviour, should in any way affect the decisions which I make with regard to the sensible and right use of my income.

In reply to Mr. Lucas, I would point out that anyone who exercises his power of choice to give money to one object rather than to another, helps or handicaps the object in question according to the amount of the financial help he gives, transfers, or withholds.

The source from which he obtains his money has no bearing whatever on the amount of influence which he exercises, to promote what is, in his opinion, a desirable object, or to weaken that which he considers undeserving.

One cannot, however, enforce views by granting or withholding financial support; one can only assist, or fail to render assistance to, those who entertain them.

I consider that the Fascist and Nazi regimes have both good and bad features. The bad features are, of course, unnecessary interference with the liberty of the individual; undue exaltation of the State at the expense of the individual; the persecution of minorities on political, religious or racial grounds; and a tendency towards militarism.

I do not get as excited as the majority of my fellow countrymen over the evil features in the Nazi and Fascist regimes, not because I do not deplore them as much as anyone, but because I realise that, human nature being what it is, they are in every country the usual result of periods of great hardship and suffering, especially when these are accompanied by fear induced by economic warfare or hostile military alliances.

In regard to Spain, I was never able to get enough reliable information to form any decided judgment on the war.

In reply to Mr. Heysham, if my fellow countrymen decided to deport me to India on account of my pacifist convictions, giving me a letter of recommendation to Mr. Gandhi, I might, when having a glass of goat's milk in the company of the Indian sage, remark that, everything considered, I was perhaps fortunate in having been assisted, like Lord Halifax, to get out while the going was still good!

BEDFORD.

SOCIALISM

What the United Socialist Movement Seeks to Establish

The following statement of aims and purposes will be accepted by all who call themselves Socialists. It is a declaration of what the members of the United Socialist Movement stand for.

Knowing that social, political, and economic equality is necessary to the development of human personality, the Socialist wants to remove class distinctions of all kinds.

There can be no "upper and lower classes," no rich and poor, under Socialism. Socialism implies a classless Society where none have privileges and where ALL have equal status, equal rights and equal opportunities.

The Socialist maintains that Labour is honourable service to the community and must cease from being bought or sold or exploited.

In the common interest the Socialist seeks to establish the social ownership and control of natural resources, substituting for their exploitation for private gain the organisation of their use as a public service to satisfy human needs.

By the social control and the workshop planning and administration, the practical democratic industrial organisation of wealth production and distribution, the Socialist seeks to make an end of present-day suffering from poverty. He would remove insecurity in all its forms from every home. He seeks to increase the actual personal, or "consumptive" property of every human being.

The Socialist aims to enlarge human freedom. He repudiates every form of coercion and dictated rule. Socialism is democracy and has freedom for its aim and liberty its working political method. The Socialist desires to effect a revolutionary change in society by the authority of a consenting and informed public opinion. Socialism objects to hereditary and to self-selected rulers alike.

Socialism is Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity in actual practice as the established order of life in a civilised community.

The United Socialist Movement is opposed to all capitalist war and militarism. It is opposed to those who would turn the class struggle within society, and within every nation, into a national struggle between nations. The United Socialist Movement is at once a revolutionary and an anti-militarist organisation. Its history dates back to 1906, and it represents a direct record of struggle for the ideals of human well-being.

If you accept this programme, join the United Socialist Movement. Found a group in your district. Become a member at large. If you live in Glasgow, attend our meetings and enable us to demonstrate our influence. Write ETHEL MACDONALD, SECRETARY, U.S.M., BAKUNIN HALL, 29 CASTLE STREET, GLASGOW, C.4. All comrades wishing to become members at large should send 1/- annual subscriptions.

BAKUNIN HALL.

Bakunin Hall, the headquarters of the United Socialist Movement, has to be vacated in May. The factor has refused to renew the missive. We are anxious to obtain a suitable, good-size hall in the centre of the city. Any comrade who knows of such a hall should communicate with the Secretary. The objection is to the Anti-Militarist and Pacifist Associations of the organisation, not to ts general Socialist propaganda.

Bakunin Hall is over £50 in debt. We would like to clear that debt before removing to our new headquarters. These will be announced next month.

NEMESIS: THE MARCH OF POWER

FROM 1909 TRIAL TO 18B

When I turned from Theism to Atheism in 1904, I made a study of the "life" of Richard Carlile. I read eagerly his trials and those of his brave shopmen and shopwomen. My study of his struggle was not second-hand but first-hand. From reading his *Republican, Lion, Prompter,* etc., and his *Address to Men of Science,* I passed to a close examination of the literature of the time. I bought, by a process of dispensing with dinner, all manner of pamphlets covering the period from 1780 to 1848. Some of the literature, under the stress of poverty, later I was compelled to sell, not merely to publish other literature, but to obtain food after various releases from prison, and some cold reception. But I had mastered the works and there are certain libraries in which other copies of the originals may be consulted. Some I have by me still.

There is the "Genuine Verbatim Edition" of *The Speech of Lord Brougham* on the Second Reading of the English Reform Bill, with Earl Grey's Reply to the Opposition, and a list of the majority and minority. There is a "Corrected Verbatim Edition" of *The Speech of Earl Grey,* delivered in the House of Lords, October 3, 1831. There is a House of Commons (1830) Speech of C. Poulett Thomson, M.P., on the incidence of taxation. A host of papers and pamphlets on the Corrupt State of the Church of England. And so on. My study of this literature, covering the Republican to the Chartist period, roused an interest in jurisprudence and developed a tendency towards Anti-Parliamentarism, largely because I believed in the constitutional rights of man. I believed in the first principles of human liberty. My approach towards the study of the problem was based on the attitude and views of Richard Carlile, himself a disciple of Thomas Paine: a disciple and something more. I liked the something more about Richard Carlile.

This explains how I came to write the story of Richard Carlile in the columns of Saladin's *Agnostic Journal.* Saladin did not possess the deep regard for the memory of Carlile that I had developed. That regard made the Secularist and Rationalist failure to appreciate Carlile's work and worth, their neglect of him as a political thinker and libertarian, offensive to my mind. This explained my objection to both the National Secular Society and the Rationalist Press Association attitude. For organisations based on the traditions of Freethought, their present practical concept of the importance of civil liberty would be humorous if it were not so tragically farcical. But it is in line with their attitude towards Richard Carlile at the time that I joined the Freethought ranks, even though I believe they were unconscious of the trend of their thought. Chapman Cohen at that time could never conceive of himself becoming a militarist. Did not stupid Jewish Anarchists in Victoria Park mistake him for a Free Socialist? Lord Snell, present leader of the House of Lords, in these days of crisis and critical war-time attacks on civil liberty, will find it hard to recall those days when, as Harry Snell, he sponsored us before the Camberwell Ethical Society. The Harry Snell of those days would not have visioned himself becoming the Lord Snell of to-day. I did not anticipate such strange progress either. But I did sense the trend of his propaganda. It wanted the virility of real Freethought. It lacked the worth of the Carlile tradition. It was the shadow of Secularism and Ethicism; it was parlour liberalism; but it was not Freethought. Cohen's Secularism had a little more body than Snell's Rationalism, but they were both wanting badly.

PARLIAMENTARISM OPPOSED DEMOCRACY.

I carried the Carlile tradition, the belief in the Rights of Man, with me into the Social Democratic Movement. I left the Radical Democratic League because it was not Radical, and because I felt that its liberalism would turn to despotism. Carlile's spirit of thoroughness inspired me to repudiate the parliamentary Socialists in 1906, in terms, as my *Justice* letter showed, that tended to Anti-Parliamentarism. I saw parliamentarism as a departure, not only from Socialism, but from Radicalism and the constitutional struggle for the rights of man. It was the historic negation of the very suffrage agitation and the earlier Republicanism of which it seemed to be a conclusion. Parliamentarism is not the progressive consequence of agitation Richard Carlile engaged in from 1819 to 1832, nor yet is it the triumph of those who agitated for ballot boxes and universal suffrage. It was reaction joining issue on the parliamentary field with the forces of progress in order to establish reaction. It is the negation of individual society for military society, with parliamentarism as the bridge. That bridge has never been in the possession of the progressive forces in society. Dull-witted Socialist parliamentarians have never wished to face that fact. To-day, at the close of the era of pseudo-Socialist parliamentarism, the Richard Carlile tradition is more important than ever.

Socialist Parliamentarism, as we know it, was born of international proletarian disaster. After the Commune of Paris, the Socialists of Europe abandoned international principles and policy, and passed under capitalist national yokes, playing at impossible reformism, and upholding militarism and war. There were Socialist parliamentarians in Europe in 1848 but they flourished only for a while and liquidated themselves in reaction. It has never been difficult for Socialist parliamentarians to become reactionary. The position of the working class movement in the world is an organisational monument to the reactionary nature of the parliamentary Socialist movement. Not merely have the Socialists miscalled sacrificed the workers' lives to capitalism, but they massacred the workers' hopes.

1909 TRIAL AND AFTERMATH.

I saw that this would be so when I stood in the dock at the Central Criminal Court, London, in 1909, charged with Indian sedition. The legal and ordinary press reports of that trial are reproduced in *The Word* for September, 1940. Since 1909 we have witnessed the 1912 arrests of Tom Mann and Crowsley; the monstrous sentences passed at that time on Guy Bowman and the Buck Brothers; the 1915 debate in the House of Commons on the Munitions of War Bill, extending state power over the workers by Royal Proclamation; the 1924 operation by Ramsay MacDonald of the Emergency Powers Act by Royal Proclamation; all leading up to the later militarist and parliamentary reaction throughout Europe, and the War Emergency measures of to-day; a steady evolution of reaction.

Even though reactionaries have suffered under the measures of to-day, a reward for having maintained the milder reaction of yesterday when their liberty was not at stake immediately, I am not indicting them. They lived in a conventional world and did not know better. In my view what has happened since 1909 has been a necessary consequence of the disgraceful cowardice exhibited by the so-called revolutionary and Socialist movement at that time. Its indifference granted the Executive a licence that time has extended. Socialists had no right to be indifferent to the principles of civil liberty, for they are the guardians of human rights, and they ought to be the pioneers of commonweal for all mankind.

In 1909, a man named Horsley, a small jobbing printer, compromised the right of the free press with an apology, and suffered four months in the first division. He typified capitalism in its poorer sense. The man had types and a small press. He knew how to set and he had to live. And so he printed handbills and small papers for a living. The history of the press, the idealistic importance of the machinery of the press, its worth as an agency in the emancipation of his neighbour and his neighbour's and his own children, never disturbed him. What a blasphemy! To have a press and to want a soul! To have a press and to own a mind consumed by fear! Yet how sadly typical! And so Horsley betrayed his birthright as a man in the hope that he might maintain his mess of pottage as a printer. Greatness was thrust upon him in vain.

I saw the menace of Horsley's apology for printing the *Indian Sociologist,* a paper that I had not seen up to that time. So I got into touch with its owner and editor and published the next issue in defiance of the Government and without agreeing with its editor. I repeated Horsley's offence and took twelve months in the first division. But I disturbed the complacent assurance of the Attorney-General and of the London *Times.* Both had made the undemocratic boast that no one would print the paper in face of Horsley's apology and sentence. They were wrong. I was jealous of English radical tradition—I knew nothing about Scotland at that time and was not interested in her distinct National traditions—and I was not prepared to tamely surrender the rights of the people to the whims and power of the Executive. I say whims because the Executive, in a panic, often suppressed papers and people without the least sober reflection. Krishnavarma's *Indian Sociologist* was a gesture and protest rather than an effective piece of propaganda. He did not inspire action, but commented on the action after it had been accomplished. My own action proceeded from suppression, as an answer, and contained no original incitement. It was protective of public right and not assertive of revolutionary struggle. That I had associated with Anarchists, then the subject of libellous attack, did not affect the matter. Here the Government and its henchmen resorted to clamour. I was portrayed with horror as an Atheist and an Anarchist. Yet an Atheist was sitting in the Government that prosecuted me and there were Atheists sitting among its supporters in the House of Lords. To-day, we have an Atheist leader of the House oof Lords. Anarchism but defines intense individual faith in conscience and liberty and Tolstoy, a mystic and Anarchist, rightly or wrongly, has been the subject of tribue by liberal writers throughout the world. The combination of Atheist and Anarchist gives a horrible sound, but the separation is reputable. To create such a false suggestion by the mere use of sound is trickery. But such trickery, and not regard for jurisprudence, is the way of Government.

Justice, "the organ of social democracy," said that my attitude "*was an ebullition of foolish vanity.*" The editor forgot all about the essays I had contributed freely to its columns, my parliamentary correspondence, my unceasing propaganda in Islington which, to my discredit, built up the movement that afterwards returned W. S. Cluse to the House of Commons. *Freedom,* the "journal of Anarchist Communism" (!), stated that my prosecution was a personal matter between the Government and myself! Here is the exact phrase reproduced from the columns of *Freedom* for October, 1909:—

> **"The position taken up by Aldred was a purely personal attitude as to the action of the Government against 'THE INDIAN SOCIOLOGIST.'"**

I do not write with personal bitterness, but with grim reflections at the consequences of this woeful lack of understanding. The Government was given a good inch, and that inch has been stretched down the years into something more than the proverbial yard. I do not believe that

the war-time repressions of 1914-1918, or the Emergency Powers of 1924 and 1926, arose from the conditions of crisis only. I do not believe that the suspension of *habeas corpus* is an incident of the present war-time necessity. I believe that the Executive tendency to repression is developed by the indifference of the democracy to the worth and reality, the urgent necessity of freedom of speech, word, and living. I believe that the War Emergency Powers are due as much to the indifference of the Socialist and Anarchist Movement to my stand in 1909, as to any sense of the need for protection against alleged Fascist or Nazi plotting. I believe that not the least sympathy with Hitler or Mussolini exists in this country outside the House of Commons, where ex-admirers occupy Tory benches, or in the clubs where retired colonels doze away the winter of their discontent.

When I was sentenced in 1909 for believing what my reading of Thomas Paine, and my study of Richard Carlile had taught me, the need for untrammelled freedom of the Press, only one pen in Britain defended me. That pen was anonymous and only expressed itself because some other anonymous pen had joined in the censure. Here is the lone voice of protest, culled from the correspondence columns of *Reynolds' Newspaper*, September 12, 1909 :—

GUY ALDRED.

Sir,—Your correspondent, "Ishmael," says "we all sow our wild oats," but judging from his erroneous remarks on Guy Aldred, one must conclude that "Ishmael" has nothing to sow but chaff. Allow me to correct his false statements. Aldred is not a politician; he is not a tool of an Indian agitator; he is not vain; neither is he in need of a Judge's advice nor an "Ishmael's" sympathy. He is a fluent and logical speaker, a good writer, and an intelligent exponent of philosophic Anarchism; and as for friends, he is a participator in that universal Spirit which is the torchbearer of progress and the most potent factor in Society.

B. P.

I never discovered the identity of "B. P."

WIDENED POWERS OF PROSECUTION.

In 1909 the Government founded its prosecution on a definition of sedition that belonged to 1818, and a Newspaper Act that belonged to 1871. In 1912 it produced an Act that belonged to 1797, and secured a conviction of hard labour where the judiciary ought to have passed a sentence of the first division only. Instead of being met with defiance, it was treated to a defence of compromise and complaisance.

Every political offender should insist upon defending himself instead of seeking the aid of counsel. Guy Bowman, in 1912, employed counsel—with what results? There was no defiant plea of justification, no impeachment of governing-class terrorism, and with two counsels engaged for the defence, the Government secured an apology and a total sentence of one year and nine months' hard labour, as against the twelve months in the first division and no apoloogy in my case.

Then we had Tom Mann, the orator of Labour, charged, and he employed counsel also. What a mistake! In addition, after nearly a week's imprisonment, he promised not to repeat his "incitements" pending his trial, in order to secure his release on bail. There is something unsavoury and offensive about such a promise.

Commenting on Mann's attitude in the *Herald of Revolt*, for April, 1912, I recalled a dialogue that took place between Richard Carlile and Mr. Justice Bailey, at the Guildhall, on Tuesday, June 15th, 1819. It was as follows :—

Mr. Justice Bailey: I recollect the defendant being brought to my chambers for this indictment, and that a promise of forbearance was made to him, provided he would give an undertaking to discontinue the sale, and that the defendant refused to give an undertaking to that effect.

Richard Carlile: I conceived, my lord, that the publication could not be considered an offence, until a Jury had decided to do so.

Mr. Justice Best: You may be wrong there.

Leigh Hunt's vindication of Carlile's attitude in this matter ought to have been studied by the Socialist movement at this time. It would have yielded a better dividend to the lovers of intellectual liberty than too close a perusal of the *Electors' Handbook*. It would have made interesting reading for Tom Mann. To his complaisance, unfortunately, we had to add the cowardice of the printers, who, so far from being ordinary printers, were well-known in Walthamstow as Social Democrats.

If only the Socialist movement had sacrificed its parliamentary ambitions to engage in more persistent "ebullitions of foolish vanity"; if it had possessed a little more understanding of the import of those private matters between Governments and the citizen upholders of the flag of liberty; if it had realised that such defiance epitomised the struggle between the new order *that must come* and the old order *that must go;* there might have been no 1914 world war, no Versailles Treaty, and no aftermath. The world might have turned to Anti-Militarism and to Socialism instead of progressing, through war and parliamentarism, towards war and Fascism, and a growing world chaos of despair. At least there would have been some integrity alive, making for peace and concord, justice and liberty, instead of a careerist movement that has careered the working class faith and organisation into a sneering oblivion.

If only the aroused Socialist movement had seen the force of an insistence on the free Press in 1909, if only it had understood the necessity, if only it had realised that the suppression of the Indian Nationalist Press meant the suppression of the English Proletarian Press, then 1912 prosecutions might never have taken place. The monstrous convictions of Bowman and the Bucks for issuing Anti-Militarist leaflets placed a premium upon the militarist ideal of thoughtless murder and senseless obedience. If patriotism has any meaning, it should show itself in a devotion of soul that is not opposed to reason, that is enriched by thought, and does not insist on passive obedience at so much a day. Even soldiers have a right to think if democracy is right. The class laws that murdered Ireland's patriotic genius, Robert Emmet, are laws that consecrate no real principle of patriotism. A soldier that obeys but does not think is a menace to society and the tool of despotism. Capitalism is obliged, by its economic exigencies, to uphold, and to insist on the menace to progress of the soldier who does not think That is how Capitalism develops Fascism.

In the House of Commons, Rufus Isaacs, later to become the Marquess of Reading, assumed "full responsibility" for the prosecutions and exonerated the Cabinet from all blame. But why? If the prosecutions were just and constitutional, if they were essential to the well-being of society, why should the Cabinet have needed to be exonerated? Surely "responsibility Rufus" must have felt that there was something wrong. He was afflicted with a sense of uneasiness. We wonder why?

FORREST FULTON.

The conduct of Sir Forrest Fulton, the Recorder, in the Bowman-Buck case reminded me of the reference that I made in the *Indian Sociologist* for August, 1909, to the clamorous reactionaries and time-servers whose anti-social instincts are the levers that set in motion the ponderous anti-constitutional machinery of political persecution :—

"But we have also laid stress upon the misrepresentations, prejudices, passions, and ignorance of those whose boast is law and order, whose rule is chaos, and whose temperamental lack of anything like a sense of judicial calm is the basis of their qualification to discriminate between the niceties of seditious libel and the privileges of individual liberty as understood in law."

This statement was subsequently justified by the attitude adopted by Sir Forrest Fulton, the Recorder, who, in charging the Grand Jury to return a true bill against me for sedition, stated that I published "pestilential literature." The Recorder had no right to urge such a charge. His duty, like that of the magistrate, is either to direct the throwing out of the case against a defendant, or else to urge that there is a case to go to the properly constituted judge and jury. Yet it is left to men of his temperament to sit in judgment upon persons charged with seditious libel. At that time, I have no doubt, many of the men now interned, if they read reports of the trial, accepted the diction of the Recorder without question. To-day they are condemned, without trial, but on the same dangerous grounds, which should convince them that the language of power is clamour and not jurisprudence. Had they been wiser in 1909, they might not have been victimised thirty years later. But they accepted the dictates of power and considered such dictates law.

In the 1912 Bowman-Buck case Forrest Fulton distinguished himself by delivering a violent and ignorant attack upon Syndicalism in his charge to the Grand Jury, although the defendants were not charged with Syndicalism, but only with a specific offence, viz., incitement to mutiny, which is a question of fact and not of theory.

(To be concluded in next issue).

THE MIRACLE

Unity, the conscientious objectors' organ, Chicago, Ill., for December 16, 1940, published an editorial, headed "*The Miracle of England.*" We make the following excerpt :—

"It *is* a miracle. And not merely in the field of national defence on the field of battle! We are thinking at this moment rather of the miracle of a democracy still functioning freely under the pressure of a war to the death. Take the matter of non-registrants under the military conscription law! One would think that it would be England that would be excited and severe in the treatment of men who not only refuse to fight, but refuse even to recognise and obey a law to raise an army, whereas America, not at war, and in no danger, would be comparatively mild and indifferent. But it is just the other way around! Our non-registrants under the draft law we are branding as felons, with forfeiture of all citizenship rights, under prison sentences of a year and a day or a year and six months. . . .

Then there is the matter of printing! Our heart still skips a beat as we read the papers which come to us from England—an opposition labour paper, an anarchist journal, several pacifist magazines. These papers vary in content and tone. . . . But they all oppose the war and plead for peace—and the government does not interfere! In these papers we read announcements of anti-war meetings and pacifist conferences, which are held apparently as freely as in pre-war days. . . .

"We count all this a miracle—and to the everlasting glory of England. Would we Americans do the same? Not if our last war experience is any criterion. And England herself, it must regretfully be noted, does not always do the same outside the British Isles. In India, for example, where the people live under an iron rule of repression and cruelty! If democracy works so bravely at home, why not there also?"

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BOOKS RECEIVED

From **Peace Pledge Union.** Dick Sheppard House. Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1:

Who Starves? A Discussion on Blockade. 3d.
An outline For Pacifist Study. 6d.

From **Scottish Protestant League, 2 Endrick Drive, Bearsden, near Glasgow:**

Roman Catholics and Crime. 2d.
The Truth About Section 18.
Rome, Marriage, and Divorce. 2d.
Liguori: Exposing Rome's Most Immoral Theologian. 3d.
Was the Church of Rome the First Church? 1d.
The Priest's Immoral Questions to Women. 2d.
The Abominable Confessional. 2d.

All by Alexander Ratcliffe.

Debates:

With Rev. A. K. Campbell, Fortrose. 3d.
With John Duffy, Glasgow. 4d.
My Week in Gaol, by Mrs Ratcliffe. 2d.

THE GREAT RED MYTH

SOME COMMUNIST DELUSIONS ABOUT THE U.S.S.R.

BY H. W. HENDERSON

The average Communist prides himself on being a scientific man. Not for him the myths and superstitions of the faithful.

Yet a greater mythology has been built around the Communist Mecca—Soviet Russia—than that associated with any of the world's religious faiths.

The Soviet Union—every Communist informs us—has solved the unemployment problem and is the only country to have done so. Now what is the actual truth about this economic miracle? In November 1930 the Soviet Government closed all Labour Exchanges, and ordered the unemployed to be put to productive labour wherever their services could be utilised, no time being wasted on bargaining over rates of pay. They then proclaimed to the world that the unemployment problem had been "solved" and Communists have gone on repeating it ever since.

Britain could solve her unemployment problem in a similar manner at any time. Compel the unemployed to work for a wage no larger than their unemployment benefit and the trick is done. But one can imagine the howl the Communists would let out about "capitalist tyranny" if that occurred in Britain!

Another Communist myth was beautifully summarised in the Soviet press recently on the 17th anniversary of Lenin's death. Warnings were uttered in the customary manner about the dangers of the "land of Socialism surrounded by capitalist enemies."

Will it be believed that in the "Socialist" Soviet Union (as distinct from the "capitalist plutocracies") it is possible for one worker to earn as much as thirty times the wages of another—in some cases a hundred times?

"The real earnings of the Stakanovists often exceed by twenty or thirty times the earnings of the lower category of workers. And as for specially fortunate specialists their salaries would in many cases pay for the work of eighty or a hundred unskilled labourers. In scope of inequality in the payment of labour the Soviet Union has not only caught up to, but far surpasses, the capitalist countries."

—Leon Trotsky in "The Revolution Betrayed."

Nor is this all. The fortunate specialist, after earning a hundred times the wages of his fellow-worker, can invest his savings in Government bonds at seven per cent. or lend them to the savings bank at eight per cent.—free of both inheritance and income tax. (Investors in "capitalist" countries would be glad to obtain half of that return on a similar investment).

The average Communist imagines that the Revolution freed the workers from the tyranny of the ruling class and is never tired of comparing the "equality" of the Soviet system with the extremes of wealth and poverty prevailing under "capitalism." A picture more at variance with the truth could not well be imagined. Two hundred thousand individuals—party leaders and the higher functionaries—dominate the Russian people. Below these, and associated with them, is another and a larger group which Trotsky estimates at ten million (out of a population of about one hundred and eighty million persons). And into the lap of these favoured categories flows a tribute surpassing the profit of any "capitalist" class in any "capitalist" country.

Listen to Alexander Barmine, former member of the Soviet Commissariat for Foreign Trade:—

"He (Stalin) has four palatial residences in the South of Russia along the shores of the Black Sea, and several comfortable summer palaces in the suburbs of Moscow. All these homes are equipped with everything from billiard rooms to motion-picture halls. . . . Stalin's estates employ hundreds of servants and guards the year round, and are always ready for his visits. The expenditures for all this are never charged to Stalin himself, but are covered by the state budget as disbursements for road improvement, public welfare, etc."

—"Readers' Digest," May, 1940.

It is the testimony of disillusioned Communists who have visited the Soviet Union and sampled its living conditions that the favoured Party members live in luxury—with motor-cars, servants and magnificent villas of their own—while the mass of the inhabitants live in squalid poverty. Here are a number of the facts gathered by outsiders who have visited the Soviet Union during the past few years for the purpose of investigating conditions for themselves:—

Russian Wages—Sir Walter Citrine's estimate ("I search for Truth in Russia"), 12/6 per week.

E. L. Hubbard's estimate ("Soviet Money and Finance") 9/- per week. "The average Russian can buy with his week's wages about as much food as the Londoner can buy with nine shillings."

W. H. Chamberlin's estimate ("A False Utopia"). "The standard of the majority of the Russian workers is that of the unemployed, rather than of the employed in Great Britain and the United States."

Andrew Smith ("I was a Soviet Worker"). "Standard of Russian workers equivalent of standard of unemployed in large capitalist countries."

Eugene Lyons ("Assignment in Utopia"). "Poverty everywhere."

The names of all these men are internationally known. The majority of them lived for years in Russia and write from personal experience. Two of them went to Russia as enthusiastic Communists.

How does this exceptionally low standard of living compare with Tsarist times?

Listen to the testimony of another disillusioned Communist, Victor Serge, a life-long fighter for the Party:—

"Did they live better before the revolution? People of forty are unanimous in affirming it, in all three respects of food, clothing and lodgings. Statistics confirm it. A worker of the textile industry, who in 1912-1914, received 300 kilograms of bread per month, a miner who received 600, today get an average of 150 (the equivalent of 150 roubles."

—"Twenty Years After."

"Under the Tsar," complained Aleksandra, washerwoman to the American Communist, Andrew Smith, "I made 15 kopeks a day, but I could buy more with 15 kopeks than I can buy with the 75 rouble I get in the factory." ("I was a Soviet Worker.")

W. H. Chamberlin (for twelve years representative in Russia of the "Christian Science Monitor") says:—

"Before the war (1914-1918) the monthly wage of the Russian manual worker was nominally twelve and a half or fifteen dollars, but as the cost of living in pre-war Russia was very low, the real wage of the Russian worker was probably equal to eighteen or twenty dollars a month." To-day "The purchasing power of the monthly average wage of the Soviet worker or employee works out at twelve American dollars."

"A False Utopia."

When we consider that, in addition to their reduced standard of living, the people of Russia (the "freest democracy in the world"!) have neither a free press nor freedom of election; are liable to arrest and execution for theft (children from the age of twelve years upwards are included, under the infamous law of April 1935); are sentenced to imprisonment for mistakes made in the course of their employment (Russia is the only country in the world with cells attached to the factories); and may be subjected to ill-considered projects like "collectivisation of the farms" (in the course of which, between 1932 and 1933 upwards of 4,000,000 persons perished of starvation) . . . when we consider all these facts, attested on incontrovertible evidence, often by Communists themselves, is it not astonishing that, even to-day, there are, in this country, innocent and gullible persons continually succumbing to the well-paid propagandists of the Great Red Myth?

Socialism Before the Tribunal

COUNCILLOR WEST'S CASE

Last month we published an account of the Tribunal hearing at Edinburgh in the case of Councillor West, of Ferry Den, Montrose.

Comrade West's statement was published in full in *The Montrose Review*, for February 7 last. It read as follows:—

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen, on Saturday, 9th November, 1940, I registered under the Military Training Act, 1939, as a conscientious objector seeking unconditional exemption.

"I did so on moral and Socialist grounds. My studies taught me that war was wrong. I feel that everyone thinks war is wrong. Unfortunately, the great majority never try to right that wrong. I am convinced that war can only be ended by a change in the system of society.

"Morally, war is wrong. These millions now in uniform, striving to kill each other, were never born on this earth to die at the behest of people who want to hang on to large parts of that earth for a selfish interest.

"With these points in mind I registered as a conscientious objector. On that 9th day of November I had three courses from which to decide:—(1) Refrain from registering. I dismissed this course. I have never run away from anything yet. I have represented the wokers before Courts of Referees, Hardship Committees, etc. In fact, in my position as a responsible Trade Union leader in the County of Angus, I sit on various committees of the Ministry of Labour. (2) I could have registered in the usual way and avoided Military Service meantime. I am in a reserved occupation. (3) I registered as a conscientious objector because I had no intention of hiding under a reserved occupation. I wanted to be honest about it.

"Since 1924 I have taken an active part in various anti-war organisations. In 1924 I joined the I.L.P.; in 1926 I became a member of the Adult School Movement—a subsidiary to the Society of Friends; in 1928 I joined the No More War Movement. Ever since I took to public speaking in 1926 I have made many speeches denouncing war. I need not say more. I think that should suffice to prove that I have opposed war.

"When war broke out I felt that the testing time had arrived. My advocacy against war was propaganda in time of peace. Now I had to live up to what I had preached. I couldn't turn hypocrite.

"I firmly believe that the basic cause of war is greed which is inherent in the economic order we call capitalism. Wars are fought for economic gain and not for any of the slogans used by the warring imperialisms.

"I believe that the world will not be finally rid of war and of all the misery and torment that war entails until Capitalism is replaced by a new economic order. Capitalism, having solved the problem of production, fails to solve the problem of distribution. The rival capitalist imperialists in the world seek to monopolise land, gold, and raw materials. In their rush for the necessities of the world these rival imperialisms clash and war is the result.

"But for this greed of land, gold, and raw materials, the world could enjoy the abundance which the earth produces. To eliminate this greed we must consent to share instead of monopolising, to co-operate rather than compete, to assist others instead of exploiting. War merely prevents us from adopting these new methods and assists the vicious old system of greed to continue.

"I can only credit Capitalism with solving the problem of production. The distribution problem has created this world crisis. The very fact that Capitalism has created this crisis proves its inability to be an economic system.

"The Capitalist Class calls on the workers of this country to fight for freedom and democracy. I look over the past 20 years to examine the freedom and democracy my class have enjoyed. I can see the sufferings of 1921 when the unemployment figure reached a problem as a result of the Versailles Treaty. The General Strike of 1926 and the resultant Trades Dispute Act. The means-test on the unemployed of 1932. The Sedition Act of 1933. All through these years we find means-tests for the workers and doles and subsidies for the rich. In 1939 our Capitalist Government conscripts flesh and blood. The workers are called upon to defend rent, interest and profit. The workers are called upon to protect their liberty and their means tests, their slums, their malnutrition. If Capitalism is sincere; if Capitalism believes in freedom and democracy, let it do the honest thing and conscript wealth.

"This system of society calls on me to defend it. Since 1924 I have opposed it. I continue to oppose. I have long since dedicated my life in the interests of my fellow-men. Before the machinery of Capitalism I have defended my fellows. I hate suffering. The workers in Germany, in Italy, and the rest of the world are like me—flesh and blood. National barriers have been created by a system which divides us. Over these barriers I rise. At the other side mothers, children, and the infirm exist. I bear no

hatred to them. Was it not Buddha who said: "Never in this world does hatred cease by hatred—hatred ceases by love." I want them to enjoy peace. Peace can only be the lot of the common people on this earth when we end the system of society which provides poverty and war.

"You, gentlemen, have been appointed to discuss and decide on my sincerity. Irrespective of your decision a higher Tribunal has already made its decision."

The *Montrose Review* summarised the questioning thus:—

"Asked how far he believed in the Russian regime, Mr. West said that he agreed with a certain amount of the internal policy because it had been developed on the co-operative system, but unfortunately he could not agree with their foreign policy as far as Finland and their attitude to Fascism was concerned.

"Asked if he wanted this country invaded, Mr. West replied in the negative. He wanted peace, and to achieve that they should approach the German people by broadcasting to the world that they had something better to put in the place of Fascism. He referred to the recent peace debate in the House of Commons and said he agreed with the views of the I.L.P. members.

"In answer to further questions the applicant said he was not religious and was not a member of a Church. He believed, however, in Christian ethics."

Comrade West complains of this report:—

"You will notice that the questions are sparely reported.

"Perhaps the most important question was 'Do you wish to see this country invaded?' No—I believe a negotiated peace on the lines expressed by the I.L.P. members in Parliament is better than the possibility of invasion.

"I am appealing against the decision. I had the vote of one member. So the decision was not unanimous.

"Perhaps I should state that Tom Barron, the T.U. representative on the Appellate Tribunal, was Labour Candidate in Montrose Burghs in October, 1924. Tom did much to convince me to Socialism as it was in that year I was converted."

"Armageddon Incorporated"

Under this title, the Strickland Press is circulating a pamphlet giving the true story of the Jehovah Witnesses. The pamphlet is priced 3d., postage being 1d. extra. Comrades are invited to secure a copy of this record of fact.

The *Empire News* for October 27, 1940, published a statement by Judge Rutherford which adds to our knowledge of this strange Fundamentalist sect.

Judge Rutherford defended Pastor Russell in a lawsuit at Pittsburg in 1907. After Russell's death in 1916, two members of the Watchtower Bible and Tract Society, Messrs. Fisher and Woodworth published a book, called *The Finished Mystery*. It consisted largely of a collection of essays written by Pastor Russell during his life. This book was used against Judge Rutherford when he was prosecuted during the Great War.

An indictment was procured and a trial held, in which a judge sentenced each of the defendants, including Rutherford, to 80 years in prison and refused to grant bond on appeal.

Immediately application was made to the United States Court of Appeals for bail bond and was heard before Judge T. Manton, who refused to grant bail. Manton, who was sitting on the United States Bench at that time, is now serving a term in the penitentiary upon conviction for defrauding the United States Government and selling justice.

Application was then made to the Supreme Court of the United States on a writ of habeas corpus, which court ordered the Court of Appeal to grant bail pending appeal. Appeal was taken to the higher court, 125 errors appearing in the record.

The Appellate Court reversed the judgment, and the Government voluntarily dismissed the case.

Arthur Leonard Green, 35, of Sirdar Road, Wood Green, told the London Conscientious Objectors' Tribunal at Fulham on March 6, that he was one of Jehovah's Witnesses and spent his day preaching, which was "far more important than A.R.P. work."

Judge Hargreaves, chairman, said: "There is no reason why you should not do something useful in life even if you are preaching the Gospel. One would imagine from what you say that you lead as useless a life as there could be."

Exemption was refused.

The following day, before the Appellate Tribunal for the North of England division, at Lancaster, Frank Swindells (33), a traveller in druggists' sundries, of Dale Avenue, Kendal, appealed unsuccessfully against being removed from the conscientious objectors' register. He based his objection to military service on the Bible. As a Jehovah's Witness he felt it impossible to take part in a non-combatant corps..

Answering Sir Miles Mitchell, the witness said he was not a pacifist.

Sir Miles: Under what conditions would you fight?

Appellant: If my house was attacked I would look upon it as right to defend it.

Would it be competent for you to defend your next-door neighbour's home if it was attacked?—No.

Then the part of the Bible you do not agree with is "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." If a plane was flying over your house carrying bombs, would you fire a gun at it to stop it dropping them on your house?—Yes, in self-defence.

Then your belief prevents you from doing anything to save defenceless people unable to carry a gun?—I could not do it.

The only thing your faith would permit you to do would be to save yourself and let others die?—That is the only stand I could take.

Two days before, the same Tribunal had refused the appeal of another Jehovah Witness, William Marsden Collinge, a silk-worker, of Earl Street, Skerton, Lancaster. Collinge appealed against being registered for non-combatant duties by the local Tribunal.

Collinge was asked by Sir Edward Stubbs if it were a matter of indifference to him which side won, and he replied "Yes, absolutely."

The Chairman: Is it also a matter of indifference what would happen if this country was successfully invaded?—I should probably be placed in prison or concentration camp.

Collinge was represented by Mr. Ellis Houghton, of Warwick Avenue, Lancaster, who described himself as the local secretary of the International Bible Students' Association, of which Collinge had been a member since 1938.

Addressing Houghton, the Chairman stated: Your client is apparently prepared to take advantage of the benefits provided by the community, but is not prepared to do anything for it.

Houghton said that Jehovah's witnesses, to which he and Collinge belonged, were absolutely neutral. They did not persuade people to stay out of the war or go into it, but left it to the individual.

The Chairman: Several members of your community have stated that they were prepared to fight to establish a theocratic kingdom?—Houghton: That is correct.

How do you reconcile that with the keeping of the Commandment "Thou shalt not kill"?—The fight does not involve fighting with carnal weapons.

When the Chairman commented that representatives of Jehovah's witnesses had definitely stated that they were prepared to fight for a theocratic kingdom, Mr. Houghton stated that there must have been a misunderstanding, because Jehovah's witnesses never took up the sword.

The Chairman: There was no misunderstanding. Your statements are a flat contradiction of those made by others.

We live in a world which is full of misery and ignorance, and the plain duty of each and all of us is to try to make the little corner he can influence somewhat less miserable and somewhat less ignorant than it was before he entered it.—T. H. Huxley.

THE WORLD'S REBELS

(Written in Bristol Hospital, March 1941).

Salute the world's rebels!
With knuckles bare to the bone,
Who fought embattled wrong.
They fought—and oft alone.

Their protests were not mute.
They shouted loud and cried;
Stern "Baptists" in the wilderness;
Some broke their hearts—some died.

They strove by pen and tongue,
By attic printing press,
To smite the Philistines
Who gorge on man's distress.

Down through the dusty years
We see their pennon fly,
A ribbon of revolt
A-towering to the sky.

In hostile court and lonely cell,
Mid faggots flaming pile,
Like vermin hunted down,
Or sent to far exile.

"Fanatics, fools and crazed,
Madmen, unwise, insane."
Thus spoke the mindless mob
Still fast in slavery's chain.

Hail! to the deathless army,
Who tramp the trembling earth,
Who've seen the Golden City
And travailled for its birth.

The men of the human dawn,
Who breasted the hills of fate,
Endured the bloody sweat,
But kept a gallant gait.

—Henry J. Adlard.

OUR APPEAL

We almost wrote *that* appeal! Although the circulation is rising steadily, and although we are receiving offers of articles and poems from all sides, including a number of men and women distinguished as writers and publicists who hitherto have shown no sympathy with our anti-militarist and anti-parliamentary views, the response to our financial appeal remains ineffective. We rejoice in circulation. Yet each copy is produced at a loss, and circulation does not answer our need for funds. We need to keep up our stock of paper. We have all kinds of pamphlets in hand. We have a postal mission to sustain.

As explained away back in November 1940, on our Hyde Park Free Speech Struggle, we were short, £81 1s. 3d. On the press—the paper and pamphlet production—we were short £1590 10s. We made a total appeal for £1971 11s. 3d. This did not take into account our postal mission work. Since then we have added to losses. But we continue our work if we can overcome the deficit mentioned *rapidly*. The response must be made by every reader. *You must feel that we are addressing you personally and respond accordingly.*

Last month the balance had been reduced to £1914 4s. 4d. We have received £28 9s. 7d. This leaves a balance of £1885 14s. 9d. *If comrades will raise this sum in one month we will maintain the size of the paper, and close the appeal.* When the total required has been raised, we will list the names, as promised, and leave the matter. Our finance, like our propaganda, is straightforward; and we intend that there shall be no secret as to the sources of our income. This is an unsubsidised propaganda of public usefulness, inspired by affection for humanity, and horror at exploitation and war.

EVILS OF CAPITALISM

WHAT IS THE REMEDY?

The Duke of Bedford's essay *Are Socialists Right?* has produced a huge correspondence from our readers. Their criticisms will be published as space permits. The attack made by our comrade, Flora Collar, was from an unexpected angle and so we submitted it to the Duke of Bedford as being a direct personal challenge. It is published together with *his* reply.

A CHALLENGE FROM THE LOWER PAID

Dear Friend,—I gather from the two articles written by the Duke of Bedford in defence of Capitalism and Christianity that his Ideal in life, as mine, is to help to establish on the earth a true Brotherhood of Man —God's Kingdom of Love on the earth.

Now, if I am right, surely the point he dismisses so lightly, namely, "there may be a moral problem," is the most important?

Socialism and Christianity stand for Equality; *Capitalism* for *Inequality*, which surely sows the seeds of War in some individuals, and—in a larger way—between nations? So strongly did I feel this, that I decided that I must *voluntarily* accept the standard of life of the lower paid workers.

My husband not seeing things in this light, my life has often felt so hard and lonely, since I left him five months ago, that I have been very tempted to return to ease and luxury.

I wonder, would the Capitalist system be Christian if all the Capitalists lived in my present standard?

To return to the article. Why is "paid work for all *not* a permanent possibility?" Why haven't the advantages of labour saving machines been passed on to the workers in shorter hours of work, leaving time for "a useful creative occupation," or rather hobby, such as Writing Music, Research, etc., etc? You see, why not endow adequately, from a financial standpoint, the leisure of all, not just a privileged few? Will "improved education provide the right mental and spiritual equipment?" Is this not inherited?

The following is not a very good example, but it is rather interesting from the "improved education" standard.

A well-educated woman (mental worker) marries an uneducated man (physical worker). Two children are born to them—have exactly the same home environment, and education—yet the elder seems well-educated, the younger uneducated even to the "Cockney" accent! Does this not prove that God intends there shall always be two classes of workers in the world? If this *is* so, unless there is financial equality the gulf between the two classes will never be bridged.

Again, due to the financial advantage, many people are mental workers who would be much happier as physical workers—more useful too. Why should six men only out of a hundred work—why not shorter hours still and the hundred work—in shifts? *e.g.*, 6—4 hours each, 100—1 hour each. No envy then.

Now for "the main point of enquiry," and the answer (4 points). In his own words, Re employer's or investor's profit.

(1) Hoards it—Anti-social.
(2) Invest it in Government Securities—Anti-Social.
(3) Invest it in Industry—He does under the present system create a shortage of purchasing power (Change monetary system).
(4) Spend it—.

It would therefore seem that under the present system "profit" is Anti-social, and even with a change in the monetary system it would only improve (3) as above.

Re (4) too:—

An employer buys 1 good car or his wife 1 fur coat —£400.

Instead of employees buying their 40 wives 40 £10 coats.

In the first case only 1 has benefited: in the second case 40 have benefited—and so on *ad lib.*

10/- profit to employer—1 10/- theatre ticket.
10/- divided amongst 10 workers—10 1/- theatre tickets.

Pleasure for 10 instead of 1.

I should like to ask the Duke if he has ever visited the Cotswold Bruderhof Community at Ashton Keynes? It's a wonderful experience—a group of 200 Christian people (150 children) of 11 nationalities, living as one big family—a life of love, poverty, equality, Unity. But what has struck me very forcibly during the last five months is *this*, if those people can be so happy and healthy living in poverty, why cannot we lower-paid workers also be happy? Pride? I noticed the same thing when reading *Working Class Wives*. In one case —one of the most poverty-stricken—the woman said she and her children were quite well and happy and she had no complaints.

What is really needed?—a change of Government policy or a change of heart? The capitalists to voluntarily accept the lower standard of living in the hope of gradually raising it for all?

One point which still puzzles me though—the luxury of which there will never be enough to go round, *e.g.*, fresh salmon—in community one could enjoy it in turn, but outside community, how?

Best wishes from
FLORA COLLAR.

Rushington, Sleaford, Lincolnshire.

THE DUKE'S REPLY

Sir,—I have a great respect for the self-sacrifice and sense of duty displayed by those who, like Mrs. Collar, feel led to reduce their standard of living to that of the poorest paid workers, even if I cannot altogether agree with their judgment in regard to the best and quickest method of removing the evil of a poverty which cripples and degrades the lives of so many thousands.

In the first place I should like to point out that my article is not intended as a *defence* of Capitalism. It is merely written to indicate what I believe to be the defects in certain common criticisms of the Capitalist system. I make but a brief reference to a moral problem which arises in the course of the article, not because I do not recognise the supreme importance of moral issues, but because practical and technical details are important also and it is with these latter that the article deals.

Even if equality of incomes be a right and attainable idea, I do not think that inequality necessarily leads to war, either between individuals or nations. It all depends on the nature, extent and cause of the inequality and upon the character of the individuals concerned. We know that inequality of income fortunately is not of necessity a barrier to the closest friendship or the most complete understanding.

The provision of paid work for all is not a permanent possibility because there is a point beyond which the reduction of hours and increasing of shifts, due to labour-saving inventions, cannot be carried further without inconvenience and absurdity. I entirely agree, however, that the advantages of labour-saving inventions ought to be passed on to the workers to a much greater extent than has been done hitherto, but for this to be done adequately, the reform of the financial system is one of the necessary conditions.

I used the term "education" in the fullest and widest sense, to include the right kind of religious teaching and also the right kind of manual training.

In my opinion, class divisions are less due to differences of income than to differences in cultural matters such as manners, speech, accent, etc., which really adequate education and sensible ideas in regard to the dignity of labour would do much to remove. By sensible ideas in regard to the dignity of labour, I mean the recognition of the fact that all forms of useful work are equally honourable and equally possible for a true "gentleman," whether the work be that of cleaning out a sewer or holding an important post in the Cabinet.

When dealing with the question of the four different ways in which profits may be utilised by the person who receives them, Mrs. Collar has failed to realise that the effect of hoarding wages or investing them in Government Securities is just as anti-social as the effect of hoarding profits and precisely similar in its evil results. Similarly, wages invested in industry cause, under the present system, an inevitable shortage of consumer purchasing power in precisely the same way as the investment of profits.

In her "fur coat" example, Mrs. Collar is guilty of the fallacy which I tried to expose in my article of imagining that when a rich person buys an expensive article, he is able to do so without at the same time making it possible for poorer people to buy what they require. If the firm from which the rich man's wife bought the fur coat for £400 used that particular sum to pay wages, then forty wives of forty employees might be able to buy their £10 coats as well.

I have met members of the Cotswold Bruderhof and have heard interesting accounts of the wonderful spirit which existed in the community. To my great regret, however, I was prevented from visiting the Community, as on one occasion I tried to make arrangements to do. I heard a little while ago, with deep regret and great indignation, that the Home Office was pushing this fine body of people out of the country and that they were settling somewhere in Central or South America where, perhaps, they will find more liberty and Christianity than here!

The acceptance by capitalists of a simple standard of living would not, without the reform of the monetary system, render possible that steady *and continuous* increase in prosperity for all, which is both possible and exceedingly desirable.

The difference between my policy and Mrs. Collar's may perhaps be summed up by an analogy. Let us imagine that she and I and all the other members of the community are a collection of persons in a boat which has lost its oars and which is floating in broiling summer weather in the middle of Lake Superior. We have on board a very limited amount of water, most unequally divided. Mrs. Collar and I have plenty, but other people have next to none. Mrrs. Collar shares her supply with her thirsty companions. I suggest taking a scoop over the side with a bucket, seeing that Lake Superior is a fresh-water lake!

In view of the fact that in peace-time the production and import of enough goods for all is prevented by money shortage and the work-complex, more than by any other factors, my first step would be to ignore the work-complex and arrange for enough money to be supplied to enable the community to consume and produce all that it desired of what its industries and commerce, working to full capacity, could put on the market. Seeing that the only people who would lose by this arrangement and therefore, when all the facts were known, would be disposed to resist it, would be a tiny handful of moneylending financiers, I could expect the reform to go through quickly and without that degree of opposition which is apt to involve delay with consequent protracted suffering for those who have suffered too long already.

My next step would be to allocate, from the increase in the money supply, a sufficient percentage to give the deserving poor that really decent standard of living which they have never yet had. This too should go through quickly and without delay, because the new money used for this purpose would not be obtained at the expense of other classes of the community and few even of the well-to-do are so completely heartless and evil that they would grudge the poor a share in the financial advantages of a reformed system *from which they themselves were also to derive great benefit.*

The final stage would be when Mrs. Collar and her friends came into action, demanding not only an increase in wealth for all but an equal distribution of wealth for all. Here, however just her claim, I foresee that, human nature being what it is, there would be tremendous conflict and opposition, involving, it might be, considerable delay before she gained her ultimate victory. But if even the poorest already had a reasonable share of the necessaries and amenities of civilised existence, the delay would not involve a continuance of those hideous and unnecessary evils which are all too common at the present time. Therefore, I do not say to Mrs Collar that she is wrong, but that I think that her tactics could be improved on and that even if, while the battle is still going on, she feels it right to accept the standard of living of the lowest paid workers, she must at all costs not be content with this great personal sacrifice as her only contribution to the problem, but must fight hard and intelligently for monetary reform as well.

Yours truly,
BEDFORD.

Newton Stewart, February 20.

BEN GREENE

Benjamin Greene, a former member of the Labour Party and a Hertfordshire J.P., applied on Wednesday, March 26, for a writ of habeas corpus on the ground that since May 24, 1940, he had been detained under the Defence Regulations by order of the Home Secretary without a charge being preferred and without trial.

Mr. J. W. Williamson, appearing in support of the application in a King's Bench Divisional Court, said that Mr. Greene, who was 39, had sworn an affidavit submitting that the detention was illegal.

Mr. Justice Humphreys pointed out that the advisory committee had reported that Mr. Greene was detained on six grounds.

TO ARGUE OWN CASE

Mr. Williamson—Those were not the reasons put forward in the order of detention. Hostile association was alleged but that was denied.

The Court adjourned the application so that notice might be served on the Home Secretary and the governor of Brixton Prison, and Mr. Williamson said that Mr. Greene wanted to argue his case in person when it again came before the Court.

The Lord Chief Justice (Lord Caldecote) and Justices Humphreys and Singleton intimated that facilities would be given to enable him to do that.

"CONCHIES" OR—?

Dear Friend,—I do not like the word "Conchies." Why not use "C.O.'s" or "No! Men" in your paper instead of the word used by the Beaverbrook paper?

ALFRED CURZON.

Derby, 25/2/41.

"MR SMITH AND MR SCHMIDT"

HERBERT MORRISON STATES THE CASE

A comrade has written to us asking us to prove our good faith in the cause of peace, by commending Herbert Morrison on his war pamphlet, *Mr. Smith and Mr. Schmidt*. The comrade feels that, to give praise where praise is due, will lend strength to our work for peace, the Socialist solution of the present social struggle, and the release of 18B. prisoners.

Morrison's pamphlet is a very different publication from Sir Robert Vansittart's unfortunate broadcasts, in which he labours to prove that, for over 1,800 years, all Germans have belonged to the criminal classes.

With the aid of excellent photographs, Morrison gives the history of the achievement wrought for the people of Germany by the Socialist and Pacifist Weimar Republic in the fourteen years after the last war, 1918-1932—the years before the Devolution led by Hitler.

From its outset, the Weimar Republic's efforts were sabotaged by the reparations and repressions exacted by the framers of the Versailles Peace. Future historians will establish the collusion that existed between armaments-capitalists of France and Germany to impose misery upon the miners of the Ruhr. The terror of Bolshevism gave Hitler supporters in many countries beside his own.

Morrison can write quite well on the theme of Fascism when he wishes. In the *Forward* for January 16, 1937, he published an excellent essay on "BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND FRANCO."

Morrison opened this article as follows:—

"Every successive stage in the Spanish drama provides increasing evidence for the view which some of us have held all along: that the soundest policy for peace on the occasion of the oath-breakers' revolt against the constitutional Government of Spain was for Britain, France and Soviet Russia to supply arms promptly at the beginning to the Spanish Government in accordance with their rights under international law.

"Our own Government was not willing to do so because it has no love for Governments of the Left. The French Popular Front Government was too nervous to do so, or was unable owing to its Coalition character. Soviet Russia did not do so because, so Communists say, it did not wish to disagree with the Governments of France and Britain.

"So the supply of arms to the Spanish Government was more or less stopped under an embargo; sanctions were applied to the lawful Government; the Fascist Powers were asked to agree to the non-export of arms to Spain and ultimately officially did so; but before, during and after the negotiations and the non-intervention agreement they *did* supply arms to the rebels, which was a breach of the obligations of one Government to another.

"So the game dragged on."

Morrison details all the Labour and Socialist protests, and the delays of the Fascist Powers. He concludes this article on the following note:—

"Who is so simple as still to believe in the good intentions of the members of Mr. Baldwin's Government towards Spain? Throughout this business they have, as a whole, put their international class interests before the interests of their country, and certainly of democracy. But when it is very, very clear that British Imperialist interests are vitally, finally and openly threatened by the Fascists, they may become the Champions of Democracy with a big 'D' as in 1914, and let things rip in another world imperialist war.

"Then these precious Ministers of our who betrayed the League of Nations, the Disarmament Conference, China, Abyssinia, and democracy and constitutional government in Spain, who never by voice, pen or gesture protested against the bloody hand of tyranny ruthlessly destroying liberty in Germany, Italy and Austria, will expect us all to believe in their war-time declarations for liberty, freedom, democracy and . . . war to end war.

"But the fight may then be more strictly related to oil wells, markets and mineral deposits. . . .

"The position may therefore well be: British citizens of to-day, by order of the Tory Government, are prohibited from fighting for democracy in Spain. But to-morrow they may, under conscription, be compelled to fight for imperialism anywhere. . . .

"The risks of a war for democracy were small if lawful and proper action had been taken at the beginning for the Spanish Government would soon have triumphed; but the risks of a terrible war for imperialism now grow. Foreign policy for Mr. Baldwin's Government is class policy. Those who believe otherwise will live to regret their belief."

This is well said. But we find it hard to square this clear and expressive thinking and utterance with Morrison's present position in the Cabinet. In the *Forward* for March 5, 1938, denouncing Tory statesmen as public enemies, he repeated his indictment with emphasis. He also published a qualification which is at variance with some of the present declarations of his Cabinet colleagues, who were yesterday admirers of Hitler and Mussolini. Wrote Mr. Morrison:

"On this point Labour must be clear for just as we condemn the Government for being unwilling to co-operate with Russia in the interests of peace, so it would be wrong for a Labour Government to refuse to co-operate with the Fascist Powers in the interests of peace, presuming that they would be willing for such co-operation."

Herbert Morrison's *Mr. Smith and Mr. Schmidt* makes easy reading. He makes a telling and damning quotation from *Hitler Speaks* by Hermann Rauschning. These are Hitler's words:—

"There will be a Herren-class, an historical class tempered by battle, and welded from the most varied elements. There will be a great hierarchy of party members. They will be the new middle class. **And there will be the great mass of the anonymous, the serving collective, the eternally disfranchised,** no matter whether they were once members of the old bourgeoisie, the big land-owning class, the working-class, or the artisans. . . . But beneath them there will still be the class of subject alien races; we need not hesitate to call them the modern slave class. And over all of these will stand the new aristocracy, the most deserving and the most responsible Fuhrer personalities. . . .

"As surely as everything we have discussed here to-day must be kept from burdening the mind of the ordinary party member, equally surely must we put an end to what is known as universal education. **Universal education is the most corroding and disintegrating poison that liberalism has ever invented** for its own destruction."

This is a terrible declaration and Morrison rightly sneers at Hitler as *"The New High Aristocracy . . ."*

Nevertheless, the pamphlet suffers from many omissions. Picturing "Mr. Smith telling the world," Morrison says nothing about the 1926 General Strike and Baldwin's measures against the strikers. He omits all reference to 18B, under which any person who criticises the war or its continuance could and can be interned. He explains the vast activities of the Labour and Parliamentary Socialist Movement in Germany. *But he does not explain how this movement lost its power to the Nazis.* This failure is significant, for the Nazis could not seize power out of the blue, by a mere conspiracy of will. Had Morrison told this story he might have condemned himself and would have condemned, most certainly, parliamentary Socialism. The passage from parliamentary constitutionalism to despotism is a natural evolution, as natural as the opposition evolution, to Freedom and Democracy. It depends in which direction one travels. The parliamentary Socialist travelled the wrong way. Is Morrison sure that the road of war, conscription, and 18B internment, is the right way? Has not parliamentary Socialism been travelling the wrong way in every country since 1874?

Hitler came to power in 1933. Morrison depicts accurately the sorry consequences of that event. He makes no effort to point the lessons of the Socialist collapse and defeat. It was his business, if his aim was truth, to explain how and why Socialist parliamentarism failed.

In Germany, as Morrison states, the working-class was well organised. The trades unions encompassed millions, and the enormous vote given, at the polls, to the Socialist and Communist Parties, testified to a widespread desire for Socialism. This desire rose from Germany's terrible economic plight, which was becoming steadily worse. The Socialist parliamentarians in Britain, like their Tory colleagues, did nothing to ease the plight. Rather, they aimed to aggravate it. This fact gave a tremendous impetus to the growth of German Fascism or Nazism. The stability and growth of working class organisation in Germany was possible only if their workers' organisations had taken control of the economic life of the country. Reality demanded an address of courage that was not forthcoming. Socialists were called upon to solve the economic problem and they played at politics and power. They enjoyed the luxury of incompetence. Morrison weeps at the result only that more weeping may follow.

Hitler's power grew and fed on the refusal of the working-class leaders to tackle the economic problem. The unemployed, the youth who had never had jobs, the ruined middle class—all the demoralised and declassed sections of the population—served as the reservoir from which Hitler drew his support. Official society had squeezed them from its pores, transformed them into hoodlums and gangsters. Hitler rallied and organised them. He gave them a mission, an evil, anti-social mission, of criminal power and revenge. He gave them a banner, a banner of power and degeneration. He told them that the labour organisations had no time for them or their problems. Backed by these economic outcasts, he addressed himself to the anti-Socialist interests of the manufacturers' associations. These facts explain the concentration camps, and the gangster character of Nazism.

The Social Democrats—the section to which the Labour Party in Britain allied itself at one time—have been since 1874 the leaders and betrayers of the German workers. They dragged the German workers into the World War, and then, as the armistice ended in a German revolution, prevented them from setting up a Workers' Government. In the course of suppressing the Socialist revolution Ebert, Noske, Scheidemann and the other Social-Democratic leaders slaughtered thousands of workers. Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht were assassinated by Junker officers under the command of the Social Democrats. For the next fourteen years, the Social Democrats were either the Government or its chief prop. In Prussia they ruled throughout. Social Democratic workers on strike who felt the blows of the police could, if they chose, comfort themselves with the thought that the police chief belonged to the same party as they did.

The Social Democrats supported Bruening, then Von Papen, then Von Schleicher; supported all the capitalist governments as these swung ever further to the right under Nazi pressure. Their last stand was to help re-elect Von Hindenburgh, the President. And on January 30, 1933, he called upon Hitler to form a cabinet.

Even then the Social Democrats did not change their policy. *In the Reichstag they voted for a motion of confidence in Hitler's foreign policy. They offered to support Hitler if only he would tolerate the continued existence of the Social Democratic political apparatus.*

Why does Morrison not relate these facts and tell us how the German Social Democrats betrayed Mr. Schmidt to Fascism?

The Communist Party, Willie Gallacher's impossible brigade, was no better. At this time, Moscow gramophones were busy blaring forth the thesis of "social fascism." Stalin and his henchmen, in miles of high-sounding stupidity, declared that Social Democracy was "the moderate wing of Fascism," and the true proletarian policy was to support *"an open Fascist dictatorship."* In other words, the ineptitude of the Socialist Parliamentarians conspired, with Tory parliamentary jingoism and reaction, to establish war and Fascism in Europe. So Mr. Smith and Mr. Schmidt, perfectly lovable suffering human beings, are fighting each other, ruining cities, murdering women and children, enduring a nightmare of horror, because each relied on careerist talkative politicians, instead of coming directly to grips with the problem of economic well-being. Mr. Smith and Mr. Schmidt must end war and get together as friends; rebuild their ruined cities; shake hands in sacred and solemn sorrow over the graves of their dead; regard the earth and the fulness thereof as the wealth of all mankind, and sincerely and solemnly and

firmly declare that never again will they be parties to war or outrage. In solemn and sincere conclave, with hands firmly clasped, they must forgive and equally they must remember the past, and so outlaw violence for ever.

The sky was never intended to bring terror to the cities. The sun was never destined to rise on scenes of ruin and despair. The sun was never meant to set on scenes of widespread death and havoc. With our brawn and our brain, our hands and wits, we were destined to serve each other, to make the world glorious with joy and mutual service, with love and laughter, and the romance of happiness.

We must end the violence of war and power, the sorry careerism of politics for ever. We must build the kingdom and the republic on earth, enter upon the magnificent conspiracy of world commonweal. We must do it now.

HERBERT MORRISON

We do not know all the details of Herbert Morrison's exemption as a C.O. in the last war. One comrade writes that he was exempted on condition that he worked on the land and that he worked on a fruit farm in Hertfordshire. It is said that he married the farmer's daughter.

Our comrade, C. H. Norman, published the following letter in the *Railway Review* for May 24, 1940:—

ANOTHER SOMERSAULT

Sir,—When one examines the list of the new Cabinet one's heart can only sink. These are the words of one of them, Mr. Herbert Morrison, conscientious objector in the 1914-1918 war and now Minister of Supply, speaking at the Albert Hall on Sunday, 5th December, 1926, in support of the Peace Letter Campaign of Mr. Arthur Ponsonby:—

"And what has been the purpose of the campaign? It has been to bring before the individual citizen the attitude of the citizen towards a future war, if a future war should break out, and in order to secure from individuals a signed declaration that, in the event of our rulers involving us in another war, we give the Government notice in advance we are not taking part." (Hear, hear.)

Did Mr. Morrison give in his notice in advance?

"We know from past and all too real experience how the declarations of Parties and individuals towards wars are likely to fail when the testing-time comes, and it may be that even many of those who have signed this declaration will fail, for wars have a terrible effect upon the public mind and upon the public psychology."

Apparently Mr. Morrison is one of those individuals!

"Many of us here will remember the outbreak of the last war, when men of all classes, all political Parties, and of all religious persuasions one week were demanding that our country should maintain neutrality in the Great War and the next week had switched over to the opposite view and were identifying themselves with military policies and the military outlook. Let us admit that there were few men, even in the Labour Party, who could withstand the onslaught of war at that time, and, as Mr. Ponsonby has said, let us ask ourselves what is to be our position if another war comes; I ask you, therefore, to dedicate yourselves anew to the great cause of international peace. It is for you to let the Government know, and others know, that so far as you are concerned you are finished with war and that you will take no part in it either collectively or individually."

One wonders, after years of experience, who can ever be trusted to stand by anything he says for two weeks.—Yours, etc.,

C. H. NORMAN."

As Norman says, in a private letter:—

"What I object about the recanting C.O.'s is their jingoism. The cant of conscientious objection was bad enough in the last war, on occasion, but the recant of conscientious objection in this war is infinitely worse."

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THE CLYDESIDE BLITZ

DOLLAN—BEFORE and AFTER!

In *The Word*, as our readers know, we have recalled, in detail, P. J. Dollan's "conchie" past. We have reprinted, from contemporary records, his 1917 Police Court hearing when he was "handed over" by the then Stipendiary Magistrate; his appeal to the Court of Session when counsel pleaded his case, the comment of the Bench; his advice to C.O.'s entering Wormwood Scrubs; and the questions and answers *re* his "conchie" imprisonment and exemption in Parliament. At that time, Lord Charnwood, in the House of Lords, was demanding the deportation of conscientious objectors, M.P.'s were threatening them with perpetual disfranchisement, and soldiers were promised a land fit for heroes to live in. To-day, Sir Patrick Dollan is an honoured patriot, a 1917 Conscientious Objector is Home Secretary, and ex-servicemen from 1914-18 of various ranks are interned in various parts of the country under 18B. We write as one who was a conscientious objector in 1916-1919 and remain a conscientious objector to-day. We find the situation somewhat confusing and intriguing.

Many of our readers do not sympathise with our impeachment of Dollan's military age conscience and his over-age militarism. If our demand for consistency is an offence against political good taste we apologise. We never suspected careerist politicians of scruples of taste. But Dollan believes *to-day* in war. He has been honoured as Chief Magistrate of Glasgow for believing in war. The *Evening Times*, and other papers, published pictures of him in a khaki uniform that made him look like a general. He has spoken with authority on the defences of Glasgow. Is the Clydeside satisfied?

To-day, we cull from a morning paper this paragraph, which indicts war, and all those who believe in war:—

"In two months Mrs. James Whittock would have been 100 years old.

"But the bombers came to Clydeside. Among their many victims was Mrs. Whittock.

"She has died in a Stirlingshire casualty hospital—99 years and 10 months old, killed in the front line."

Her death indicts war. It indicts German bombers. It indicts European war-mongers. It indicts irresponsible civic chiefs.

Our comrade, H. W. Henderson, as we go to press, places before us some extracts from the *New Statesman*. We pass them on to our readers.

On November 2, 1940, the *New Statesman* published an article from the pen of Ritchie Calder, entitled "*The War in the North.*" This article contained the following reference to Glasgow:—

"I know the Glasgow slums and the working-class tenements pretty well, and without official escort I went to see for myself. The conclusions were disturbing. Baffle walls at the open mouths of the entrances to tall tenement buildings do not seem good enough to me. Even if I accepted the safety-factor, I know those 'closes' on a winter's night and I would no more shelter in them than in a refrigerator. Alternative surface shelters seemed far from adequate. Glasgow is a city of indispensable workers. They need sleep. Where will they get it if all-night raids start? They themselves will tell you 'in oor beds.'"

The rest of the article was in a similar mild strain, the author relating that he was told that Glasgow was "*built on a rock.*"

On November 16, 1940, Lord Provost Dollan made an indignant reply to Mr Calder's "*badly informed and ill-advised references to our city*" which Dollan considered almost inexcusable and, in some respects, "*the essence of absurdity.*" Dollan added:—

"Mr. Calder does not know what he is talking about when he sneers at the baffle walls as a protection for tenement closes and stairs. The close staircases are the strongest-built sections of a tenement, more likely to survive bombing attacks than other part. That is why, after many tests, they are protected by baffles and strutting. Glasgow tenements, moreover, are built more strongly than the houses in the East End of London, which collapse from concussion. I have seen several tenements surviving after bombing operations. Scottish houses will stand up to attack with a fairer chance of survival than the shack houses in the East End of London. Scottish houses have more resisting power. The walls of most of the tenements are built of stone, other floors are at least twice as strong as those of house floors in the London boroughs.

"Mr. Calder says that even if he accepted the safety factor he would no more shelter in a tenement close on a winter's night than in a refrigerator. The people of Glasgow are not so afraid, and complain when closes are not baffled or strutted. It is unlikely, moreover, that raids on Glasgow will be as fierce or prolonged as they have been on London and other part of the South of England. There are physical and scientific reasons for this that should be known to Mr. Calder or any other 'New Statesman' contributor. Scotland has not escaped raiding, but it has not been on the same extensive scale as has been experienced in South England.

"It is not for me to criticise London's complicated and overlapping civic organisation, but I am convinced, after seeing it in operation, that Glasgow's preparations will stand a strain as severe as that which happened in London. County Council and Borough officials in London were unanimous in stating too many exaggerated reports had been published regarding air-raid damage in the Capital. They are right. The reports about provincial cities are probably just as reliable as some about London."

We remind Dollan of his statements and make no comment.

In the same issue of the *New Statesman*, Ritchie Calder replied. Here is an extract:—

"I am quite impenitent about those tenement entrances protected by baffle walls. What causes me most concern is the Lord Provost's complacent estimates of the risks. Neither he nor I, nor any other "New Statesman" contributor can have sufficient evidence, scientific or otherwise, from which to assess the future effects of raids on Clydeside."

The *Sunday Express*, March 23, 1941, said:—

"A final post-mortem on the Clyde blitz has shown Glasgow to be 'mentally and materially half-unprepared.' Many Clydesiders thought it could not happen here."

The same paper states that Lord Provost Sir Patrick Dollan, in an early Saturday morning broadcast to the people of the United States of America, said Clydeside had a "black-eye" after the Nazi bombing, but was still "fit and ready for the next round."

To Lord Provost Mitchell, of Aberdeen, Dollan wrote, praising the bravery of Clydeside civilians, and adding:—

"We have had a knock or two, from which we have made an effective recovery, and we are going all out to win the war.

"We have had more than our share of casualties, but our people are not complaining. They recognise that they have to take their part in the general sacrifice essential to success."

Can death, can the human tragedies of war, be brushed aside as being but "*a knock or two, from which we have made an effective recovery*"? Do the sufferers recover? Do the terms employed by the Lord Provost belong to the language of Socialism? Are they the phrases that ought to be employed by one who was one a conscientious objector?

Emrys Hughes' Anti War Stand

Emrys Hughes, editor of *Forward*, the Glasgow Labour journal, is a Bailie at Cumnock, and a member of the Labour Town Council. This council decided not to take part in the South Ayrshire War Weapons Week. The District Council has decided to take charge of arrangements and it is reported in the capitalist press that Cumnock proposes to censure the Town Council by contributing most in the district.

When the Town Council considered the matter, Police Judge Holland said:—

"The Government would get all the weapons it needed without the assistance of voluntary workers creating an atmosphere to encourage people to put their last penny into War Savings in order to feed the guns to kill people, an act which would return on themselves."

Emrys Hughes seconded. He said:—

"The Government could get the money the same way as it got the lives of their young men—by conscription. The Chancellor of the Exchequer was not doing his duty going round with the hat on Salvation Army lines."

The Labour majority carried their point by five votes to two.

The District Council has taken the matter up and claims to have made arrangements for a successful appeal.

Liberty! Equality!! Fraternity!!!

THE WORD

To Rouse The People, To Combat Fascism, and To Speed Commonweal.

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WHEN I WAS A CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR

A Seven Minutes Speech in the House of Commons

By

A. CREECH JONES, M.P.

(Parliamentary Private Secretary to the Minister of Labour).

[Reproduced from 1935 Election Address.

[We publish John McGovern's and K. Pickthorne's attacks on Creech Jones in this issue. Also an account of his political career. Below we reproduce, from *H.C. Official Parliamentary Report, Volume 342, No. 105, Thursday, May 18, 1939, Cols. 1697-1699*, the excellent description of his experience as a C.O., made by Creech Jones in first opposing, and then amending, the *Military Training Bill*, in opposition to the Attorney General's Motion. The speech lasted 7 minutes, from 6.12 p.m. to 6.19 p.m.—Ed.]

I can speak with some very real knowledge of the procedure that was followed on the occasion of the last War. It may be that the conscience Clause was introduced during the period of war on the last occasion, but, nevertheless, the administration of the Act gave rise to an overwhelming sense of injustice in thousands of men who had genuine conscientious objections. I would emphasise the point that it did happen that hundreds of men were refused either absolute exemption or work of national importance because the tribunal felt that they ought to perform non-combatant service in the Army. They refused to form part of the military machine. They had deep objections on ethical, moral, and sometimes political and religious grounds, but the fact remains that there were hundreds of men for whom both the local tribunal and the appeal tribunal refused the kind of service which was deliberately laid down in the Military Service Act. Those men were taken into the Army. They refused to obey orders, and ultimately they were court-marshalled and sent to prison.

It was because the administration had become something of a scandal that a national appeal body was set up. There were literally thousands of men who were taken from Wormwood Scrubs Prison to that tribunal and adjudicated on, and large numbers of these men passed out of prison to Dartmoor Prison, where national work was being provided for them. We are most anxious that, where injustice has been done to the genuine conscientious objector who has been caught up in the Army, he shall not be treated in a military prison but transferred to the control of the civil authorities, and that, if he is to be punished, the punishment shall take place in a civil prison. I also urge that not only should that punishment be in the civil prison, but there should be some finality in regard to the imprisonment.

May I illustrate my argument by my own personal case? I was one of those persons whom the local tribunal declared to be an objector entitled to absolute exemption, but that absolute exemption was denied to me because it was argued that other conscientious objectors did not receive that absolute exemption and had gone into the Army, Therefore, it was decided that I should go into the Army. That decision was upheld by an appeal tribunal, irrespective of my past or the work in which I was actually engaged. I went before a court-martial and, being an absolute objector, I was sentenced to a period of six months' imprisonment with hard labour. I served my period of six months' hard labour and was then taken back to my regiment, given a military order, court-martialled afresh and sentenced to one year's hard labour. That sentence I also served. I was again taken back to my regiment, given another military order, refused to obey, was court-martialled again and had to go for two years' hard labour. I served the two years' had labour and went back to my regiment four months after the War was over. I still refused to obey military orders and was sentenced to another period of two years' hard labour. In point of fact I actually served periods amounting to about three years and six months. All the time the cat-and-mouse rule operated as far as I was concerned. It was recognised all through this course that I was a perfectly genuine person. Nevertheless, I had been caught up in the military machine and the cat-and-mouse arrangement began to operate.

I do suggest that there is some force in this new Clause. There ought to be some arrangement whereby these men, who are perfectly genuine in their opposition to war and in their opposition to being part of the military machine, should get reasonable treatment under the civil code, and that when they have paid the penalty for the crime of having a conscientious objection they should return to civil life. I agree with the Mover of the Clause that it is really absurd that the penalty in these cases for having a conscience should be as much as two years' imprisonment. If that is to be the penalty, the conscientious objector will pay. There ought, however, to be some arrangement whereby these cases could be lifted right out of the military organisation, that the punishment should be in a civil prison, with the right of review, once the man reaches the civil prison, or before, and that once the sentence has been served the man should be no longer a soldier but should return to civil life.

I hope that further consideration will be given to this very reasonable clause.

NATIONAL SERVICE ACT

SECOND READING DEBATE

JOHN McGOVERN'S SPEECH

[In another column we detail the voting on the Second Reading of the National Service Bill, when John McGovern moved the rejection. John McGovern's speech, and the cross-questioning between him and Mr. L. Silkin, the member for Peckham, which followed, are detailed in *Parliamentary Debates, H.C. Official Report, Vol. 370, No. 42, Cols. 626-638 inclusive.* Silkin followed McGovern and Rhys Davies followed Silkin. Rhys Davies's excellent speech is reported in columns 643-647. The date of the debate was 26th March, 1941.—Ed.]

Mr. McGovern (Glasgow, Shettleston): I am afraid I cannot agree with most of what has been said by previous speakers either as to the fine qualities of this Bill or the proopsals embodied in it. We propose to attempt to divide the House against it, because we think it a thoroughly bad Measure in its intended effect upon conscientious objectors. I cannot say that I am amazed, but I think it rather singular that it should be sponsored, among others, by three Members of the Labour party, who took no part in the last war, and two of whom, at least, had conscientious objections to war in every shape and form. The Minister of Labour was in a reserved occupation, and the Secretary of State for Scotland conducted his battle as editor of an anti-war journal in Glasgow, urging everyone to resist and encouraging conscientious objectors to refuse service of any kind, and supporting them in their objection. As a matter of fact, I should say on reflection that some of the propaganda carried on by the right hon. Gentleman came perilously near being pro-German propaganda rather than anti-war propaganda. Nevertheless, that excess might have been attibuted to the zeal of the individual as a war-hater. I suppose he will not be here to-day. I expect he has a pressing engagement. He usually has in these circumstances. At the last Election, he gave a pledge to his constituents that in no conditions would he support war of any kind, no matter what were the alignments of party in the House or in the country.

The Minister of Home Security conducted his struggle in an orchard during the last war and refused to accept anything connected with it at all, so deep was his loathing of war. I can imagine the Prime Minister and the Prime Minister's Parliamentary Private Secretary, with his shaggy red head, sitting back over a glass of whisky and a cigar enjoying themselves immensely at the position of the three Labour defenders of freedom sponsoring a Bill of this kind against conscientious objectors. I do not know what part the Parliamentary Private Secretary to the Minister of Home Security played in the last war, but for a number of years previous to this war his spiritual home was in Moscow, which was also the spiritual home of the hon. Lady who is now Joint Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry, when she was in the Communist party and flirted with it for many years. We must remember the words of Mr. Priestley, that

"Labour is walking into a trap, and the reactionaries will do it across them at the appropriate time."

They have them in position now. The Minister of Labour said, previous to this war, "We want to teach our children that resistance to war is more glorious than to take part in it." He said

something more about his chief——

Mr. Deputy-Speaker (*Colonel Clifton Brown*): I must ask the hon. Member to come somewhat closer to the Bill.

Mr. McGovern: I am surely entitled, when opposing a Bill, being the only Opposition Member who has spoken, to analyse the conduct of Members who are sponsoring it, and to compare their services in the last war, with their attempt to penalise conscientious objectors in this war. With this small quotation I will pass on to the Bill. The Minister of Labour said, regarding the present Prime Minister,

"It would be a Godsend for this country if Churchill was out of office for evermore. It is not that he is not brilliant; but it is not safe to leave the destiny of millions of people in the hands of a man of unstable mind."

That is what the right hon. Gentleman said as far back as 1926. The Measure seeks to penalise certain conscientious objectors. It first takes power to call them for Civil Defence. Those who are associated with it, especially on the Labour side, should know that there are various categories of conscientious objectors, and very often the man whom you are going to penalise is a complete pacifist, very often a Christian objector, who would have nothing to do with war of any kind. That individual is to be selected for attack and for the brutality of the imprisonment and the fines that will be imposed on him if he is convicted in the courts. There are some people who are political objectors. I, myself, was a conscientious objector in the last war. I appeared before a tribunal, and I had to appear before Labour magistrates, some in Glasgow, who were keen advocates of the war. In that war I was a political objector, but I did not subscribe to complete pacifism. I believe that ultimately it may be necessary at times regrettably to use a measure of force in order to achieve the ends for which I stand. A large number of people are Christian conscientious objectors and some are Socialist absolutists who refuse to have anything to do with war at all.

The Minister of Home Security in an aside said to the hon. Member on the Labour Front Bench who had spoken that the absolutist was protected. That is not true, however. The absolutist who gets through the tribunal is protected, but the absolutist who is refused exemption is not protected and will be an early victim of the application of this Bill. There are men who have gone through the tribunals and have been given conditional exemption. Many men who are determined not to enter the military machine in any way take the view that the best way, sacrificing principle as little as possible, is to get through the war in the easiest manner by accepting the decisions of the local or appellate tribunals. They would be willing to take land, forestry, land reclamation or drainage work, but they would refuse to go into Civil Defence work because they would then become part of the machinery of the war to which they have a decided objection. It would have been well worth while appealing to those who are registered as conscientious objectors to see how many were prepared to serve in some useful capacity in a voluntary way and then to have allotted them the tasks for which they volunteered. That would have recognised the position of the absolutist and would have avoided the imposition of penalties of any kind. I went to Liverpool three weeks ago and met ten conscientious objectors. Nine out of the ten were religious objectors, and I am satisfied that nothing would persuade them to take part in Civil Defence of any kind. They are determined to remain completely aloof from any kind of war service. Men who have been allotted to certain work of a civilian nature will in many cases, therefore, if they are asked to do work on Civil Defence refuse to go any further than they have done in recognising the decisions of a tribunal. Is it to be the opinion of Members of this House that because a man fails to go through a tribunal he is not a genuine conscientious objector? Let me quote the petition of a Member of the House showing the absolutist position:

[John McGovern here quoted in full the Court Martial statement made by Jones in 1916. This was published in *The Word*, October, 1939.]

That was the statement of the hon. Member for Shipley (Mr. Creech Jones), who is now Parliamentary Private Secretary to the Minister of Labour. He was an absolutist, and I cannot square that statement with his association with this Bill and this Ministry His statement represents the point of view of the absolutist who refuses to serve or in any way to be drawn into the machine.

I am amazed at some of the statements made here to-day. The hon. Member for the Combined English Universities (Mr. Harvey) talked about toleration, but I have not been able to find it. Go to the Glasgow Tribunal, for instance, and see the comfortable, smug, callous individuals sitting on the bench and asking trick questions of the applicants. See their insults being hurled from the bench towards applicants because they have convictions. Principle has never entered into their lives, and they cannot understand other people having principles and consciences. The Minister of Labour, whose attention has been drawn to it, has tolerated people on the tribunals who every day go to great lengths to insult applicants. If an applicant retorts, he is put down as impertinent, and the last word is with the tribunal, for it can turn him down if he dares to assert his manhood in any way. Cases have happened all over the country of people who have had their heads dipped in buckets of water and their hair shaved, and who have been beaten in secret because they have had consciences. How far has the Labour party fallen since the days when, as a boy, I was enamoured of its stand for freedom. Now it is handing over every prestige of freedom, giving men and women the false statement that we are engaged in a struggle for human freedom and liberty. That is if they believe that, though I do not believe it, because I cannot see any difference between this war and any other war. It is just a commercial struggle between two competing groups. That has always been the economic position in modern war. But even if they accepted the position and believed that this was a different war, would we not have expected a different attitude from that Front Bench? The Front Bench of the Labour party is expected to house men who are prepared to defend every form of minority, but how many words have been spoken since this war began—outside the few pacifists in the Labour party, or by those who were conscientious objectors in the last war—by Members sitting on the Government benches in defence of men whose principles are involved and who are to be penalised if they refuse to obey the call to Civil Defence? It is to be a fine of £100 and up to a maximum of two years' imprisonment.

I remember the present Secretary of State for Scotland, during the last war, turning his intolerant, narrow, biting pen on the Thomases and the others who had supported that war, writing every word of condemnation he could of those men because they supported the war. I could imagine him, as he did in the last war, turning with all his vitriolic personality against those who have stood aside and allowed these men to be persecuted in this war. I should expect Conservatives to take their present attitude towards conscientious objectors, because is not the war a defence of the interests of the Conservative and Liberal elements in this country? They regard themselves as fighting for their lives against an opponent who is trying to gain commercial and imperialist supremacy, and they will fight like beasts of the jungle to protect their interests. Now the Labour party has been taken into the Government—taken in in more than one sense—and now the whole organisation for the suppression of every form of speech and protest is supported by these individuals who have secured positions in that Government.

(To Be Concluded.)

BAPTIST PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP.

All members of the Baptist Church who feel that Christianity is opposed to war should communicate with REV. G. LLOYD PHELPS, 21 *Cambridge Drive, Denton, Manchester.*

THE FALLACY OF THE INTERNATIONAL POLICE FORCE

BY THE DUKE OF BEDFORD

When the war ends and there is a chance to address ourselves to the task of building a new and happier world, there will be a danger of time being wasted, energy dissipated and unnecesary conflicts aroused by people pursuing various red herrings instead of concentrating on those policies and reforms which are really worth while; wherefore, in preparation for that day, important service can be rendered by getting rid of as many red herrings as possible.

One of these objectionable fish which at present captivates the minds of some of our most active reformers and zealous advocates of peace, is the so-called International Police Force, which, in point of fact, would not be a police force at all but an army which an international authority would have at its command to punish a potential aggressor State.

The fact that an army was not composed of men of the same nationality but was a kind of new edition of the French Foreign Legion; and the fact that its operations were under the control, not of the statesmen of one government, but of a body composed of representatives of various nations, would do absolutely nothing to remove the fundamental differences between an army and a police force—differences which, in a sub-Christian world, permit the police force to be of some practical utility in maintaining order and promoting good behaviour; whereas the army, when engaged in the operations of ordinary war, must inevitably fail to do anything of the kind.

The policeman arrests the *real* criminal who is responsible for the trouble and who, in most cases, either knows that he is doing wrong or at any rate has no moral conviction that he is doing right. The soldier, on the other hand, deals with the man who has little, if any, real responsibility for war and is convinced that he is defending his country's safety and honour.

The policeman is expected to use the *minimum* amount of violence when arresting the criminal and bringing him to justice. The soldier is expected to inflict the *maximum* amount of damage on his opponents as long as they remain combatants.

The policeman is an agent for bringing the criminal to trial before an impartial tribunal, but the soldier, even of an international army, could hardly do so, for one cannot imagine the international authority "trying," in any legal sense, prisoners of war. The proceedings, if such were instituted, would tend to resemble not the operations of an ordinary court of justice but the strivings of a tribunal attempting to deal with conscientious objectors! This would be so because there is no such thing as a "criminal nation," and this fact, by itself, makes the idea of an international police force absurd.

Another important point to bear in mind is this: behind the whole machinery of justice in any reasonably well-governed State—and closely and vitally connected with that system of justice—is a government endeavouring, to the best of its ability, to attend to the needs of *all* classes of its citizens and to see that all legitimate grievances are dealt with.

If the international force maintaining order is to be a real police force and not an army, we must therefore postulate that the international authority behind it not only concerns itself with the maintenance of order, but, like an efficient government, also concerns itself with meeting the needs of *all* races and classes under its jurisdiction and seeing that their legitimate grievances are remedied. So long as this were done, for the reason already stated that there is no such thing as a criminal nation, there would be no more danger of any nation which recognised the international authority desiring, or being misled by some leader into desiring, to break the peace by attacking one of its neighbours, than there is of a body of citizens within

a well-governed State desiring, or being led to desire, to attack a group of their fellows. An international army would, therefore, be unnecessary, as the maintenance of order would be carried out perfectly well by the ordinary police of each country. No additional force would be needed since the grievances which give rise to war would not exist, owing to the presence of adequate machinery, which was always dealing with them, and, unlike the League of Nations, had been allowed executive power by those who respected, and had seen the need for, its authority.

In regard to countries which did not recognise the international authority, much the same arguments would apply. If the international authority treated, as it should, the peoples of those other countries with the same consideration, generosity and justice with which it treated its own peoples, they, too, could not be induced to attack it. If, on the contrary, it did not treat them with justice and generosity, the international police force would not be a police force at all but merely a combination of the fighting Services of an alliance of States prepared for ordinary warfare with States outside the alliance.

Finally, let us never forget that the methods of modern warfare, by reason of their indiscriminate and destructive violence, can never be the agents of a "police force" in any real sense of the term. As someone wittily remarked, a bomb with the label tied to it "With love from Geneva" would be just as cruelly destructive in its effects and just as likely to injure and destroy the innocent as any bomb dropped by the airman of a national army.

It is not on armies, national or international, that the stability of peace will, in the future, depend, but on a new diplomacy, i.e., an honest and open diplomacy, and a new spirit in international relationships which finds expression in seeking to discover the just grievances and meet the legitimate needs of the people of other nations before such action is compelled by force or the threat of force.

MARY S. ALLEN

The question of Mary S. Allen, whose eulogy of Hitler was reproduced in the March "Word," has been raised in the House of Commons on several occasions. Colonel Wedgewood has demanded that she ought to be interned equally with other Fascists. We agree with the argument but we are opposed entirely to the policy of internment and to the suspension of *habeas corpus*.

In the House of Commons, on Thursday, April 30, 1940, J. Parker, Labour M.P. for Romford, asked Mr. Oliver Stanley, then Secretary of State for War:

"Whether he is aware that Commandant Mary Allen is a member of the British Union of Fascists, spoke on Sir Oswald Mosley's platform at Friends' House on April 13, and is contributing a series of articles to 'Action.'"

On Friday, April 26, the *Daily Mirror* published an interview with Mary Allen She said:

"The Women's Voluntary Service is not active at the moment. I do not belong to any Government body.

"In the years I have been running my auxiliary service I have trained thousands of women to do patriotic work for their country.

"Since the war I have done nothing. Why should I? I have not been asked to train any women although I feel I should have been.

"As regards the question of my political views, I say quite openly that I am a member of the Fascist Party. . . .

"I did speak at a meeting at which Sir Oswald Mosley was present—but it was a women's peace meeting. I certainly said nothing unpatriotic."

To the question, "What is your attitude towards Hitler now?" she replied:—

"I have no opinion to give. Once my country is at war its enemies are my enemies."

Soon after the Great War broke out, Mary Allen went to Scotland Yard and offered her services, becoming one of the first women police. Her Women's Auxiliary Service began as a body for training women as police officers.

THE RETURN OF PONTIUS PILATE

By C. H. NORMAN

In primitive times, the first privileged class was the priesthood, which, by playing on the fears of the mass, acquired considerable wealth, which, exciting envy, caused the priesthood to create an armed force attached to the religious authority of the community, which, in turn, in later times developed into a military aristocratic class, the second privileged class in the community. From these two beginnings, later there arose the nobility, and then, the financial and trading bourgeoisie.

The extent to which fraud was used by the priestly caste to maintain its authority may be instanced by the first known use of steam as a mechanical force, by the priesthood of ancient Egypt, thus described by Gerald Heard in his "Source of Civilisation," page 176.

"How clearly the priesthood of Egypt understood what they were doing, and that their task was to dupe the ignorant and poor to make them submit. We have proofs from the earliest steam engine known, which is a device whereby steam pressure will make a pot placed under the floor turn on its axis, so wind a rope round itself, and this rope, running through a god's statue standing above, causes the image's arm to wave a Hitler salute to the people."

The vapour was emitted from the god's mouth as though the god were breathing.

To induce people to sacrifice their lives in war (which was involved in the protection of the property of the theocracy), the priesthood invented the theory of the immortality of the soul, by which the people were led to believe in the possibility of some projection of life from this earth on to a separate universe, in which, if the canons of the priesthood were obeyed on this earth, there was due reward guaranteed; while those who obeyed the priesthood were promised a second existence of everlasting or painful punishment. Eventually war was excused by all religions on the interesting casuistry under which individual murder was condemned but collective murder hallowed and justified as righteous and noble conduct by its participants. It is not without significance that all nations in wartime invoke the aid of God: yet God, if He takes any interest in the matter, cannot well be on both sides in war, the purpose of which is the achievement of victory by one side at the expense of the other. In the 8,780 wars which have been recorded since historical times there has been no clear evidence that God has taken sides by any supernatural intervention. During this war it has been pointed out that the intercession prayer services have apparently produced in various states the opposite effect to that for which the services were designed. So much so that a correspondent in "The New Statesman and Nation," in its issue of June 21st, 1940, urged that the English Archbishops should institute intercession services for Italy and Germany as a means of procuring the defeat of those countries!

One of the difficulties which lie in the way of the conscientious objector and the pacifist is in relying upon religious objection to war rather than resting their repulsion to all forms of war upon moral principle. The conscientious objector, when stating his case to any Court, is at once met by the argument from authority, which declares with absolute truth that the authorities of the Roman Catholic, the Anglican, the Mohammedan, the follicon, or the Judaic theocracies, have not only never condemned war as a general principle, but have justified it always on the particular occasion. Quaker and other sects (which do not acknowledge authority in religious doctrines) tend to support the pacific view of life; but, here again, there is no unanimity.

One example can be given of the difficulty in deriving any certainty of guidance from religious bodies on this important question by two quotations from the Old Testament, a book which was asserted for six centuries to be inspired, and to be treated as the voice of God speaking to man. Micah, chapter 4, verse 3, contains the following direction from the Almighty guide: *"And they shall beat their swords in ploughshares and their spears into pruning hooks;* nation shall not life up a sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more." In Joel, chapter 3, verses 9 and 10, the following instruction is given: "Proclaim ye this among the gentiles: Prepare war, wake up the mighty men, let all the men of war draw near; let them come up. *Beat your ploughshares into swords, and your pruning hooks into spears."* Those two passages can hardly be paralleled in literature for the radicality of their contradiction on the same subject matter. It is not surprising, therefore, that humble-minded conscientious objectors can easily be tripped up by the modern casuists who have succeeded the Roman Procurator in sitting in judgment on one view of the Christian ideal. Yet a moment's reflection would show the reason for this contradiction. As all the religious hierarchies rest upon economic privileges and sanction the principle of the exploitation of labour involved in the system of the private ownership of land and capital, it is natural for them to support the military profession in all its forms and actions.

Yet those who most fiercely criticise the conscientious objector entirely overlook the fact that most wars end by one army refusing to continue the fight any longer, as indeed most battles end. Very few armies in practice adopt the politician's adjuration to their people to "fight to the bitter end." This is an absurd phrase, for why fight if "the end" is to be "bitter," as the context would imply? The conscientious objector is only doing at the beginning what the soldier does at the end. In 1917, Russia went out of the war because the Russian Army refused to go on fighting. At Kut, one section of the British Army declined to continue the fight against the Turks and surrendered. A section of the Italian Army has just done the same thing in Lybia. The German Army in 1918 refused to fight any further, as did sections of the Polish Army in 1939, and as did sections of the Belgian, Dutch and French armies in 1940. Armies will only continue in the field provided there is a reasonable chance of success at not too great a loss of life in casualties. Armies also know that those who urge them "to fight to the bitter end" will be the first to flee to safety when things have gone against their particular side on the battlefield. The political leaders only indulge in vicarious fighting "to the end" by their speeches, addressed from say, Canada, Madagascar, Indo-China, or from London to Vichy.

Oscar Wilde, in his charming essay, "The Decay of Lying," remarked that Life imitated Art much more than Art was inspired by Life, pointing out that the English never knew there were such things as sunsets till Turner painted them! This piece of gay raillery had a singular justification in recent times. Mr. Bernard Shaw, in his play, "Major Barbara," in Act 3, puts these words into the mouth of Undershaft, the munitions millionaire: "I am the government of your country. You will make war when it suits us and peace when it does not." In the investigation held by the Special Committee of the United State Senate into the U.S. Munitions Industry and its responsibility for the entry of the United States into the war of 1914-1918, a memorandum was produced of July 23, 1923, from the Du Pont-Nemours Company, written by Major Casey, an official of that Company, in which the Major declared in criticism of the attitude of Congress towards the Munitions Industry: "This is *our* Country and not the Country Congress," meaning that the Munitions Industry controlled the United States, as Undershafe said of Great Britain in the play. Whereupon Senator Clark commented: "That is about the coolest statement that has yet been made, Major, as to the ownership of this country." But it was the fact, as the recent histories of Germany, Italy, Russia, France, Britain, Japan, and the United States amply show to those who care to face the facts without fear or favour.

The successful preparation for and carrying on of war is dependent upon two so-called moral principles: (1) Patriotism (which is the abnegation of the mind and, therefore, has no moral validity at all); (2) Discipline (which is the perfection of self-coruption in its doctrine of absolute obedience and, therefore, equally is without moral validity). It is here that the conscientious objector should take his stand in asertion of his statutory right rather than involve himself in the contradictions of religious doctrines, on which those who speak with authority can be arrayed against the humble mind. True, the founder of Christianity, himself a humble man gifted with the tongue of men and angels, in Matthew 5, 6 and 7, declared himself in a manner utterly inconsistent with any belief in war as a sanction in human society, as did Paul in the 1st Epistle to the Corinthians, chapter 13; none the less, Pacifism is not a religious principle in any exact meaning, but a moral principle resting on conscience, not on superstition or authority.

The tribunals which are engaged in judging the good faith of conscientious objectors seem rather in the position of the Procurator of Judea, as described by Anatole France in his story recounting the conversation between Aelius Lamia and Pontius Pilate during the latter's retirement. "I learn by chance," said Lamia, "that she had attached herself to a small company of men and women who were followers of a young Galilean thanmaturgist. His name was Jesus; He came from Nazareth, and He was crucified for some crime, I don't quite know what. Pontius, do you remember anything about the man?" "Pontius Pilate contracted his brows, and his hand rose to his forehead in the attitude of one who probes the deeps of memory. Then after a silence of some seconds—'Jesus?' he murmured, 'Jesus of Nazareth? I cannot call him to mind." Nor, apparently, can many of those sitting in judgment on the conscientious objector in Britain.

WHY JESUS WEPT

The Vanguard, Glasgow, for March, 1941, quotes two items from the January *Word*, one dealing with Sir Patrick Dollan, and the other with the Orpheus Choir Ban.

The same issue of our contemporary notices *"Why Jesus Wept."* The editor, Mr. A. Ratcliffe, says:—

"Why Jesus Wept," by Guy A. Aldred. . . .The author is an atheist, and one wonders why he should be so interested in the fact that Jesus wept. For to Mr. Aldred Jesus was just an ordinary human being! This pamphlet is really a series of essays, and we do not think that much of it is of interest to Protestants. The popular theory that Jesus wept because of the hypocrisy of the religionists is plainly urged by the writer, and it seems to be claimed that Jesus has reason to weep to-day for the very same reason. Our opinion as to why Jesus wept differs from the popular view. We think that Jesus wept because of the faithlessness of his followers: we believe that what grieved the Lord was that His followers did not have sufficient trust in Him. To read Mr. Aldred's pamphlet of 72 pp. will not, we believe, greatly help the believer in Jesus. At the same time, a reading of "Why Jesus Wept" cannot do anyone any harm.

We invite our readers to buy the pamphlet and so judge the issue for themselves.

"THE WORD"—SPECIAL!
Johnston, McGovern, and Creech Jones.

October, 1939. Containing Johnston's attack on War Profiteers and also on John McGovern, M.P. Also Court-Martial statement made by A. Creech Jones, on August 31, 1936. This issue reproduces the editor's absolutist's Army discharge, 1919. Creech Jones possesses a similar discharge.

February, 1940. Thomas Johnston's attack on the Labour Members of the War Cabinet during the Great War, quoted and summarised.

Only a limited number of these issues remain. They should be ordered at once. Post Free, 3d each, or 6d for the two. Address your orders to: *The Strickland Press*, 104 George Street, *Glasgow, C.1.*

CONSCIENCE AND EDUCATION

BY ANNESLEY G. ALDRED

When, under the terms of the National Service (Armed Forces) Act, 1939, opponents of militarism were graciously granted the legal right to have a conscience, the so-called democratic method of government was considered to have justified itself by this one act of tolerance alone. It was taken for granted that the Conscientious objectors to this war would receive both understanding and justice and that there would be no victimisation "this time."

Of course that was in the months when, though the shadow of war was heavy, we were still at peace. An uneasy peace, to be sure, but still without the hatred and bitterness engendered by war. Then came the war and any illusion that understanding and justice could survive in such an atmosphere was speedily destroyed.

The C.O. Tribunals started off, for the most part, by really trying to do their jobs, even if they did make it rather obvious that they considered those who appeared before them to be both adolescent and mentally backward. But the temper changed rapidly, and soon it became a question not of trying to judge conscience but of forcing the last ounce of compromise out of the applicants, with no attempt at concealing their hatred and spleen towards those who refused to surrender their conscientious beliefs.

At the same time the economic victimisation of C.O.'s also gathered momentum. In spite of pious hopes expressed by the Ministry of Labour, which carefully took no steps to enforce them, headlines such as "Town Council Sacks C.O.'s" became so common that they hardly merited notice, and the only surprise was when some rare Council showed that they still had a sense of equity by refusing to victimise those of their employees who stood by their conscience.

The fact is that, notwithstanding the ever-increasing number who are going to prison rather than forsake their principles, the economic weapon has, up to the present, been regarded as a far more efficient way of bludgeoning C.O.'s into some form of compromise. And it is because of it's very efficiency in that direction that the wholesale dismissals have been accepted as serving that purpose and that purpose only.

But is that, in fact, the case. A closer examination of the individual cases of victimisation reveals the fact that there are an extraordinarily large number of teachers amongst them. Moreover in the rare cases, already referred to, when some Council has declined to dismiss them, there has inevitably been a determined protest from the local "Colonel Blimps" informing the world what they would do with all pacifists, and being righteously indignant at the idea of pacifists teaching their children.

All this raises the question as to whether there is not a strong reason why such indignation should be aroused, and why such a determined attack should be made on teachers. Is it not possible that one of the particular "objectives" aimed at during the seemingly indiscriminate attack on pacifists is to destroy this pacifist sphere of influence? An attack which is impelled by the fear that if the younger generation should have an opportunity to hear both sides of the question they might refuse to have anything to do with another war, even if they are too young to have an immediate influence on this one?

It has long been an accepted axiom of power and place-seeking religious and political bodies that, if they had the opportunity to exert their influence on children during their most impressionable years, they could easily instil a belief in their doctrines, however false or bigoted those doctrines might be.

Pacifists and Socialists, on the other hand, have, because of their inherent belief in freedom of thought, refused to accept such methods as legitimate; have, on the whole, refused to stress their ideas before children, preferring to give them only the unbiased truth and leaving them to form their own opinions when the power to reason was matured.

But even the opportunity to do that occurs all too seldom and the task becomes the almost impossible one of creating understanding in mature minds which have been hopelessly warped by the falsehood and hatred which has been inculcated into them.

Little wonder, then, that Pacifist propaganda has failed to overcome the ruthless propaganda methods of the munition-monger and war-profiteer. Little wonder that the war-mongers are afraid that the Pacifists have learnt that, for the sake of civilisation, they must overcome their scruples in this direction.

These war-mongers and militarists know, as well as we do, that in the end the flood-tide of human knowledge and understanding will overcome all obstacles. They know, too, that a day will dawn when mankind will refuse to resort to violence.

Their task is to postpone that day; ours is to speed it. Nor must we let our confidence in the ultimate triumph of our ideals cause us to relax our efforts even in these dark hours when those efforts may seem wasted. The attacks on those Teachers who proclaim themselves Pacifists can only be explained on the grounds that there are some who are already looking towards *the next war.*

Our resolve must be quite definite. By every ounce of influence, by every method of education, on every occasion we must proclaim the truth of our ideals. Every bombed-out adult who asks why this has happened to him, or her, should be told the truth as we see it; should be made to realise that in all the many cities of the world, where the people are suffering they are asking the same questions. Every frightened child who wants to know why bombs are dropping should be told how wrong and silly it all is; should be told to be brave because other little children are brave in "other cities, even enemy cities;" should have it explained that one day such horrors will end for ever.

The issue is quite clear for every Pacifist. It should be equally clear to every Socialist, even those who feel they must support this war. Never again must worker march against worker in military array. *The end of this war must be the end of all war.*

JOAD'S "REPENTED PACIFISM."

At a sitting of the Conscientious Objectors' Tribunal held at Reading on Tuesday, April 15, Ralph Edwin Joad, 20-year-old son of Dr. C. E. M. Joad, applied for exemption from military service. Joad is an agricultural student at Reading University and he based his claim on ethical grounds.

Dr. Joad wrote stressing to the sincerity of his son's views. He pointed out that he himself was a conscientious objector in the last war, and for some time was chairman of the National Peace Council. He added:

"I have since repented my pacifism and am convinced that we must beat the Nazis, and I am pretty actively engaged in the war effort."

Ralph Joad was ordered to do full-time agricultural or civil defence work.

DEMOCRACY MEANS TOLERANCE.

The following excellent letter to the editor was published in the *Baltimore Sun*, U.S.A., for March 1, 1941, under the heading, *Conscientious Objectors*:—

Sir,—Every act of tolerance is a vote of confidence in democracy. I am a militant Methodist, but I rejoice that conscientious objectors are to be allowed to serve in camps of forestry and not be thrown into prison.

Moreover, I speak up for those who "conscientiously object" to saluting the flag. Foolish as it seems to refuse, it is not an act of treason, and neither parent nor child should be punished for the refusal by the exclusion of the child from school.

MARIA BALDWIN.

Baltimore, Feb. 27.

PICKTHORN'S UNHAPPY CONSCIENCE

Conchies to Fight—M.P.'s to be Exempt!

In *Truth*, London, for April 4 last, Kenneth Pickthorn, M.P., who sits for Cambridge University, reviews the debate in the House of Commons, on Wednesday, March 26, last, when John McGovern moved the rejection of the second reading of the National Service Bill. The voting was as follows:—

Ayes: 176, plus 2 tellers. This included C. G. Ammon, who was a conscientious objector during the Great War, and has been exposed by us in *Government By Labour* (1924) and *At Grips With War* (1929).

Noes 4, plus 2 tellers:

Buchanan, G.
Gallacher, W.
Salter, Dr. A.
Sloan, A.

Tellers: *James Maxton & John McGovern.*

Pickthorn's article opens with a sneering definition of conscience:—

"What is conscience? It used to be what made cowards of us all, and now it is what makes martyrs of as many of us as choose to take just enough stock in it, in a limited liability kind of way. . . . If suffering is the badge of conscience, it is not enough of a distinction nowadays: there are too many who suffer, and the martyrs do not suffer enough."

Pickthorn proceeds to describe the debate, selecting for special notice John McGovern and Rhys Davies:

"What the champions and spokemen of conscience tell is not very helpful. The House of Commons, for instance, has recently heard the voices of Mr. Rhys Davies and Mr. McGovern, voices neither still nor small, but not very clear either, unfortunately. It might be excessive to say that Mr. Rhys Davies was more turgid than usual, but it is only fair to say that Mr. McGovern was less clear than he can be.

"Mr. McGovern quoted the present Parliamentary Private Secretary to the Ministry of Labour, who, in the days when his conscience prevented him from military service, wrote: . . ."

Here follows an excerpt from the Court-Martial Statement.

We publish an article on Creech Jones in another column. This Court-Martial statement has appeared in these columns already, and was quoted presumably by McGovern from them. There is no need for further repetition. Pickthorn seizes on the passage in which Creech Jones told the Court-Martial that, since he had devoted his life to change the social system, he could not, on moral grounds, form any part in a military organisation.

Pickthorn attacks this excellent statement, and even Creech Jones for making it, in order to denounce McGovern. He comments:—

"Mr. McGovern objected that this (and there was much more of it) was inconsistent with service at the Ministry of Labour and with support of the National Service Bill. The objection may be valid: but what is much more interesting is that it never occurs to a man of Mr. McGovern's perspicacity to question whether this sort of stuff is consistent within itself. Is it conscience that makes a man self-conscously 'give the whole of his leisure in earnest work to uplift his fellows'? Should not conscience be too keenly on the look-out for non-sequitur to jump all the steps from the consciousness of superiority and benevolence to: therefore I cannot allow myself to be shot at, or even to help those who will?"

This is not an attack on McGovern merely. It dismissed Creech Jones's statement made at his Court-Martial with the sneering, *"this sort of stuff."* Would friend Pickthorn have had the courage to face the Court-Martials, and to endure the long weary imprisonment that was endured by our comrade, Creech Jones? Of course it was conscience, and the vision that makes conscience a vital element in human character and social progress, that made Creech Jones struggle for the emancipation of humanity.

Pretending to defend Creech Jones, Pickthorn admits the force of McGovern's charge of inconsistency, and then by sneering inference, accuses Jones of being a prig, self-consciously superior and benevolent to his fellows in attitude of mind. Pickthorn indicts Jones as a coward hiding behind snobbery: for he makes Jones say:

"*therefore* I cannot allow myself to be shot at, or even to help those who will."

The emphasis on the *"therefore"* is made by Pickthorn. It charges Jones with moral insensibility.

Pickthorn and Jones may sometimes vote in the same lobby. They may tend to support the same Government Coalition. But they are miles apart in their understanding. Pickthorn's attack on Jones proceeds not merely from an objection to scruples of conscience. He objects to Jones for political and class reasons. Jones subscribes, as well as a parliamentary Socialist can, to the Socialist conception. He believes in the working-class struggle. Pickthorn looks forward with dread to that struggle renewing itself and supplanting the war effort. He hates the reality of the social war; and he hates Creech Jones as defining that reality. The deepest of all hatred, class hatred, is behind this sneering, treacherous defence of the attitude at present adopted by Creech Jones.

Pickthorn makes this fact clear in his very next sentence. He says:—

"If there is here, as I believe, inconsistency, and if Mr. McGovern, who does not generally miss much, fails to spot it, that is probably because his eyes are clouded by some unwillingness on his own part to comb and card the verbal wool: he champions '*political objectors*,' who 'make no bones about it.'"

He proceeds to discuss what is meant by a religious objection, a conscientious objection, and a moral objection. He adds:—

"How does 'political objection' fit into this series? It is not self-evident, and we ought to be told. I suspenet that what is meant is that an objection on grounds of policy is a conscientious objection if it is really held and not merely simulated. **The truth is that a political objection to the action, especially the warlike action, of the legitimate government of one's country is conscientiously held only when it has been painfully and regretfully thought out, and that even then it is not necessarily a conscientious objection."**

And who shall say that Creech Jones did not painfully and regretfully think out his objection to war in 1916? Who shall say that it was not allied to a moral and to a religious objection? Who shall say that the Socialist objector to the present war does not think out his objection painfully and regretfully?

Pickthorn proceeds to attack Rhys Davies:

"Mr. Rhys Davies's notion of the connection between conscience and politics was at once simpler and more muddled than Mr. McGovern's. *He seemed to think it important, and the more important because the Home Secretary knew it, that 'the vast majority' of conscientious objectors 'are members of the working class, and that a large number are probably members of the Labour Party.'*

"He threw another sidelight also on the relation between conscience and politics; he was much concerned lest a conscientious objector might 'be conscripted to be a War Reserve policeman.' It did not seem to occur to him that this raised the whole question whether a conscientious objector to military service is entitled to avail himself of civil government. And, indeed, when the Home Secretary said that 'it would not suit' him to call up 'conscientious objectors to the use of violence to serve in the police force,' it did not (apparently) occur to him that this raised the question when and why he himself had given up his conscientious objection to the use of violence.

"And there was another question which Mr. Rhys Davies raised without appearing to be aware of it, the question whether all Christian objectors object to war because they are Christians or whether some of them are Christians because they find that the most convenient way of objecting to war.

Rhys Davies was right, and the comment made by Pickthorn is dishonest. It conceals the fact that Davies was referring to the penalty of 2 years' imprisonment or £100 fine or both. He argued that working-class youths could not pay such a fine.

The comment on the War Reserve Policeman hits at the argument put up by Bevin in defence of the measure. Bevin urged, wrongly in our opinion, that one could have a conscientious objection to war, but not to the State nor to the State's right of compulsion. If Bevin's argument is sound, Pickthorn's logic is nonsense.

The curious reasoning as to which comes first, Christian conviction or conscientious objection to war, is Pickthorn's reaction to the reply made by Mr. Davies to an interruption by Mr. Pickthorn. Mr. Pickthorn quotes the reply:—

"If any hon. Member can prove to me that the Saviour who died on Calvary two thousand years ago would join the British, French, German or Italian armies at any time, I would never darken the door of a Christian church again."

Pickthorn makes the stupid aside comment: *"This is to darken counsel indeed."* It is to do no such thing. Davies was coming to grips with reality and demanding that Christians embrace in their own lives Christian teaching.

Pickthorn should have given the prelude to this remark of Davies. The latter was speaking. He said:—

"Not very long ago I stood on a mount called Calvary, where the greatest of my Hon. Friend's noble race died for conscience, and not all the power of the Roman Empire could alter His attitude. He preferred to die for his conscience rather than submit to the rule of the tribunals of the Romans.

"Mr. Pickthorn (Cambridge University): 'He did not claim to be exempted.'"

This is quoted from the *Official Report*. Rhys Davies retorted as quoted. And he was right. The argument shows no muddle in Davies's thinking. Only in Pickthorn's. *If Jesus did not claim to be exempted, as Pickthorne says; if he would not have gone before a Tribunal; then he would have been victimised under this very Bill that Pickthorn supported. The Bill is designed to victimise such as Jesus, who would not have claimed to be exempted, and to protect those who claim exemption successfully. That is Bevin's test of conscience and entire argument.* Obviously, Pickthorn obeyed the Whips, and voted in the wrong lobby.

We need not follow the argument further. Pickthorn writes a great deal more about conscience's claim to special indulgence, courage, hypocrisy, and the ex-conscientious objector, who accepts office of importance. But he says nothing about the claim of the pro-war, anti-conscientious objector M.P., *who claimed that no M.P. should be liable under the National Service Act.*

Pickthorn moved in this direction on April 1. This claim was strenuously attacked by McGovern and was not pressed to a division. All the speeches on this phase of the question ought to be read. The main ones we will reprint or quote fully as occasion permits.

It would seem that Pickthorn has no religious, nor moral, nor political objection to war. He has merely a parliamentary objection to war service. He claims special indulgence in the matter. Would he say that the arguments we have analysed entitle him to obtain the special indulgence he claims. Ought he to be exempt because he sits, somewhat stupidly, for Cambridge University, whilst Christian and Socialist objectors to war, genuine friends of humanity, are compelled to kill their fellow human beings with the weapons of modern totalitarian war, or endure persecution for their refusal to do so?

We submit the question to the consideration of the workers outside the House of Commons. They know the attitude of the University-elect towards the workers during the 1926 so-called General Strike.

"ON TWO FRONTS."

Corder Catchpool served with the Friends' Ambulance Unit during the Great War until conscription came. Then he returned to England to resist conscription. He received 4 Court-Martials. When his last sentence was read out, he wore the Mons ribbon for bravery in saving life under fire. His story is told in *On Two Fronts* and will be retold in our columns. There can be no question as to the physical or the moral courage of Corder Catchpool. He proved that he did not fear to lose his life saving life on the field of battle, and he did not fear to oppose public opinion in war-time.

As a member of the Friends' Committee concerned with 18B detainers, Corder Catchpool brings to consideration of these cases knowledge acquired in prison during war-time. Among the cases placed before the Committee is that of John Beckett.

NEMESIS: THE MARCH OF POWER

FROM 1909 TRIAL TO 18B

(*Concluded from page* 103).

Was I not justified in referring to a Government that relied on such men as Fulton, assisted by the clamour of the then Blumenfeld-edited *Daily Express*, as a conspiracy against the Constitution, a despotism flourishing on treason against the Constitution, a despotism flourishing on treason against the liberties of the people? Was I not justified in laying stress upon "misrepresentations, prejudices, passions, and ignorance of those whose boast is law and order"?

APATHY AND THE DRIFT TOWARDS DESPOTISM.

There are many persons alive to-day who realise the part played by clamour in entrenching social wrong. In 1909 these folk were unwilling to recognise this fact and even endorsed the clamour. From this indifference, apathy, or stupid concurrence, has flown that tide of war and suffering along which the world is drifting to chaos and a revolution of hunger rather than of mind. In 1909 I was the constitutionalist, not the barrister who appeared against me; not the jury who convicted me, nor the judge who lectured and sentenced me. My desire was to save the world from chaos.

I ask my readers to turn to the legal reports of the 1909 trial and to note the names of the legal luminaries who appeared on behalf of the prosecution. It is amazing to reflect that it required more lawyers than warders to consign me to durance vile. Nearly all became judges or police court stipendiaries or received high legal appointments. How few of them aimed at being jurists, and so using their academic training to serve the people, to uphold principles of law and social concord, to develop conditions of justice! Let the reader consider the destiny of my opponents, proud of their wig and gown distinction, and then return to the record of the lawyers of the Paine-Carlile periods. They will discover a similar study of progress from bar to bench, of servitude to power, of reason perverted to gain and status. A story of legal drift to social disaster, of intellect skating on the carpet of class pretension stretched across an abyss of oppression, of culture doomed for want of thought and social understanding.

The judges of the Carlile period, and the judge who condemned me in 1909, with the barristers and solicitors who earned their bread by procuring condemnation, created the precedent of clamorous ignorance which pretends that the suspension of *habeas corpus*, and denial of civil liberty in the terms of 18B, are firm expressions of constitutional law. My condemnation in 1909, the subsequent prosecutions of 1912, the graver prosecutions of 1921, cleared the way for further extra-judicial inroads upon the liberty of the individual who dares to think, speak truly according to his lights, and boasts some amount of public spirit.

THOMAS JOHNSTON'S OPINION IN 1912.

In 1911, I revised and rewrote the "life" of Richard Carlile and published it serially in the columns of the *Herald of Revolt*, before reissuing it in booklet form. *Forward*, edited by Thomas Johnston, in its issue for March 30, 1912, reproduced nearly the whole of the second chapter of that "life," and credited me with having gathered

"Some interesting historical information on the persecutions of the Mutiny Act period—the period that the Attorney-General and his capitalist backers regard as the 'Golden Age.'"

This was said well. Only, through parliamentarism, Johnston now finds himself for the second time in the Cabinet and for the third time in the Government. The present 18B Government looks back to the Mutiny Act period as the "Golden Age," which they fain would have us enjoy as our forefathers did before us, ere they revolted!

It is not my intention to detail, in the present essay, the 1921 Glasgow High Court trial of *Rex* v. *Aldred, Patrick, and others;* to consider the career of the late Lord Skerrington, who presided and denounced me so vigorously as a ring-leader; and of the late A. M. MacRobert, K.C., who prosecuted.

1921 TRIAL

The 1921 trial was an improvement on the 1909 London prosecution. No one pretended that the prosecution was a private matter between the Government and myself. John McGovern, now M.P. for Shettleston, had no idea of entering Parliament at that time. My 110 days' imprisonment, without bail, pending trial, found him most vigorous in my interest. After my sentence he loyally and actively identified himself with my cause and spared no effort to serve me. William Gallacher—with no prospects of a parliamentary career before him, and not yet called upon to defend the wholesale suppressions, persecutions, and murders of Moscow—eulogised my defence in the columns of *The Worker*. Harry McShane, not yet a Communist Party parrot, reported the trial very fully in *The Socialist*. Patrick Dollan, not yet Lord Provost, and so still unknighted, reported my arrest, trial, defence, serially in the columns of *The Daily Herald*, then controlled entirely by the Labour Movement. Dollan noted every effective point made in my speech for the defence and eulogised my stand. These reports belong to the history of the social struggle and will be reproduced in due course. The present status and activities of the persons I have mentioned prove that, despite appearances to the contrary, I was still alone in what the ruling class apologists term my seditious tendencies.

SOCIALISM AND 18B.

That essential loneliness explains my almost isolated Socialist protest against the 18B arrests of to-day. Most of the victims were, at some time or another, associated with Fascism. In my eyes that does not affect their right to be charged and tried by judge and jury. In my time I have demanded justice for Anarchists. During the last war I had to protest against clamour against conscientious objectors. I still uphold the constitutional right of citizens, irrespective of opinion. I look back to the 1921 prosecutions.

The then discretions and alliances of the parliamentary Socialist, not yet arrived, were but the diplomatic expressions of reformist opportunism. Time has shown that such opportunism is fatal to every principle of democracy and to all requirements of jurisprudence. My 1909 stand was correct. My admiration of Paine, and, even more, of Carlile, was correct. Parliamentarism defines neither justice nor democracy: parliamentarism has no respect for the principles of jurisprudence. The learned definition of sedition given by Mr. Justice Coleridge in 1909 was unfair as an indictment of my attitude towards freedom and the social struggle. The denunciation of my low notion of parliamentarism by Lord Skerrington in 1921 was no less unjust. Skerrington implied that I had no respect for constitutional justice as a principle of nature, as the essential element of the social contract, invisible but vital, that link men and women together in society, that is higher than all class division and all military conflict. Such constitutional justice is superior to decrees of kings inspired by the frenzy of divine right illusions, and above all Star Chamber decrees. The principles of such constitutional justice are greater than the legislative enactments of any suicide parliament sacrificing the right of the individual to think and speak and act except as the tool and subject of the State executive.

To-day, we know that Socialist Parliamentarism has continued the rule of militarist and class society; that it belongs to the same category of clamour as Radical Parliamentarism that went before; to the same category of clamour as Tory Parliamentarism. Socialist Parliamentarism has broadened the basis of class-society's political corruption and so extended the structure of the pyramid of tyranny.

PARLIAMENTARIANS AND THE STAR CHAMBER

If the present Dukes of Bedford or Wellington read the reports of my 1909 trial in the London *Times*, or accounts of my 1921 trial in the general press, I do not suppose that they reflected on the significance of such prosecution. On the contrary, doubtless they felt that I was wrong. But I feel that the indifference to the principles of the 1909 prosecution; and the non-understanding of the import of the 1921 case, which bristled with illegalities, that no one considered important, has led, through the growing executive power of the post-war years, by the power of clamour over reason, to the present 18B destruction of constitutional rights of the citizen. Tory and Labour parliamentarians have united in Britain to re-establish Star Chamber justice, actually asserting in modern form the old stupid dictatorship ideal of the divine right of kings or of the central executive. They have done this, because in Europe, parliamentarians, Tory and Socialist, failed to establish commonwealth and so plunged civilisation into the violence of chaos.

Thus it is clear that I was right, when in 1909, I asserted that I stood alone in the Old Bailey Court Room for constitutional right: that my jailers, my prosecutors, the judge and jury, were all using legal terms to perpetuate constitutional wrong, and so finally to annul or to overthrow constitutional right. It is clear that I was right during the panic days of 1921, in once more attempting to uphold constitutional right when, after passing through the various preliminary stages of arrest and detention, I found myself in the dock with my few comrades in the Glasgow High Court, facing prosecutors, judge, and jury again. On both occasions I was accused of violence because I disbelieved in violence. On both occasions I was accused of planning constitutional outrage when I was upholding constitutional rights. I pleaded in vain to be heard. Clamour silenced me. To-day, my very enemies are forced to realise that I was right. And so, expecting at last to be heard, I assert the constitutional rights of man against all appearances of law and all expressions of power that deny the rights of man.

THE RIGHTS OF MAN

The Rights of Man were defined in the American Declaration of Independence, although no longer subscribed to by many American politicians. The Rights of Man were defined by Thomas Paine and Richard Carlile. Lawyers have ridiculed these Rights of Man, but they remain the bulwark of human happiness and human well-being. It is the duty of citizens, inspired by a sense of public affection, to uphold those rights in these days of stress and storm. These Rights, maintained, conserve society. Denied, they will revolutionise society.

Proudhon had a clear idea of how militarist society must give way to industrial society. He had a clear vision of reaction being but the prelude to revolution. His notion of parliamentarism was no less correct. Proudhon, the enemy of violence, the anticipator of free society, has described how social change must come until the rights of every human being are established finally for ever: "*Like the Nemesis of old, whom neither prayers nor threats could move, the revolution advances, with sombre and inevitable tread, over the flowers with which its devotees strew its path, through the blood of its champions, and over the bodies of its enemies.*"

Nemesis is the goddess of vengeance, prepared to reward the virtuous, and to destroy the

vicious. She is one of the infernal deities, and is the daughter of Nox, who is the daughter of Chaos. Nemesis is the grand-daughter of Chaos. Which is proof that pagan mythology is not far removed from truth and an appreciation of the first principles of modern social struggle.

THE SCOTTISH SECRETARIAT

THOMAS JOHNSTON'S EVOLUTION

In this Journal we have dealt, very thoroughly, with the career of Lord Provost Sir Patrick Dollan. That story belongs to the history of Parliamentary Socialism in Scotland. It is our intention, at an early date, to collect our exposures into one pamphlet, devoted to this record of failure and careerism. Important chapters in that work will be devoted to the career of Thomas Johnston, M.P., at present Secretary of State for Scotland.

Johnston's political comments and activities have been discussed in these columns as follows:

(1) *October*, 1939. On his appointment as Regional Defence Commissioner for Scotland. His *Forward* writings during the Great War, and his later attack on John McGovern, are recalled and quoted.

(2) February, 1940. Under the title "A Calendar of Codology," Johnston's description of Barnes and Henderson, for entering the War Cabinet, "*whilst capital class-consciousness was in control of the State*," as doing so "*on the decoy duck principle.*"

These issues are obtainable still Pending the publication of the new pamphlet mentioned, and until the small stocks in hand are exhausted, comrades should secure copies, if they have not kept those issued by them. To-day, they make better reading even than when first published.

References, with full quotations from his political commentary, are made to Thomas Johnston in *Socialism and Parliament*, 1934, revised edition, as follows:—

Chapter III., Page 15. This comments on the suspension of Wheatley, the tameness of the Labour Party in the Cabinet, and the need for Socialist opinion in the country.

Chapter IV., Page 19. His attack on the Parliamentary Labour Party, for decreeing that the Party must stand to "*God Save The King.*" This refers to the Neil MacLean incident and Jack Jones's censure. The full quotation from Johnston contains this sentence:—

"The average Socialist spits on the ground and crosses himself when he thinks about the Parliamentary Labour Party."

Appendix VII., Page 81. This is an appendix to chapter xiv. of the book, tracing the political history of Ramsay MacDonald, and showing how the I.L.P. supported him in his political vagaries, digressions, and devious evolution. In 1917, MacDonald urged a Balfour-Asquith Government. Notwithstanding MacDonald's record, Johnston, in May, 1925, eulogised MacDonald as "*The Covenanter turned Prime Minister.*" Johnston's fulsome eulogy is quoted at length in this appendix. It should be added that it was published with the consent and with the approval of the I.L.P.

With these facts and references before him, we ask the reader to study these further chapters on the evolution of Thomas Johnston.

I. THE ARMED FORCES VOTING.

Ramsay MacDonald retained William Adamson as Secretary of State for Scotland in his 1929 (Second Labour) Government. But he dropped J. Stewart (St. Rollox), the barber, as Under-Secretary. In his place, he appointed Thomas Johnston. The reappointment defined the reactionary character of MacDonald's second Labour Administration. The 1931 National Government consequence was in line with MacDonald's 1917 ideal of a Balfour-Asquith National Government. Not immediate crisis, but the trend of MacDonald's political mind dictated this course. Johnston's membership of the Churchill Government in 1941 shows how completely Toryism belongs to Labour politics, and how unreal have been past Labour Party denunciations of the present Prime Minister.

Adamson's reactionary toadyism during the war period was notorious. Ramsay MacDonald commented on it frequently, and Thomas Johnston often denounced it in scathing terms. The denunciation was merited.

In *Government by Labour* (1928), page 34, we reproduce Ramsay MacDonald's attack on Adamson for depriving "*the Socialist sections of their direct contact with the Socialist International*" (*Forward*, April 18, 1918). We quote the *Labour Leader's* attack on Adamson for his "*feeble criticism*" *of Government* (April 24, 1919), also the same journal's denunciation of his militarism, November 1, 1917. But our best excerpt is culled from an article contributed by Thomas Johnston to the *Forward* for June 5, 1918.

Johnston depicted Adamson's toadyism in these uncompromising terms:—

"More men who wear the livery. Wm. Anderson, M.P., takes a Privy Councillorship. . . . We waste no sympathy upon them. The Government dragged its net wide this time. Thousands of jokers have been ennobled, including three already ennobled Highnesses, but only five Labour men appear to have fallen."

In 1918, Johnston denounced Adamson as one of the fallen, one of the men who wear the livery. Eleven years later, he shared the livery with him. To-day, Adamson's complete mantle has fallen upon him. We are sure that the Capitalist press, which eulogised Johnston, will endorse this statement; because that same press praised Adamson when Johnston denounced him. So that, from the viewpoint of Johnston's capitalist admirers, it is the same livery. Which is our most just complaint.

That Adamson was indeed one of the fallen, in thought as well as in fact, he laboured hard to make clear in a circular that he issued as Secretary of State for Scotland, in April, 1924. Here is a remarkable extract:—

"Mr. Adamson made it his first task to acquaint himself with the actual facts. It was A REAL RELIEF TO HIM to find that his apprehensions as to the wide prevalence of avoidable hardship were unfounded."

Why did Adamson not acquaint himself with these "facts" before taking office? Was his "*real* relief" justified? Was there not a wide prevalence of avoidable hardship still extant when Thomas Johnston became Scottish Secretary in 1941? And may we be forgiven for smiling at Adamson's quaint third-personal reference to himself? Quite a touch of pomp and circumstance, an undeserved sense of importance.

On pages 34 to 43 of *Government By Labour*, we tell the story of the *Army Annual Bill* being considered in Committee, April, 1924. We tell the famous and intriguing story of the five amendments, and list the members of the 1929 Labour Government who voted with Adamson in 1924. Some of these persons are dead. Others are no longer M.P.'s.

Adamson voted against the following four amendments:—

(1) The abolition of the death penalty.

(2) Right of Appeal against death sentence by Court-Martial to the Court of Criminal Appeal.

(3) Right of a soldier to refuse to be used in industrial disputes.

(4) Attendances at church parades or religious service to be voluntary.

The following persons—who became members of the 1929 Government with him, and sit in the House to-day—voted with him against these amendments in 1924:—

(1) C. G. Ammon, a conscientious objector during the Great War, and Parliamentary and Financial Secretary to the Admiralty in 1929.

(2) William Lunn.

(3) Major C. R. Atlee.

(4) J. R. Clynes.

The following member of the House to-day, and of the 1929 Government, voted with Adamson against the abolition of the death penalty in 1924:—Thomas Kennedy.

Major Attlee, as Under-Secretary of State for the War Office, opposed the Second Amendment. Thomas Johnston urged the House to accept the Amendment and denounced the Death Penalty. He declared that Attlee had not answered the point of the Amendment, which proposed to give a man convicted by Court-Martial and sentenced to death the right of legal appeal. Specific cases existed where a man had been shot under circumstances that outraged feelings. He added:—

"Hon. Members may find a case reported on the 12th April last year in the Official Report, a case vouched for by the present Colonial Secretary and by the Financial Secretary to the War Office. I think that it was the Financial Secretary who read out the gruesome details to this House. I have never read a more atrocious story in my life. The case cannot be disputed at all. I think it alone affords a very strong argument why the Amendment that has been moved from these Benches should be accepted by the Government, and, indeed, by the whole Committee."

After interruption, Johnston continued:—

"Surely no hon. Gentlemen opposite who are Army officers or ex-Army officers can take exception upon grounds of discipline to this Amendment, and I trust that the Government—the Front Bench who supported this Amendment a year ago—will accept it now. For the life of me I cannot see how the attitude towards a condemned man suddenly becomes wrong when we cross the floor of the House.

"Hon. Member—Wait till you are on the Front Bench.

"T. Johnston—If I change my views because I go on to any Front Bench, then I shall lay myself open, and justly so, to the taunt that I am making now."

Johnston later made himself *open* to the taunt that he made in the House of Commons on April 2, 1924! For one thing, despite his 1924 indignation, in 1926 he concealed deliberately both the truth and his indignation. By calculated lying on this very question of the death penalty on soldiers, he aimed to help his party to power or place a second time.

In *Forward*, for January 29, 1927, was published, across two columns, the following advertisement:—

"NOW READY.
"The Propaganda Pamphlet.
"For Sale at Meetings.

"SIXTEEN PAGES (Brevier Type.) ONE PENNY

"The Year 1926 Under Tory Profiteers.

"By THOMAS JOHNSTON, M.P.

"This Pamphlet meets the universal demand for a Penny Propaganda Pamphlet. Every fact is culled from the columns of 'Hansard' or the 'Forward.' It is a most conclusive indictment of Tory Profiteer Government.

"It is a collection of the most damning facts of the year 1926, collated after the style of Thomas Johnston's Pamphlet, 'The Huns at Home.' 200,000 copies of 'The Huns at Home' were sold, and its sale had a marked effect upon public opinion prior to the Labour victories of the General Election of 1922.

"This new Pamphlet, 'The Tory Profiteers in 1926,' will have an even greater effect.

"A huge edition is being run off as an advertisement for the 'Forward.' It is obvious that the Pamphlet is being sold under cost of production.

"The offer cannot be repeated. It is first come, first served.

"One Labour M.P. has asked for 5000 copies for his Division."

There followed a statement of terms, and then the appended "boost":—

"Absolutely indispensable for Socialists.

"A complete armoury with which to assail the unconverted."

In later announcements, this diary was said to have contributed to the success of the Labour Party at the polls.

Johnston commenced the publication of this "Socialist Diary" in *Forward*, for August 14, 1926. No. 4 of the "Diary" was published in the columns of that journal for September 4, 1926. We reproduced its title, and one portion

of the "Diary" verbatim in *The Commune* supplement, dated, September 12, 1926—that listing the M.P.'s who voted for the Death Penalty.

(*Reprinted exactly from* "Forward.")

"UNDER THE PROFITEERS.

"A SOCIALIST DIARY FOR 1926

"APRIL.

"THE DEATH PENALTY.
"21/4/26.—House of Commons votes by 269 to 123 in favour of retaining Death Penalty in the Army.
"Among the members in favour of retaining this barbarous 'punishment' were:—"
Here followed a list of 26 Tory Members who had voted for the Death Penalty.

We parallelled this 1926 "Diary" with the following 1924 record:—

(*Compiled exactly from Hansard.*)

"UNDER THE ANTI-PROFITEERS.

"A SOCIALIST DIARY FOR 1924.

"APRIL.

"THE DEATH PENALTY.
"2/4/24.—House of Commons votes by 207 to 136 in favour of retaining Death Penalty in the Army.
"Among the members in favour of retaining this barbarous 'punishment' were:—"
[Here, excluding three members who died before the 1929 Parliament, and two who had retired from parliament owing to 'political' illness, we listed 23 Labour M.P.'s who sat in the 1929 parliament].

So much for the Socialist Diary that Thomas Johnston compiled! His electioneering picture of Wicked Tory Blue versus Righteous Labour Pink was answered by the deadly parallel of fact! The picture served its purpose. It enabled him to be returned to Parliament as a Pale Pink in order that later he might sit in a Tory Blue Cabinet.

The *Forward* list contained the names of Tories who voted in favour of the Death Penalty in 1926, the Tories being in office!

Our parallel contained the names of the LABOUR M.P.'s who voted in favour of the Death Penalty in 1924, the Labour Party being in office. It did not exhaust the names of the Labour M.P.'s who voted for the Death Penalty. But it included only the names of those members who were Johnston's colleagues in the House in 1924; and yet again, with the five exceptions noted, when as Under-Secretary of State for Scotland, he enjoyed the fruits of his compilation and its effect on the electorate.

II. THE MINISTERIAL SALARY.

Thomas Johnston's change of front goes much further and deeper than the question of his attitude towards the Army Annual Bill.

On January 10, 1920, he wrote, in the columns of *Forward*, his view of Cabinet Ministers' salaries:—

"And now the I.L.P. must begin to prepare itself for a Labour Government, Messrs. J. H. Thomas and J. R. Clynes already modestly indicating, in the columns of the Capitalist Press that if the King were to send for them, they would, ahem! sacrifice themselves upon the altar of their country's needs, and put on their tile hats. . . . No member of a Labour Cabinet should get a penny more than his salary as M.P. . . . He is entitled to his £400 salary, certainly; and if his office entails extra personal expenses (the Foreign Office might do that!) let these expenses be submitted and paid. But no £5000 salary: no £5000 pension for life. That will at once be popular electioneering, and tend to prevent a Labour Premier being log-rolled and wire-pulled into packing his Cabinet with old stage incompetents."

To-day, Johnston declines the Cabinet Minister's salary and retains his ordinary M.P.'s salary of £600 per year. That is so much to his credit. We do not think that he acted up to his principles in 1929. We do not remember any announcement on the subject. If we are wrong, it will be our duty to make known our ignorance. If we are not wrong, then Johnston stumbled in 1929.

But why does not Johnston call upon his Cabinet colleagues, to a man, to sacrifice their salaries during the present crisist?

Johnston indicted Thomas in 1920. The circumstances under which Thomas retired from public life lend point to Johnston's indictment. Did Johnston remember that indictment throughout the interval?

Statesmen live on crisis just as history is written by misery. Remove war and persecution and history is dismissed. There is nothing to record. Society must be in danger always that statesmen might flourish by making fine speeches and decreeing despotisms. The politician lives by clamour. That is how Thomas thrived. Clamour brought Thomas and Johnston together. Thomas Johnston partly served under J. H. Thomas in the Unemployment Campaign of the 1929 Administration. We wonder how Johnston behaved towards Thomas. For Thomas Johnston denounced Thomas in *Forward* for January 26, 1924, for "skinning" the I.L.P. of £2,000 and pretending that it was "Russian Gold." The full quotation is reproduced in *Government By Labour*.

Prior to 1929, Johnston's opinion of Thomas was one of fixed contempt. The *Forward* for June 27, 1925, published a study by "Ikonblast," entitled: *"Adonis at Ascot."*

This study was set out in the form of a poem. It makes Thomas boast of having risen from cleaning engines at Newport *"to be the pal of Steve Donoghue,"* Lord Astor, and Solly Joel. He regrets that the Prince of Wales is in Africa with the Zulus instead of at Ascot with Jimmy. It makes him declare: *"How I hate all this talk of Class War. I have been in Grand Stand with the Lords and Ladies. George was there drinking water, and the Queen smiled on me,"* etc.

In all, this satire makes 100 lines, and is divided into four verses. The verses are built up on the principle of *The House That Jack Built*, repetition, only the verses do not rhyme. The verse ridicules Thomas, Royalty, Ascot, and the idea of Empire.

As Colonial Secretary in the 1924 Labour Government, Thomas accepted responsibility for, and defended strenuously, the condition of affairs prevailing in Kenya. Thomas boomed Kenya at the Wembley Exhibition of 1925. But Thomas Johnston, in *Forward*, for May 16, 1925, stated:

"Wherever the Union Jack waves, men are free-he-he! But Harold Cox, one of the diligent scribes of the Boss Class, dealing with Kenya . . ."

Johnston quoted Harold Cox's article from the *Sunday Times*, for May 10, 1925, examining the evidence of Dr. Norman Keys, and concluding that a native chief, who wished to be on good terms with the Government—in this case, J. H. Thomas—*"must put pressure upon the people in his district to work for European employers."*

Johnston reproduced with horror two gruesome stories related by Harold Cox. In the first case a European settler, thinking that a native whom he saw in the distance had been robbing his farm, fired at him twice. The second shot brought him to the ground, and the European left the man there to die. When tried he admitted the facts, but was acquitted by a jury of his countrymen. In the other case a European Employer flogged one of his men to death. He was tried and found guilty of committing a "grievous hurt" and sentenced to the ridiculously inadequate penalty of two years' imprisonment.

Office reconciled Johnston to this record of Thomas. The fact of the indictment cannot be expurged.

III. "OUR NOBLE FAMILIES."

Johnston owes much of his popularity in the working-class movement to the fact that he wrote his scathing work, *Our Noble Families*.

Bearing this work, and its terms, in mind, turn to Hansard for Tuesday, 18th March, 1941.

The *Official Parliamentary Report* reads as follows:—

SCOTLAND.

LAND OWNERSHIP.

22. **Mr. Gallacher** asked the Secretary of State for Scotland whether he will make an inquiry into the circumstances under which much of the land of Scotland has passed into the hands of the present owners, with a view to action to bring it into the fullest measure of cultivation?

The Secretary of State for Scotland (Mr. T. Johnston): I am not quite clear as to how an inquiry into titles to land ownership would have any bearing upon the bringing into better cultivation of the soil. Agricultural Executive Committees already have the power to require owners and occupiers to carry out cultivation or other measures necessary to secure, in accordance with Government directions, the proper utilisation of the land in war time irrespective of by whom, on the method by which, it was acquired.

Mr. Gallacher: Is the Minister prepared to consider an investigation made by Mr. Thomas Johnston, who declared that this land was acquired by graft, rapine and murder, and is it not desirable that this land should be taken back out of the hands of those who have got it by such means? If the Minister would like to look at the investigation, I will give him a copy of the report.

Mr. Johnston: The answer to the first part of the Supplementary Question is in the affirmative. The second part of the Supplementary Question does not arise.

(*To be concluded.*)

BOMBING AEROPLANES

The Clydeside "blitz" directed our attention to the question of bombing aeroplanes. We have no personal fear in the matter of death, but we object to the bombing of London, Glasgow, Berlin, Hamburg, and every other city. We object to death descending from the skies. And we object to man directing the destruction of his fellows. Accordingly, we are interested in knowing what attitude some of our statesmen adopted towards this horror of aerial warfare.

In 1939 the Labour Party Executive issued an indictment of Liberal Ministers in relation to the abolition of the bombing aeroplane. Sir Archibald Sinclair, now Secretary of State for Air, replied to this indictment in a speech that he made in the Holderness Division on Thursday, February 9, 1939. Two days later, Hugh Dalton, M.P.—now Minister for Economic Warfare, and Sir Archibald's colleague in the Cabinet—answered Sir Archibald in a speech at Accrington.

It will be noted that the indictment of the Liberal Ministers was made not only by Mr. Dalton, but by the Labour Party Executive.

Mr. Dalton's speech was reproduced in the *Forward* for February 18, 1939, beneath double-column captions:—

"WHEN ITALY PROPOSED ABOLITION OF BOMBING AEROPLANES."
"Why Britain Wouldn't Agree."

At this time, Thomas Johnston was acting nominally, if not actually, as editor of *Forward*. He was contributing regularly to the columns of the paper and clearly endorsed the article. Like Dr. Dalton, Mr. Johnston now shares Cabinet responsibility with Sir Archibald Sinclair. Crisis makes strange colleagues.

Forward published the following excerpt from Dalton's speech:—

"There can be no dispute about the facts. The Disarmament Conference met at the beginning of February, 1932. The Liberal Ministers did not resign till September 28, 1932. In those eight months the damage had been done, the Conference had missed the boat, Arthur Henderson's great work had been ruined, democratic Germany had been rebuffed, Hitler had been given new grievances to exploit, and was now on the doorstep of power. The Liberal Ministers resigned solely on Free Trade.

"In their resignation letter they said that on other questions, including disarmament, they were 'happy to remember that no differences had arisen.' They therefore bear full responsibility for all that was done by the British Government at Geneva up to the date of their resignation.

"On February 10, in the first debate of the conference, Italy proposed the abolition of all bombing aeroplanes. Germany, Russia and other States supported. The United States of America was friendly to the idea, and in June President Hoover definitely came out in favour.

"From the first Sir John Simon and Lord Londonderry resisted and obstructed; and on July 7 Lord Baldwin, on behalf of the Government opposed abolition, and proposed instead that limits should be defined within which air bombing should be legtimate."

"Nearly three years later Lord Londonderry told the world that in 1932 when 'the Disarmament Conference assembled, almost its earliest discussions were centred around the possibility of the total abolition of . . . the bombing aeroplane. . . . I had the utmost difficulty at that time in preserving the use of the bombing aeroplane.'

"But he succeeded, and his Liberal colleagues of that time helped him to succeed. The consequences of that success are written in letters of blood in China, Abyssinia and Spain. And maybe the end is not yet."

Clydeside knows that the end is not yet. So

do all the cities and ports of Europe. Mr. Dalton was an excellent prophet. Does he ever discuss his prophecy with Sir Archibald Sinclair.

As our readers know, we have no sympathy with Hitler or Musolini. They may not have kept an agreement not to bomb. But, owing to the Liberal Ministers' attitude, they were never given the opportunity of being put morally in the wrong.

In the House of Commons, on March 9, 1939, Dr. Dalton exposed the interests that maintained the bombing aeroplane. He said :—

"We are being grossly over-charged and gigantic fortunes are being made, which will, perhaps, be revealed when the owners die. But why we should be making millionaires nearly as fast as we are making acroplanes I cannot think."

Mr. Dalton went on to explain that aircraft prices were determined according to an arrangement known as the McLintock agreement which,

"is now recognised to give something more than a square deal to the manufacturers, and something less than a square deal to the taxpayer."

Mr. R. R. Stokes is regarded as a kind of pacifist Labour M.P. He is this—and also an armament manufacturer!

He said of the Government :—

"They seem to think that by dabbling about with cost accounts they can arrive at a satisfactory result. Every business man knows that cost accounts alone are no use. . . ."

Which brings us back to Capitalism and high finance. Behind the bombings and the destruction, responsible for the slaughter of the innocents, is—profit! The sacrifice of humanity and truth to Mammon. Said one of old time: "*Ye cannot serve two masters, ye cannot serve God and Mammon!*"

We have elected to serve Mammon, and we expect to enjoy the Kingdom of God, to experience the joy of living and the freedom from disaster that belong to the Commonwealth of righteous living, the mutual service of brotherhood. We maintain Capitalism and expect to enjoy Socialism. We trust to Militarism and anticipate liberty. We are horrified to reap what we sow.

WHAT'S THE USE OF BOMBING?

BY A. J. COOK

In times of peace, the welfare of ordinary people, regardless of nationality, and a realisation of our immense cultural debt to them, helps to make a unity of loyalty at least to European civilisation, if not to the world. But nowadays, moral degradation, which war involves, is the price asked and demanded to "defend" national independence. As part and parcel of the war-machine, we now see the result of this plain barbarism and insane policy of bombing. Ordinary people everywhere are driven into shelters, cellars and under the stairs, helpless to protect either themselves or their homes. It is quite possible that those who release the bombs never see the result of their actions, and are led to believe that they are defending their homes, freedom, democracy and the rest of it.

In urging that we stop bombing immediately, is not that I am arguing for complete submission to this detestable Nazi business. To me, Britishers and Germans are far too submissive to those who claim to have control over us. Our political leaders are ordinary people, yet we defer to their judgment against our highest feelings, and as citizens accept, as regrettable necessities, actions which nothing would induce us to perform as individuals. We appear to be the slaves of fear, which makes us behave stupidly and cruelly.

The Germans were beaten in the last war, and then kept forcibly by the Allies in conditions of hardship and political inferiority. Since then they have been bullied and terrorised by their own dictators, and this treatment, unfortunately, has not improved their behaviour. So we are now trying to educate the Germans into democracy by bombing German cities and towns, and British propaganda exults and claims a triumph for Britain. The Germans bomb our cities and towns, while Lord Haw-Haw claims a triumph for the Reich. But what does Europe gain? Nothing. Her cities are damaged, her humanity is horrified and her civilisation is wrecked. And in the twentieth century we are almost expected to believe that this is a contribution to world betterment.

BEN GREENE

As stated in our April issue, Ben Greene has applied to the High Court of King's Bench for a writ of *habeas corpus* against his detention under Regulation 18B. By the time these lines are in print the case may have been decided. As we write it is *sub judice*. The following summary of Green's activities since 1920 is not intended to prejudice the issue. The statement is published as a matter of public interest. Our comment on the result will be made later.

In 1920 Ben Greene left Oxford to spend a year in Russia with the American Relief Commission administered by the Society of Friends distributing relief to the famine areas in Russia. In 1921 he spent nine months with the same organisation doing similar work in Berlin.

He then joined the Labour Party, doing much public speaking throughout the country, and standing as labour candidate at Basingstoke and Gravesend, and prospective candidate at South West Hull. He was responsible for forming the Constituency Party Association in the Labour Party, working for direct representation from the constituency parties on to the executive committee. In pursuing this work he came into direct conflict with many of the Labour Leaders and was more than once threatened with expulsion.

At the time of the Saar Plebiscite, he was chosen as Chief Deputy Returning Officer by the League of Nations, and soon after the plebiscite was sent out to the Saar by the Society of Friends, of which he is a prominent member, to investigate cases of reported ill-treatment of Jews in the Saar area. At the time of the November pogroms, 1938, he was again sent to Germany by the Society of Friends to organise a scheme of relief for the German Jews. During this time he was arrested by the Gestapo and released through the intervention of a German government official. He had to go on to Holland to consult with Dr. Collin, the Dutch Prime Minister. In his speech to the House on November 21, 1938, Sir Samuel Hoare referred to the Quaker who had furnished him with his information. This Quaker was Ben Greene. There was some correspondence with Dr. Bohler, who helped in his release from the Gestapo. This correspondence, in any case slight, naturally ceased on the outbreak of war.

Ben Greene came into conflict with the Labour Party execeutive, when he wished to take a party of Trade Unionists to Germany, at the invitation of the Mayor of Saarbrucken, to investigate the conditions of the German workers. He was forbidden to take this party, and he submitted to the decision of the executive on this matter.

At the time of Munich, Ben Greene found himself so opposed to the foreign policy of the Labour Party that he resigned from the Party, and consequently relinquished his candidature of South West Hull. He was bitterly attacked as a result by many Labour leaders, and accused of being "pro-Nazi." As a Quaker, he was opposed to war. Whole aspects of the Nazi regime were entirely repugnant to him. But he did not believe that the way to defeat Nazism was militarism.

In January, 1939, he formed the Peace and Progressive Information Service, sending out bulletins on international affairs to subscribers. He stopped the service immediately war broke out, and no further bulletins were issued.

He was appointed J.P. in 1936, but some months after his 18B detention his resignation was demanded. He refused to comply but his name was removed by fiat of the Lord Chancellor. He served six years on the local Town Council and two years on the Herts. County Council.

Greene is an opponent both of Communism (meaning Russian Sovietism) and Fascism. He feels no copy of a foreign system should be applied to Britain. He joined the British People's Party, which is parliamentary reform party.

After the invasion of Poland by Germany, Ben Greene still favoured peace by negotiation. When the possibility of negotiations passed, he resigned from the People's Party and all political activities. While there was still a chance of peace he spoke for it. When clearly peace was no longer possible, he gave up all political work and devoted himself entirely to the management of his business.

This business is the only wood split pulley factory in England, and was listed as a work of National importance.

For the last twenty years, as a Quaker, and later as a member of the Meeting of Sufferings, Ben Greene has been consistent in both his social and political work. He has worked for international peace, and at home for the improvement of social conditions along democratic lines.

UNITED SOCIALIST MOVEMENT.

A statement of the Socialist and Pacifist principles of this movement has been issued in leaflet form. Post Free, 1d stamp. 100 copies, 6d. Comrades are invited to become national members and to form local groups.

The Rev. W. M. Teake, M.A. (Edin. & Camb.), and B.D. (Camb.), who has made a life-long study of the Foundations of Eastern and Western Religious Thought, has joined the U.S.M. Comrade Teake has joined the U.S.M. because he believed that Christians must uphold peace and struggle towards social justice.

18B DETAINEES.

John Beckett's case is being considered by the Society of Friends' Committee appointed to inquire into the case of the 18B detainees. Under the recent Act, he will be removed, most likely, to the Isle of Man. Beckett's case against his continued detention, and the feelings of the Friends as to the truth or otherwise of the allegations made against him, will be published later. Jennie Lee, in her autobiography, states that Beckett left the Labour movement because he was driven into disgust by the behaviour of Ramsay MacDonald as Prime Minister.

CREECH JONES

In other columns we defend Creech Jones against the somewhat sly attack made upon him by Mr. Kenneth Pickthorn, M.P., in *Truth*, and we reproduce the speech in which John McGovern quotes his 1916 Court-Martial statement. At the present moment, A. Creech Jones is Parliamentary Private Secretary to the Minister of Labour.

In so far as John McGovern's quotation emphasised the fact that the resistance offered by Creech Jones to conscription from 1916 to 1919, and his discharge as an absolutist, placed him in the same category as those absolutists not considered in the National Service Bill, the citation was sound argument. But the lumping together of the names of Creech Jones, Herbert Morrison, and Thomas Johnston was not justified. Neither Morrison nor Johnston offered the courageous resistance to military service during the Great War that was offered by Creech Jones. Both could be indicted for Jingoism to-day. Creech Jones's attitude is open to no such censure. In the cases of Johnston and Morrison, their past had to be recalled. In the case of Creech Jones, he stated it openly and clearly in the House of Commons.

Creech Jones does not repent his 1916-1919 resistance. He insists on it, modestly, firmly, and sincerely. He is trapped by the failure of the Government—including the Labour Government of 1924 and 1929—since 1918 to make a success of the Armistice and Peace interlude. He is handicapped by the errors of Parliamentary Socialism, but Creech Jones has never seen his way to be other than a Parliamentary Socialist. The failure of Parliamentary Socialism in Europe—in Britain to destroy Imperialist Peace Terms, and in Germany to arrest the Counter-Revolution—has given us the menace of Fascism or Nazism. Slowly and reluctantly, Creech Jones has developed the view that, however involved, whatever the explanation, and no matter how clear and reasonable that explanation, the issue to-day is not, who is to blame for Fascism, but how are we to destroy Fascism. This consideration has brought him to a militarist conclusion, and he feels he must play his part in defending democracy against Fascism.

In our view, Creech Jones has reached an unfortunate conclusion, in which many Socialists and many Christians find themselves to-day. We believe that, in the end, the war-weary people of the world will condemn their want of vision, the surrender of their faith in civil resistance and struggle, the development of our new-found belief in militarism. Creech Jones writes and speaks with cautious dislike, yet certainly, of national security. In our view, a Socialist, who opposed the Great War of 1914-1918, has no ground for developing this concern for national security in 1941. The contrast seems strange. To his credit, Creech Jones does so with no enthusiasm. He takes his stand gravely, with a heavy consciousness of the world's errors, and not seeing what else he can do. Yet he has never once forgotten that he was a conscientious objector in 1916. In his present position he has spared no effort to secure justice and fairer treatment for those who are conscientious objectors to-day. He views their situation through the eyes with which he once peered through a prison cell window, when standing on a stool, the time that a warder was not peeping through the spy-hole.

The *New Leader* for April 5, 1941, reproduces the main text of John McGovern's speech, beneath the heading: "*How greatly have the Labour Leaders Fallen.*" A sub-heading explains "*John McGovern's Flaming Speech in the Commons.*" Of course only a paragraph is reproduced from the Court-Martial of Creech Jones that McGovern quoted in full. We believe that one result has been that Creech Jones has been subject to a great deal of abuse for his attitude towards conscience and the new National Service Act. Creech Jones did not vote for the Second Reading. Actually, he votes very cautiously. He cannot be described as too loyal a party man. He recorded a vote in a division, which he conceived to be in the better interest of C.O.'s than the amendment proposed by James Maxton for the I.L.P. In moving his amendment, Maxton was helping to make the Bill an Act just the same. We would favour the Maxton amendment, but the question, at this stage, was a very open one.

It is incorrect to say, or to suggest, that Creech Jones has abandoned his stand for the right of conscience or the proper treatment of C.O.'s. All his work at the Ministry of Labour will testify to his active and anxious concern for the conscientious objector.

In his speech, John McGovern referred to his own stand as a conscientious objector in 1916, and to the position of his son to-day. These important passages are eliminated from the *New Leader* report, although it claims to publish a "full report." How can it be a "full report" when important statements of alleged fact are omitted?

We have no private quarrel with John McGovern, but we *do* ask for studiously fair and truthful statement in this matter of criticism. We know that John McGovern was opposed to the war, but we believe that there is no record of his having been imprisoned for his opposition. We would like to know exactly how he fared and to what extent he resisted. John McGovern's son is not an absolutist objector to-day. Even James Maxton was not an absolutist objector. In the discussion on the Isle of Man Detention Bill, Maxton told the story of his own and William Gallacher's imprisonment during the war. But neither Maxton nor Gallacher were imprisoned for resisting military service. Gallacher worked at war work and Maxton accepted a ridiculous conditional exemption. We do not write this in attack of either Maxton or McGovern. We have quite friendly feelings towards Maxton privately. We record these facts in fairness.

The trouble after the last war was the fact that the I.L.P. and its leaders, MacDonald and Snowden, cashed in on the I.L.P. opposition to the war. To-day, the I.L.P. is trying to repeat this criminal folly. In the issue that reports McGovern's speech, a long leader protests that Miss Ellen Wilkinson must not lie about the I.L.P. It proceeds to describe *how persistently the I.L.P. opposed Nazism.* It dates its story back in 1931, and the speeches made in that year by James Maxton and Fenner Brockway at Vienna and Zurich. But why begin the story with 1931? Nazism was on the March in 1919, 1924, and 1929. What was the I.L.P. doing during these years? The answers are recorded, in cold and deadly detail, in *Socialism and Parliament.* The I.L.P. was part and parcel of the parliamentary Socialism that made Nazism inevitable. If the I.L.P. believes in criticism, why not face the facts. The I.L.P. cannot escape any of the blame due the parliamentary Socialists for the present state of Europe.

If we return to the prison anti-war record of Members, no Member of the present House of Commons merits more regard than Creech Jones.

In 1916, Creech Jones was Secretary of the Camberwell Trades and Labour Council. He was Secretary of the Dulwich I.L.P., and a member of the National Union of Clerks. Creech Jones was an imprisoned member of the Dulwich No-Conscription Fellowship, which issued a splendid statement in July, 1917, entitled: "*What Are Conscientious Objectors?*"

At that time, in Dulwich 75 Conscientious Objectors (of whom Creech Jones was one) had been arrested. 63 of these had been judged genuine by the Central Tribunal in Wormwood Scrubs Prison. They were offered work by the Home Office at various camps, and 28 accepted, 35 refused. Only 5 gave in and joined the Army. 27 of the arrested men were members of the Independent Labour Party, and 17 were unattached Socialists; 27 were Trade-unionists.

How Creech Jones fared was told by him to the House of Commons on May 18, 1939, when he voted against the *Military Training Bill*, that afterwards became an *Act*, and preceded the *National Service Act.* We reproduce that speech as a separate article because of its length and importance.

After his release from prison, Creech Jones led an active propagandist career.

At the 1935 Parliamentary General Election, he stood for Shipley, and his supporters were able to describe him as: The Organising Secretary, and one of the founders of the Workers' Travel Association; 10 years a National Secretary of the Non-Manual Section of the Transport and General Workers' Union; representative of the L.C.C. on the Metropolitan Water Board; Governor of Ruskin College; Treasurer of the W.E.A. (London); Executive Member, British Institute Adult Education.

At that time, Creech Jones had been Vice-President of the National Federation of Professional Workers; President International Federation of Commercial Employees; member various National Joint Industrial Councils and the Co-operative Arbitration and Conciliation Board; Research Officer of the Labour Research Department; Industrial writer for the *New Leader.* He had been actively concerned about racial problem in Africa, and democracy in the Crown Colonies, and been active in war resistance and peace movements.

On that record, he stood for Shipley.

His election address was dated from the Co-operative Hall, 1st November, 1935. In his opening paragraph he said:—

"The keynote of my policy is SOCIALISM and PEACE."

In a later paragraph, headed "*The Vital Need for a Peace Policy,*" the election address stated:—

"Peace is not found by Re-Armament and trying to outbuild other nations. That method leads to alliances, anarchy, and war. Peace is found by a collective peace system, and Disarmament through the League, by respect for law and international authority, by applying the axe to the economic roots of war. Imperialism and economic Nationalism must be checked, and the private manufacture of armaments stopped."

The reference to the League shows that Creech Jones ought to have studied our pamphlet on *Socialism and Government*, or our book, *At Grips With War.* What is needed to be stopped is *all manufacture* of armaments.

The speakers at Creech Jones's meetings included Ernest Bevin, Arthur Greenwood, Herbert Morrison.

Creech Jones has made himself an authority on Colonial questions. All that he said at the 1916 Court-Martial is borne out by the tone of his questions and speeches in the House of Commons. His sincerity and scholarship are obvious. He has worried the Front Bench continuously and consistently on the conditions in Jamaica.

On April 8 he questioned the Under Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs on the question of restoring self-government to Newfoundland. He insisted on the urgency of the re-establishment of democracy.

Two days later, on the House being adjourned for the Easter Recess, he made a striking speech on the conditions prevailing in the Northern Rhodesian Copper-belt.

We have not seen his Copper-belt speech reported outside of the *Official Report.* The reason is that parliament is not a sounding board. In our Anti-Parliamentary columns we will reproduce this speech later, so that the Socialist and working-class movement may study its terms.

We recall the magnificent stand made by Creech Jones against war and militarism from 1916 to 1919, not in criticism, but in admiration. He has the bravest record of direct war opposition, of uncompromising anti-militarism, of any member of the House of Commons. He is one of the ablest and most thoughtful members of the Parliamentary Labour Party. He has made a close study of Socialist history and biography. We recall his past in terms of comradeship and in the hope that, ere long, we shall be fighting, side by side, to the common good of humanity and the overthrow of war and capitalism. We are unwilling that a brave and able man, one who has witnessed unhesitatingly and consistently for Truth and Freedom, should be mistaken for

an enemy of the people. With his genius and his talents, Creech Jones must prove himself one of the most worthy champions the working-class movement has produced. In the social storm-period we are entering, our faith is that he will take his place with the same courage as he exhibited in 1916.

OUR LETTER-BOX

Sir,—If my memory is not at fault, a correspondent wrote in a recent number of "The Word" that he would be interested in articles comparing Christianity with other great world religions and showing in what way the former was superior, and he made, I think, a special reference to Buddhism.

This correspondent would find much to interest him in the Rev. William Paton's excellent little shilling book, "Jesus Christ and the World's Religion," published by the Edinburgh House Press, 2 Eaton Gate, London, S.W.1. The writer handles his subject with great sympathy, knowledge and fairness. In dealing with Buddhism, he draws attention to the beauty and truth of much of the ethical teaching of Buddha, but points out that Christianity is a more helpful religion than Buddhism for a number of reasons, among which the following are, perhaps, the chief:—

Jesus Christ led men to a God Whose character is like that of a good father. Buddha is silent about God.

The Buddhist outlook on life is very pessimistic, for it declares all desire to be evil, whereas Christianity proclaims that desire, rightly directed and controlled, can be a noble instrument leading to happiness. Buddha, aiming at assisting men to get rid of all desire, suggested that distaste for life should be increased by reflecting on the foulness of a decomposing carcass. Christianity teaches us to regard the human body as the temple of the Holy Spirit.

The ultimate goal of life for the Buddhist is hardly to be distinguished from annihilation. Christianity teaches that it is the perfecting of the character, so that the soul may become fit for the companionship and friendship of God.

In spite of the kindliness of Buddha's teaching, his view of life is negative and not favourable to progress and development, and for this reason no Buddhist country can really be said to have taken up the labour of life and faced the future with the will to win it for God.

Buddhism has no message for the soul which finds the struggle to live the virtuous life too hard and falls in the fight. Christianity discloses to the human soul the source of a power to help it in an effort which it has found too hard for its own unaided strength.

Yours very truly,

BEDFORD.

Newton Stewart,
March 17, 1941.

Dear Comrade Aldred,—Perhaps you will be able to find room in your columns for this letter, which may be of some assistance to Comrade M'Carthy and others.

He states that it is a scandal that anyone should have to work 48 hours a week for 38/-. I agree that it is, and it would appear to me that he is quite definitely being exploited. There is a *minimum* wage scale in operation for farm labourers as follows:—

For the month October to March, 1/1 per hour for a 44 or 48-hour week.

From the beginning of March to October the rate of pay is 48/- for a 52-hour week.

When engaged on the threshing of wheat or oats (which other C.O.'s who have done it will agree is an arduous task) the pay at any time of the year is 1s 2d per hour.

For those who are engaged as cowmen or stockmen the pay is 55/- per week all the year round. The hours on this job are much longer as they work 5 week-ends out of 4, having only a day and a half off per month.

The overtime rate for most farm labourers is 1s 1d per hour.

It may be that Comrade McCarthy is engaged upon a scheme where he is paid 38/- per week whether he is prevented at any time from working by bad weather, or not. To the uninitiated the acceptance of a "wet or fine" wage is the only alternative to casual labouring where one is paid by the hour and "stood off" in bad weather. I would say from experience, however, that in most cases this should not be necessary for more than a few weeks. Most C.O.'s who are on farm work will agree, I think, that it does not take very long to get "the hang" of most farm jobs, it is mainly the physical effort that is difficult at first.

This brings me to my main point. We C.O. farm labourers have as our example the farm labourer born and bred. He knows his job, he's done it for years, and he is as a rule a very willing teacher. In most cases it will be found that he will not take employment on a farm unless he receives an assurance that he will be found work during wet weather. Such a man is wise, for, as a mate of mine (an old hand) said to me, "I can't live on thin air."

If we desire to show solidarity with our fellow farm labourers, an all-important objective in my opinion, then we should back them up. As soon as we feel physically fit and capable of doing a full day's manual labour, then we, too, should ask for *and get* wet weather work and, therefore, a full week's wage.

It would appear to me to be the greatest folly for C.O.'s to allow themselves to be used as cheap labour. They reduce their own standard of living, and what is probably more important, they help to pave the way for a reduction in the standard of living of the ordinary farm labourer, which is quite low enough already.

I agree with Comrade McCarthy that the Anarcho-Syndicalist way of the C.N.T.F.A.I. groups as the only way out. Let us, then, sow the seed by achieving solidarity with our fellow farm labourers, and by so doing, play our part in the struggle.

Yours fraternally,

KEN BRYAN.

Warlurst, Sussex.
March 18, 1941.

Dear Comrade,—Congratulations on the March issue of "The Word." I think it one of the most interesting and provocative numbers you have yet produced, and hope you will be able to continue to publish in present format.

Yours fraternally,

C. C. SIMMONS.

Barnet, Herts, 14-3-41.

Dear Guy Aldred,—As a Buddhist may I hope that you will do as requested, and expose the superstitions and fallacies of Buddhism, especially those telling you to abstain from the taking of life, both human and animal, to abstain from intoxicants and drugs, etc.

Matt. Kavanagh will be interested to know that Lessener did publish his reminiscences. The book used to be on sale at the Communist Club in Charlotte Street, when I joined some 25 years ago. I had a copy; lost or sold it long since. It had a portrait of the old man that I well remember, as he had an enormously long white beard. It was called "Fifty Years in the Socialist movement," or similar title, and was published about 1908 by the S.D.F. A copy should be in the British Museum.

Yours,

H. W. EDWARDS.

Newbury, 18-3-41.

Dear Sir,—As a Christian Pacifist I greatly appreciate the stand taken against the wickedness of war and injustice to mankind by your journel, "The Word," and especially do I appreciate the articles, etc., written by the Duke of Bedford.

Trusting your appeal will be fully met,

Yours faithfully,

Clifton, 11/4/41. (Mrs.) ALICE GOODRICK.

Dear Guy Aldred,—For some time I have noticed your periodical advertised in "Peace News," and intended sending for a copy, but procrastination and a hectic life are responsible for the delay.

Looking at to-day's date reminds me that it was April 9th, 1916, when I was arrested in Scotland.

I think the early C.O.'s fared better this time, although it is getting more difficult now, especially with the economic pressure. The cases of men in some of the military camps seem to have a familiar ring.

You have been in Glasgow some years now as I remember my people meeting you when they were on a visit to my sister Edith and the late George Ballard. I often wish he was still alive.

Best wishes, yours fraternally,

Bristol, 9/4/1941. STANLEY OXLEY.

Dear Friend,—Good luck to you in your longstanding work for freedom of the individual. I suppose the Authorities allow such publications as yours to go on because they usually only reach the "converted" and are not likely to be read by the poor people who lap up the daily press, not knowing or believing that the said press is under constant threat of suppression if it dare to say half as much as you do.

Yours in freedom of spirit,

New Barnet, 29/3/41. T. W. WILLIAMS.

TREAT A FRIEND!

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SIR WALTER STRICKLAND—WANDERER AND SCHOLAR

Social and Political Ideals. Why He Attempted To Change His Nationality

[We have published articles on the career of the late Sir Walter Strickland in *The Word* for February, July, September, and October, 1940; and January, 1941. Below we reprint the essay we wrote for the *Malton Messenger* for May 20, 1939. There are some slight corrections. In a later issue we shall reproduce the letter we contributed to the *Malton Messenger* for April 8, 1939, defining Strickland's political and literary ambitions. When these articles are completed, they will be brought together, with some of his letters, essays, and poems, and complete catalogue of his writings, in volume form. This will be published at a popular price to secure wide circulation. Ed.]

Walter Strickland died thirteen months before the outbreak of the second world war. That crisis made front page news of the countries and peoples with whose manners, customs, interests, and dialects Sir Walter had been familiar for forty years before his death. He knew all the Slav languages and had wandered intimately, at distances of years, through the Slav countries. He had an intense admiration for ancient Bohemia; had translated its love songs and romances into English; had befriended the fathers of the Czech Republic during their exile; had furthered their dreams, and when the Republic was established had proudly styled himself "A Citizen of Prague." He died shortly before the Czech Republic was destroyed. During the last two years of his life he anticipated its passing.

To the man in the street, and to the average journalist, the career pursued by Walter William Strickland seemed a romantic and unconventional one. Even Rudyard Kipling viewed it as such, and mentioned the ninth baronet in several of his writings under a slightly fictitious covering, as the "Wandering Baronet." Kipling's references were aggravated by the fact that Sir Walter's father, the eighth baronet, was depicted as "Mad Martin' in *Tom Brown's Schooldays*. The impression was created that there was something very strange about the Strickland family in general, and about Sir Walter, the ninth baronet, in particular.

Disappeared from Marseilles.

This impression was strengthened by the Press, when, in December, 1912, Sir Walter Strickland disappeared from Marseilles and suddenly reappeared at Cordova, Spain, at the end of February, 1913. During the interval his London lawyers had advertised for him in the London *Times* and the Press had dubbed him "The Missing Baronet." The explanation was very simple. Sir Walter had requested the British Consular authorities to extend his passport to China. They had refused. He was known to be the friend of the Chinese Republicans and the advocate of a new and united China, reorganised on some kind of semi-socialist basis. At least, he wanted a democratic China.

At this time Sir Walter Strickland was unpopular with the Indian Government. He was opposed to the imprisonment of Indian Nationalists, and was very indignant at the breach of the right of asylum by the French and British Governments in the case of the Indian nationalist, Savarkar. He had exposed fearlessly the conditions in the Andaman Islands, and dealt with the horrors of prison life there. Strickland wrote with considerable first-hand authority on the Indian question, and if he used too much invective at times, it was from a fierce respect for liberty. He believed that it was the Englishman's duty to rspect liberty, and he developed, first from surprise and later from anger, an anti-English complex when he found his fellow-countrymen complacently taking for granted their own social wrongs and those of the subject races. He expressed these views in pamphlets

that were suppressed by the Indian Government and specially proscribed in certain areas.

This proscription, and the refusal to permit him to travel to China, plus the imprisonment of his closest Indian friends, like Tilak, persuaded Sir Walter that his liberty, if not his life, was in danger. So he disappeared. He explained all this in a letter that he wrote at the end of February, 1913, from Cordova, Spain, to the London *Evening News*. His last communication prior to his disappearance, had been addressed to the secretary of the Malton Museum, to which he sent a package of very curious shells.

Czech Citizenship Question.

Nearly ten years later the passport question again arose, and this led to Sir Walter's assumption of Czech citizenship. Of course this was an illusion that Sir Walter played with till the day of his death. We know now that he never became a Czech citizen. And he must have known it himself, for his permit to land and to reside in the Dutch East Indies, declares, in his own writing, that he is a British subject. We have the actual document and photostat copies and so can establish this fact. But he liked to pretend that he had assumed Czech citizenship. It may have been in good faith, at first, that he had his Yorkshire lawyers publish the following announcement in the columns of *The Malton Messenger* for January the 5th, 1923:—

SIR WALTER WILLIAM STRICKLAND, BART.

As solicitors and agents for the above named, Sir Walter William Strickland, Baronet, now residing abroad, we hereby give notice that he has now become a citizen of Czecho-Slovakia, he desires in future to be known and designated as Walter William Strickland only, and correspondents are requested to address him as such, accordingly, in future.
Dated December 28th, 1922.

Leeman, Wilkinson & Badger,
16 Coney Street, York.

Despite his implied citizenship in this advertisement, Sir Walter's assumed Czech citizenship was not his real reason for dropping his title. He aimed to change his nationality because of his passport grievance; but he had dropped his title for practical purposes since 1912, and had always requested me, and his other friends to address him as plain Mr. Strickland. His politics were radical and his social and philosophical thought was Liberal and anti-militarist. He had no use for titles, and waived his own from conviction. When he died, in August, 1938, one weekly paper commented that the fact that Sir Walter dropped his title was *"a change from the numerous cases of people who moved heaven and earth to get titles."*

This was, of course, very true, though somewhat sarcastic comment. In 1913, when the announcement was published, however, Sir Walter's request was made the subject of a very entertaining article by the well-known journalist "The Londoner," in the *Evening News*, under the title of "Walter the Czechoslovakian."

"The Odd Baronet."

This journalist remarked that, at a time when the world was puzzled to find a way out of its troubles, he had much comfort in reading about "The Odd Baronet." He continued:—

"For his sake I must not call him Sir Walter, nor Baronet. He has advertised everybody of his wishes. He who was lately Sir Walter William Strickland of Boynton in the County of York, ninth Baronet, lets us know that he is become a plain citizen of Czechoslovakia, and that henceforward, those who love him will call him Walter William Strickland without any of the ancient trimmings to the name.

"I shall do my best to please him. For me he shall be Walter William Strickland from this day onward. It was not much to ask of us. No man can say on what road he shall travel before he dies. Yet I guess I shall never tread the pleasant paths of Czechoslovakia. And if fortune should take me that way, Czechoslovakia is one of the largest of the new countries on the new map of Europe; I may not meet with Walter William nor have speech with him if we should meet face to face.

"He and I are strangers to each other. He is now a Czechslovakian; it is not to be thought that, on meeting a strange Czechoslovakian, I shall say at hazard, 'Good day, Sir Walter!'

"Not everybody asks the courtesy that may be so easily given. Sir Walter does but say 'call me Walter.' I have known men who would have it the other way round. I have been invited to salute as Sir John one who puts forward vague claims to a dead and gone baronetcy. My head is full of pedigrees; I guess that the gentleman is Mr. John and no baronet. What does courtesy demand of me in such a case?"

The Londoner proceeded to give instances of men who took names that were not their own. He described how Mr. Schellenbube *"my fellow-citizen by letters of naturalisation,"* wanted to be addressed as Mr. Shelley. He commented: *"I tell you that I am unwilling to hail his blithe spirit by that name."*

He proceeded to tell of a Scottish gentleman who, exiled in London, wanted his name of Bethune pronounced as Beth-ewn instead of Beaton. The Londoner added: "I said that, if he could not say his name in the right old Scottish fashion, I could. And there was an end of it."

"The Londoner" continued his comment:

"But Walter William Strickland does not command me to translate Walter nor William into a Czechoslovakian shape. He has not yet taken to himself a Czechoslovakian surname that could not be pronounced in Yorkshire. All he asks is that he may be allowed to live as one who is not a ninth Baronet.

"Between me and Walter William that is a matter easily to be arranged. He will find it harder to come to terms with the Editor of the "Peerage and Baronetage," who will obstinately display the name with the distasteful title, the coat of arms with the bloody hand of baronetcy. The Editor will say that a man cannot at his pleasure put off such honours. There is old precedent for the degrading of a knight who has done unlikely deeds. A very petty ceremony it was; the master cook cleaving the knight's spurs from his heels with the kitchen chopper. Something of the sort would serve for a wicked Baronet.

"But in none of the old books is it written how a Baronet may take his own chopper and chop off his own spurs. If I had been Walter William I should, without any advertisement, have let myself slip into the Czechoslovakian crowd where nobody knows what a Baronet may be. As things are, he has made himself a famous Baronet. Yesterday none of us spoke of Sir Walter William Strickland. Now he is famous as the Baronet who does not want to be a Baronet: few Baronets come to such notoriety as that."

His Attitude to Life.

This satiric comment sums up a great deal of the approach of the average person towards Sir Walter Strickland. He has been described as "the Wandering Baronet," "the Odd Baronet," and "the Baronet who sought fame by not being a Baronet." All this shows a failure to appreciate the man and his attitude towards life.

Out of that attitude, as I have stated already, arose Strickland's craving for Czech citizenship. He may have been sincere in his attempt but he was quite unable to overcome the effect of British Acts of Parliament, which made it impossible for him to become a Czech citizen whilst living in Mexico. The Czech Code did not forbid him becoming a Czech citizen under such circumstances, but it required him to lose his British citizenship first. And this he could not do without living in Czecho-slovakia when he assumed Czech nationality. Althought he had lived in Prague a month or two before going to Mexico, and although he returned to the famous Bohemian capital for a holiday a few years later, his naturalisation was granted whilst he was living in Mexico. It was invalid therefore.

Behind his declaration of Czech citizenship was his opposition to the British Foreign Office for withdrawing his passport, and also a permit valid for life to stay in the Indian province of Travancore.

In 1898 Sir Walter Strickland was granted a passport and was informed that that passport would be valid for life. In 1921 he wished to visit the East and to dwell on the shores of the Pacific in order to occupy himself with study of natural history and some scientific pursuit. The Foreign Office made him surrender his passport and refused him permission to travel. A lengthy correspondence resulted, and Sir Walter finally published a pamphlet containing the whole of this correspondence, dealing with what he termed the passport menace. He claimd that the people of the earth should be free to travel anywhere and everywhere without requiring passports, and denounced the departments of State as obstacles to the progress of mankind.

(To be Concluded in our Next Issue.)

OUR APPEAL

In November, 1940, we appealed for £1,971 11s. 3d. to cover the deficit on our propaganda. There are no extravagant office expenses. The loss arose from our desire to produce good literature at popular price. It has been explained. Last month the deficit had been reduced to £1,885 14s. 9d. We have received since then £36 9s. 11d. This leaves the deficit at £1,849 4s. 10d. We explained last month that every month adds to our losses. We cannot continue our work unless a real effort is made to clear this loss before the end of May. We thank every comrade who has helped and we ask the others to respond. *After you have read this appeal, send what you can at once. The paper is needed. You must help.*

By The DUKE OF BEDFORD.

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The Strickland Press has issued a 24 paged catalogue, listing and describing the pamphlets published in *The Word Library*, in the *Strickland Classics*, and also outwith any series. This pamphlet reproduces several press opinions. It will be sent post free to any reader on receipt of a 2d. stamp. 12 copies will be sent post free for 9d.

Although intended for free circulation, this pamphlet is not merely a list of books. It contains the history of The Bakunin Press and also of The Strickland Press, and of the Anti-Parliamentary and United Socialist movements. By purchasing several copies of this pamphlet and circulating it freely among their friends, comrades will be doing useful propaganda and also making a small donation towards the loss on our printing and publishing work.

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THE WORD

To Rouse The People, To Combat Fascism, and To Speed Commonweal.

An Organ of the United Socialist Movement, Edited and Published by Guy A. Aldred, at The Strickland Press. 104 George Street, Glasgow, C.1. All unsigned matter is from the pen of the Editor. Annual Subscription. 3s. 0d.

Vol. II. No. 11. JUNE, 1941. Price: TWOPENCE

WAR, PEACE AND THE FUTURE

The Churches Attitude

The Council of the Baptist Union, in its 1940 report, referred its members to a letter which appeared in *The Times* London, December 21st, 1940. This letter offered a Christian Basis for Peace. Its text was as follows:—

"The present evils in the world are due to the failure of nations and peoples to carry out the laws of God. No permanent peace is possible in Europe unless the principles of the Christian religion are made the foundation of national policy and of all social life. This involves regarding all nations as members of one family under the Fatherhood of God.

"We accept the five points of Pope Pius XII as carrying out this principle:—

"1. The assurance to all nations of their right to life and independence. The will of one nation to live must never mean the sentence of death passed upon another. When this equality of rights has been destroyed, attacked, or threatened order demands that reparation shall be made, and the measure and extent of that reparation is self-determined, not by the sword nor by the arbitrary decision of self-interest, but by the rules of justice and reciprocal equity.

"2. This requires that the nations be delivered from the slavery imposed upon them by the race for armaments and from the danger that material force, instead of serving to protect the right, may become an overbearing and tyrannical master. The order thus established requires a mutually agreed organic progressive disarmament, spiritual as well as material, and security for the effective implementing of such an agreement.

"3. Some juridical institution which shall guarantee the loyal and faithful fulfilment of conditions agreed upon and which shall in case of recognised need revise and correct them.

"4. The real needs and just demands of nations and populations and racial minorities to be adjusted as occasion may require, even where no strictly legal right can be established, and a foundation of mutual confidence to be thus laid, whereby many incentives to violent action will be removed.

"5. The development among peoples and their rulers of that sense of deep and keen responsibility which weighs human statutes according to the sacred and inviolate standards of the laws of God. They must hunger and thirst after justice and be guided by that universal love which is the compendium and most general expression of the Christian ideal.

"With these basic principles for the ordering of international life we would associate five standards by which economic situations and proposals may be tested (see "The Churches Survey Their Task," pp. 116, 117):—

"1. Extreme inequality in wealth and possessions should be abolished;

"2. Every child, regardless of race or class, should have equal opportunities of education, suitable for the development of his peculiar capacities;

"3. The family as a social unit must be safeguarded;

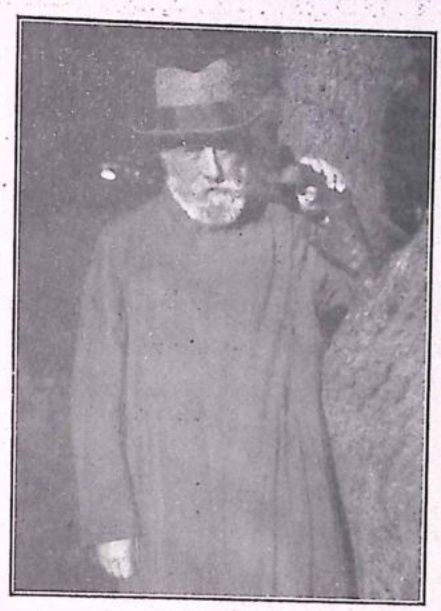
"4. The sense of a Divine vocation must be restored to man's daily work;

"5. The resources of the earth should be used as God's gifts to the whole human race, and used with due consideration for the needs of the present and future generations.

"We are confident that the principles which we have enumerated would be accepted by rulers and statesmen throughout the British Commonwealth of Nations and would be regarded as the true basis on which a lasting peace could be established."

This letter was signed:—

COSMO CANTUAR, Archbishop of Canterbury.
A. CARDINAL HINSLEY, Archbishop of Westminster.
WALTER H. ARMSTRONG, Moderator, Free Church Federal Council.
WILLIAM EBOR, Archbishop of York.



W. M. TEAPE
in Talbot Wood, Wallisdown, Dorset.

FROM SCHOLAR TO SOCIALIST

WILLIAM MARSHALL TEAPE, M.A.

The Rev. William Marshall Teape, M.A., B.D., would not have identified himself with Socialism and the United Socialist Movement, but for three important facts: his intense religious sincerity, which demanded a fundamental truthfulness in the actual social living as well as the intellectual interpretation of Christianity; a natural love of scholarship which seeks expression in secular truthfulness and so leads to a fundamental integrity of living; and the second Great War, which horrifies the conscience of every thinking man and compels Christians to consider what is wrong with the world, and the place and attitude of the Church in the world. These factors have operated both to compel and impel our comrade Teape to take his stand by the side of strange companions like the editor of this journal, for peace, Socialism, and the reconstruction of society on the basis of social justice and liberty.

William Marshall Teape has been a seeker for a truth, and a keen student, from his early years. His academic knowledge is evidenced by his degrees, although such degrees are not, in themselves, always testimony to the real worth of this knowledge. In argument against an orthodox world they have their importance. In 1882 he became M.A. of Edinburgh University, and Medallist for Hebrew and English. Three years later he became B.A. of Durham University, and also B.A. of St. John's College, Cambridge. Nine years later he became B.D. of Cambridge.

Ordained priest at Durham, in 1886, Mr. Teape became Curate of Rainton, 1885-88; Priest-in-Charge, S.E. Missionary District of Australia, 1889-91; Stockton-on-Tees, 1892-94; St. Barnabas, Hendon, Co. Durham, 1894-1900; Vicar of South Hylton (or Ford), 1900-22. He was licensed to officiate in the Diocese of Winchester in 1928. In 1930, he published a work entitled *Westcott's Fear*, and in 1932, his most important study, *The Secret Lore of India*. To this he issued, in 1934, a supplement, consisting of further translations from the Forest Fathers, with notes.

When William Teape was in his nineteenth summer, a venerable missionary from Bombay, the Rev. J. S. S. Robertson, came to spend his closing years near the Teape home, and entreated William's father to allow his son to be taught the Sanskrit letters. Missionary Robertson had brought with him from Hindustan a bundle of reed pens, which he carefully sharpened, taught William how to hold, and how therewith to form the letters simple and compound of the sacred tongue. So was the reading of Sanskrit made possible. Those were the days when no one thought of printing Sanskrit in roman characters.

The result of Mr. Robertson's zeal was not seen until some years after William Teape's ordination, with a missionary sermon he preached. In it he described the Final Conflict for Christ which he was confident was nigh, even the battle of Armageddon, when the sixth golden bowl of the wrath of God should be poured out and the war of the great day of God the Almighty should begin, foretold in the Revelation of St. John. Where should it be fought and with whom? Plainly in India and with Hinduism, Islam and Buddhism.

Such his mind, the preacher recognised that he must try to understand the forces with which the conflict should be.

As his studies went on and the character of the forces to be met was more clearly discerned, Hinduism stood forth as the one power that must be grappled with. That conquered, he saw the Victory of the Cross secure.

To gain knowledge of Hinduism, however, he must evidently be able to read Sanskrit. So he sought out a paper, long forgotten, on which he had in copy the quaint alphabet and certain letters parted into their detail with hints for their composition, laid by since the days when the venerable white-bearded missionary had volunteered to teach him. He realised now that he had then made a crossing that had brought him into the field where he should both fit himself for the conflict and meet with the foe.

Foe? Yes. At first a foe was this strange untoward power, of whose character he had had some superficial knowledge, and of whose might and temples and idols he had by this time seen something, when, as a traveller ever pushing on, staying a while here and there, he had passed through India, between the incident of the reed pens and the preaching of the missionary sermon. Yet never a bitter foe or regarded with bitterness; and when, as his first experience, again taking up Sanskrit, he found himself learning something of the Upanishads, the instructions given to pupils "sitting near" ("sitting near" being the literal meaning of the word "Upanishad") by the Forest Fathers in the distant past, a surmise seized him that this Secret Lore, as its name "Upanishad" implies, might contain much wisdom of living.

As his studies broadened, Teape discovered that many of the world's thinkers he had always understood to be worthy only of condemnation were really friends that were helping him to understand better what he was eager to know. Reparation was needed.

The master that opened the author's eyes to the worth of these Eastern teachings was Professor Deussen. With wonder Teape read through Deussen's *Philosophy of the Upanishads* in A. E. Geden's translation, mystified thoroughly, as a tyro, yet every now and then caught up by the thoughts there laid open. Further enlightenment as to Unpanishad thought was afforded by the perusal of Deussen's *General Introduction [to Philosophy] and Philosophy of the Veda up to the Upanishads.* That is the first volume of Deussen's monumental *Allgemeine Geschichte der Philosophie.* Teape also found of great value Deussen's edition of the *Sechzig Upanishad's* with translation analyses and notes.

Deussen brought to Teape a grasp of the message of the Forest Fathers. The learned Professor to whom he owed his first clear general view of the documents of their teaching was R. E. Hume in his translation published in 1921 of the *Thirteen Principal Upanishads.* There, at last, these lay before him in intelligible English, divided into sections, each with its caption. Hume's translation Teape took as the basis for his versification. He felt that versification was better than prose for the presentation of the Upanishad announcements. Rendering into verse demanded, he soon found, a more thorough sifting of the meaning of words than a colourless prose requires. Besides, the frequently wearisome repetition of the same word, which was the Upanishad teachers' custom, made it advisable to use different allowable renderings.

For the ascertaining of the significance of passages Teape turned to two Indian scholars, Professors Belvalkar and Ranade, the *Creative Period of Indian Philosophy,* written by them conjointly; to Professor Ranade's *Constructive Survey of Upanishadic Philosophy;* and to Professor Belvalkar's *Lectures of Vedanta Philosophy.* Dr. Crespi's *Contemporary Thought of Italy* contained just the side-lights he wanted from the thought of to-day. Side-lights he also found in certain English mystic poets.

What of the exposition of Christian doctrine? For that the author has found as a congenial authority, giving just the exposition that facilitated the comparison of the doctrine of the Eastern sages with that of Christian teaching, Brooke Foss Westcott, Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, and afterwards Bishop of Durham. Here, as side-lights, Teape discovered not only certain mystic English poets, but also the great astronomer, Sir James Jeans, and the inspiring thinker and statesman, General Smuts.

When Teape came to write his work on *The Secret Lore,* he divided the book into Three Parts. The First is an Introduction in which the progress of the Sacred Tradition is traced from its beginning among the original Indo-European stock, from whom the Aryans, the people of the eventual Sanskrit tongue, are descended, to its culmination in the Secret Lore. The Second Part consists of Specimens of the said Secret Lore, being a few chief passages and some passages that have taken the author's fancy, together with Notes thereon, chiefly modern illustrations, and a Vocabulary of certain important words. The Third Part is a Conclusion, in which he notes how, to his mind, with Westcott to help him in his analysis, the Upanishad fathers are like prospectors who have caught sight, in outline and with not a little mist obscuring their view, what has been revealed in greater fulness and clearness to the Christian. Revelation has a history. A waiting of the world has to be until the Fuller Light breaks in.

So here is not strife but a recognition of Fellow-seekers after Truth.

Yet a battle there is, and the enemies to be encountered are those mentioned in the Epistle to the Ephesians (Eph. vi, 12) "the principalities, the powers, the world-rulers of this darkness, the spiritual hosts of wickedness in heavenly places," which beset and hinder the understanding and the endeavours of all men in their pursuit of a life of devotion to the Highest.

Important it is for India and the world that India should have its due place, concluded Teape the scholar and student of comparative religion, as a civic entity, in the comity of nations, but how much more important for India and the world that India have its due place as a spiritual member in the wisdom of world thought, the living Church of God?

In studying and translating the Forest Fathers, our comrade Teape was brought to a very close study of the poetry of Walt Whitman. His poetry of Freedom and of Individualism expresses much of the thought of the Forest Fathers as though written by a disciple unconscious of the existence of the Masters. From a study of Whitman and a belief in his magnificent assertions of living, it is but a step to pause at the claims of the world, especially in war-time, and to realise that all one's scholarship, one's quest of knowledge, one's love of learning, has forced one into rebellion against the claims of false gods. And so William Marshall Teape, a scholar, sitting near the Forest Fathers, whilst living in the midst of Western Civilisation, has become a Pacifist, and Anti-Militarist, and a Socialist. Knowing that the editor of this journal styles himself an Atheist, he reaches out the hand of fellowship, and says:—

"Comrade, let us unite that war and want and oppression may be banished from the world for ever; that hatred may pass away; that the darkness of the night may end; and that the dawn may come of a day that will never end in gloom; a day of justice, peace, and social service. Let us unite, that mankind may dwell together for evermore in peace and fellowship."

We accept the hand of brotherhood. We welcome the Rev. William Marshall Teape, M.A., B.D., to the Socialist movement. Discarding titles, descriptions, and academic honours, we say:—

"In the struggle against war and all despotism and terror, to the army that believes militarism will never destroy militarism, that civil justice must finally conquer all authority of man-power and might, we welcome you, Comrade Teape. We are strange companions but we live in strange days and we are fighting a strange fight. The end of Commonweal may be accomplished in wondrous and strange ways. As equals, believer and unbeliever, yet also both believers in the triumph of Truth, Liberty, and Justice, let us unite. Comrade Teape, welcome!

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD'S PAMPHLETS

Mr. Alexander Ratcliffe in *The Vanguard* for May, 1941, reviews the new editions of the Duke of Bedford's *Why Have This War?* and *Parliament and Peace.* Both these pamphlets are issued from our press, at 2d. each, post free, 3d.

Reviewing the first pamphlet, our contemporary says:—

"The second edition of this helpful brochure is timely and very necessary for the present time. This publication, first appearing some years previous to the present War, gives one furiously to think. Indeed, it is matter for the thinker. The disclosures it makes are startling and convincing. We leave our readers to procure copies for a full examination of the text of the Duke of Bedford's rare and reasoned discourse. Christians especially will benefit by its contents."

The reviewer reproduces the author's quotation from Mr. Duff Cooper's article in the *Daily Mail* for April 4, 1940, on the need to violate the neutrality of the smaller Powers. On this he makes telling comment.

Of the second pamphlet, *Parliament and Peace,* the reviewer says:—

"A digest of the Discussion in the House of Commons on proposed Peace Talks (5/12/40). A very helpful guide on the subject of the need for sane people considering every proposal that might hasten the end of the present War."

In a footnote to these reviews, the editor of our contemporary says:—

"Note.—We are so much impressed by these two publications that we have taken over a quantity for sale. . . . The Duke of Bedford, be it noted, is a Christian Protestant."

The Duke of Bedford's other pamphlets will be reissued from the press as rapidly as possible, duly revised, in addition to new writings from his pen.

THE COMMON MAN'S DREAM

Rev. H. J. Adlard's Radio Indictment of Capitalism.

[We have published two portraits of the Rev. H. J. Adlard—both taken at Duluth—in these columns. Also a picture of the First Unitarian Church, Duluth, of which he was minister for so many years. The interesting announcements of the many excellent lectures he delivered in Duluth and also in Sioux City were reproduced—texts and philosophies in themselves. Finally, we directed attention to Adlard's work at Bath. These records and Mr. Adlard's poems have roused much interest, especially in the United States. Mr. Adlard used to contribute to the columns of "The Labor World," Duluth. The present editor of that journal has typed from its pages for March 19, 1938, an account of Mr. Adlard's radio speech attacking Capitalism. This we reproduce gladly. Comrades should get in direct touch with "The Labor World," Duluth. We would like to see this lively and interesting Labour journal commanding a large circulation in Britain.—Editor.]

REV. HARRY J. ADLARD DECLARES MACHINE HAS BECOME WORKERS' TYRANT AND MASTER

PASTOR OF FIRST UNITARIAN CHURCH AVERS SYMPATHY AND JUSTICE ARE NEEDED TO PULL AMERICA OUT OF SLUMP, TELLS RADIO AUDIENCE OF DREAM OF COMMON MAN.

The machines, which in the last analysis mean power, have been mismanaged. Instead of becoming man's servant, lightening human toil and giving man increased leisure, they have become his tyrant and master. This charge was made by Rev. Harry J. Adlard, Pastor of the First Unitarian church, Tuesday night, March 15, 1938, over the radio, speaking from WEBC broadcasting station under the auspices of the Federated Trades Assembly.

Mr. Adlard referred to America as once the "dream of the common man." "To-day that dream is in danger," he said. "The common man in the bitterness of his heart is beginning to wonder if it was all a mistake." He charged that want of sympathy and the denial of justice formed the base of social and economic maladjustment. He defended the unemployment insurance system of Great Britain, and declared the workers after all were more interested in employment insurance. The full text of the speech follows:

HUMAN FACTOR FIRST.

It is written in a very old and very wise book that the strong ought to bear the burdens of the weak. It is one of the oldest unwritten laws of humanity that the more fortunate shall help the less fortunate; that wherever there is power there is also obligation and responsibility and that in all desperate situations the human factor comes first.

The needs of Duluth are great enough to wring the heart of any man who loves his fellow man. Happily they are not nearly so bad as elsewhere. I am amazed and gratified at the fine morale and splendid behaviour of Duluth's jobless workers. It proves that we have sound material in our midst, and its very soundness is its own most effective plea that justice be done tho the heavens fall.

FIRST PRINCIPLES.

In looking at this time of depression and colossal unemployment, I want us to get back to one or two first foundation principles, principles to be found as far back as the Hammurabi Code, the Decalogue, the Sermon on the Mount or the Declaration of Independence.

Henry George, that great and fearless prophet of social righteousness, stated that the law of progress was "association in equality," that any sound society was held together by the twin principles of sympathy and justice.

Search wherever you will, and you will find

that whenever these two basic principles are disregarded chaos and misery ensue.

The ethical roots of all our economic ills, our periodic panics, our perennial poverty lines, our atrocious, inequitable division of wealth, our present millions of men who would work, and cannot find it, reveals a denial of these fundamental principles.

DREAM OF AMERICA.

Theoretically, those two principles lie at the very basis of the great dream of America. In a recent outstanding book, *The Epic of America* by James Truslow Adams, the author again and again emphasis the fact that America is the "dream of the Common man."

When I use that word "common" it is not one of disrespect. I mean the common people who, years ago, heard gladly the words of a carpenter prophet of Nazareth.

We need to think in terms of that dream once more. Jefferson first proclaimed it. He dreamed of the common man, and whilst our tremendous growth and vast industrial complications have produced a country utterly beyond Jefferson's conception, the dream still holds good.

Andrew Jackson, spite of all his roughness, again proclaimed the dream. Lincoln sounded it in homespun words. Whitman, the first typical American poet, sounded it in megaphone tones over the housetops of the world.

IMPERSONAL FORCES.

Woodrow Wilson in his inaugural address restated it yet again as he saw it endangered by the encroaching menace of vast, impersonal forces, which thought in terms of profit rather than in terms of men.

For 150 years, through all the breaking of new frontiers in America, over the Alleghanies, across the broad Mississippi, stretching away over the great and fertile plains of the west, scaling the Rockies, until the last frontier was reached, the Pacific Ocean—through all the struggles, hardships, unthinkable privations, there loomed this dream—"America and the common man."

INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION.

There came the Industrial Revolution. The machine age struck America. The wheels of a thousand factories hummed, great cities arose. Still, the dream of the common man persisted.

And what was the dream? What has it ever been for the millions who have battled with nature in order that they might build a home and live in happiness and safety? It was the dream of a fair chance. "Equal opportunity for all and special privilege for none." It was the dream of a just reward for work well done. It was the dream of a right to work, a right to be, to live; a full, round life. It was a plea for simple, human, inalienable rights.

My friends, that was, and that is, the dream of America. Through all the corruption, all the graft, the political trickery, the mammoth monopolies, the privileged franchise, in spite of them all, the common man, in some fashion or another, has held to that dream.

DREAM IN DANGER.

To-day that dream is in danger. The common man in the bitterness of his heart is beginning to wonder if it was all a mistake.

The machines, which, in the last analysis mean power, have been mismanaged. Instead of becoming man's servant and lightening human toil, giving man increased leisure, they have become his tyrant and master. The common man has been exploited by means of the machinery which should have increased his happiness and well being.

We stand aghast to-day at the spectacle of millions of idle men, millions of idle looms, millions of wheels not turning.

We stand aghast at the fact that in the most highly favoured, most richly endowed land, where there has been no shortage on nature's part, that men willing to work, men with families needing the common necessities of life, with nature ready to supply them, are barred from access to the means whereby they can supply them.

WORKING WITHOUT PLAN.

Until we have faced and given some sort of answer to that question we have not looked at it fairly. We have not got to the roots. But when we do we shall see that it is a denial of the fundamental principle of "association in equality."

The fact is we have had no plan. We have been planless. Our social and economic order has just grown up like Topsy. Our social organisation has not kept pace with our material advance, and the development of the machine age. The result is the situation in which we find ourselves, a situation well described by Goldsmith, "where wealth accumulates and men decay."

Whether we think of it or not, every bit of salvage work, every effort to find a man a job, rests on a philosophy of the dignity and worth of man. John Ruskin said in unforgettable words that, "there is no wealth but life," and by that he meant well, well-being; and no matter how much material wealth we are able to produce by marvellous machines, what a mockery it is of the real wealth, when men cannot buy what they have produced.

PENALTY IS UNEMPLOYMENT.

Rather the penalty they pay at such times as these is the dreadful one of unemployment. The whole thing is not only stupid, it is a crying iniquity. What we need to do is to see that fact to admit it, and with it the further fact that the whole basis of our present economic order is challenged.

We hear to-day not a little about unemployment insurance. There is a great deal of misrepresentation about it too. It is spoken of with contempt as "the dole." If it is a dole, it is a dole to which every man below a certain wage makes a contribution. Unemployment insurance is in operation in every important European country. It has gone beyond the experimental stage.

In England, where I have examined it, at some length first hand, it has been demonstrated beyond refutation. In spite of some minor errors in its administration, now being corrected, there is no division of opinion as to its necessity and permanency, so long as we have our present social order.

EMPLOYMENT INSURANCE.

An expert American sociological friend of mine spent some time in England making a close survey of its workings. He interviewed over 90 employers, representatives of the four main branches of industry—coal, textiles, metal workers and shipping—not a single employer was opposed to it.

Such a plan would not of course help the immediate, pressing situation. The immediate task is human relief, every job that can be found, the utmost spending power on the part of those who have the power. And—still more important than unemployment insurance is employment insurance.

As a last word: While these remedial agencies in Duluth and elsewhere are working might and main to alleviate present distress, to find jobs, to restore broken manhood, to feed the hungry, let us remember that these are palliatives only.

NO MORE DEPRESSION.

Let us beware of one, great, insidious danger—and it is this: Let us not say to ourselves when these times are over, "Well, that's over, thank God, now we can go on in our old sweet way. We can resume our former, thoughtless, hit-or-miss way of running society."

To do so would be nothing short of a crime. Far from that, rather, as millions said when the last shot of the great war was fired—never again.

So of this depression through which we are bungling, muddling, never again! It need not be! It must not be! Brains and brotherhood must join hands. Sympathy, which is the cement of all society blended with justice, must plan now, with every ounce of human intelligence so that the age-long dream of America and the common man may become a glorious reality.

BAKUNIN

Bakunin: the Father of Communism: not Capitalist State dictatorship, but genuine or Free Communism: the rival of Marx; the stormy petrel of the International; cast out of that organisation because he really believed in it; cast out after a fierce struggle, because of his radical understanding, his directness of approach, and the fearful jealousy of Marx: *his story is told in*

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Bakunin leaves Russia as a student; studies at Berlin; sits with Turguenev at the feet of Schelling; translates Hegel and Fichte into Russian; listens to music; plays chess; sits up all night discussing philosophy; believes in God and authority.

Bakunin: spied on by Russian agents; recalled to Russia by the Czar's Government; declines to be ordered back; has his property confiscated; repudiates authority; denies God; praises the ragged proletariat; demands the unity of Russian and Polish workers against Czardom and tyranny. This is in 1847. Bakunin is 3c years old. Europe plunged into revolution. Bakunin plays his part, is arrested, sentenced to death twice by Court-Martials. First, by a Prussian Court-Martial. Second, by an Austrian Court-Martial. Reprieved, only to be extradited to Russia. Austrian handcuffs are removed and Russian handcuffs substituted at the frontier. Czar Nicholas declares: *"He is a smart young fellow, but he is dangerous. We must keep him under lock and key."*

Bakunin: After a terrible imprisonment he is exiled to Siberia. He escapes. Reappears in Europe. Renews his quarrel with Marx. Is accused of being a Russian police agent. Karl Marx and Wilhelm Liebknecht back these charges. To destroy him, Marx destroys the International. The Russian Revolution, which discovered Bakunin's "Confession," has established the baseness of this accusation with which Marx and Liebknecht played, to their eternal discredit.

Bakunin defends the Paris Commune of 1871; writes a few essays; inspires Malatesta; influences Spanish Socialism or collectivism; develops asthma; dies at Berne, July 1, 1876. Dreams of Freedom and the Social Revolution to the end.

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BAPTISTS AND WAR

Baptist Pacifist Fellowship

The Baptist Pacifist Fellowship is an Association of members and adherents of Baptist Churches, who covenant together to renounce war in all its works and ways; and to do all in their power to make the teaching of Jesus effective in all human relations.

In 1932 the Rev. W. H. Haden, M.A., of Burton-on-Trent endeavoured to organise a Baptist Ministers' Peace Movement. This proved unsatisfactory. Two years late he founded the Baptist Ministers' Pacifist Fellowship. It had 80 members. Five more ministers had joined by 1935, when membership was opened to members and adherents of Baptist Churches. The membership has increased steadily since then and to-day its adherents number 1,724.

In April, 1940, the B.P.F. achieved a Federal Union with the Fellowship of Reconciliation. Two important points were:—

(1) An interchange of membership, i.e., all B.P.F. members to become members of the F.O.R.; all Baptists who were members of the F.O.R. to become members of the B.P.F.

(2) The Baptist Pacifist Fellowship to administer its own affairs, appoint its own officers, committee, and delegates and determine and formulate its own policy.

General finances were merged in the F.O.R.

In 1941 the Rev. E. K. Jones, D.D., of Wrexham, became Chairman of the B.P.F. Giving his report for 1940, he said:—

"Our lives are fallen in trying times, but we do not bemoan our lot. We should rather thank God for calling us to so high an enterprise. Times of ease are apt to lull our souls into ignorance of the mighty forces of evil that are operating around us. Gethsemane and Calvary exposed these in all their hideousness. Times of persecution are also times of revelation. Sin, vile and black, becomes better known. Truth and holiness shine forth all the more when tested in the fires. To-day our B.P.F. has a great opportunity. . . . History, Science and Philosophy give no glimmer of hope. History declares nothing but an incessant repetition of wars. Science with its wonderful gifts has no way of life of its own, but is ever subject to human control. The sin-laden human element decides all, and up to the present it is ruled by the spirit of war. Philosophy may reveal the way things are done, and may even show how things may be changed, but it has no dynamic or initiative. All three are helpless while this poor world of ours is floundering from one foul pit to another, from one terrible war into other wars more terrible still. And all this goes on in the very light of God's revelation and within hearing of His call to a better way. . . . But as members of the B.P.F. we dare not compromise. We must preach the Prince of Peace. We must either obey loyally or quit. It is testing time. We have undertaken a great task—the total suppression of war. The enemy is very old, bitter and strong, but wars must cease. . . . I would ask all the members of the B.P.F. to be faithful, patient and confident. Our divine cause must succeed sooner or later. Many are preparing for a new order of politics, economics and social life after the coming Armistice. As a Fellowship our objective is the rule of love and a world without war."

During 1940 there were 32 resignations from the Fellowship. Most of them came in the months of June and July, when tension was greatest. Six members left the Baptist denomination—two for the Friends, two for the Anglican Church and two for the Cotswold Bruderhof. The last two severed their connection with the church witnessing in the world against the gospel of war and power.

The following ministers have remained loyal members of the B.P.F. during the war-period, maintaining faithfully their opposition to war as to Fascism, and to the belief in the arbitration of violence:—

Rev. F. C. Bryan, M.A. (Bristol),
Rev. Humphrey Chalmers, M.A. (Warrington),
Rev. J. Ivory Cripps, B.A. (Birmingham),
Rev. D. Myrrdin Davies, B.A., B.D. (Cardiff),
Rev. W. H. Haden, M.A. (Sutton Coldfield),
Rev. A. H. Hawkins (London),
Rev. Gwenyth Hubble, B.A., B.D. (Kirby Muxloe),
Rev. H. Ingli James, B.A., B.D., B.Litt. (Coventry),
Rev. S. H. Wing (Reading),
Rev. D. Gordon Wylie, M.A., B.D. (Leeds).

The Hon. Secretary of the B.P.F. is Rev. G. Lloyd Phelps, B.D., 21 Cambridge Drive, Denton, Manchester.

Members of the B.P.F. are also members of the Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland. The report of the Council of this Union to the Churches for 1940 contained the following important reference to conscientious objectors:—

"True to our Baptist tradition of maintaining liberty of conscience, the Union has protested against the penalising of conscientious objectors by businesses and public authorities which have dismissed them from their posts, and we are glad that in this we have the support of the Government. If men have satisfied tribunals of their sincerity and are competent for their tasks, it is plainly out of harmony with the will of the country, as expressed in the provision made for their honesty to be tested, for other bodies to arrogate the right to pass sentence upon them. We also expressed to the Government our deep concern when allegations were made of brutal treatment of objectors who maintained their position even though they were not given exemption from service, and we have secured the visitation in prison of some Baptist objectors whose names were brought to our notice. On the general question of the treatment of objectors we have received few complaints. The consensus of opinion is that, with few exceptions, the tribunals try to discharge their difficult and distasteful task with care and understanding. Judges, like the rest of us, are liable to error, and occasional miscarriages of justice are an inevitable part of the cost of having laws at all. The question must be faced in that wider setting, though vigilance must, and will be, exercised to ensure that cases are dealt with properly and the scales of judgment held even. It may be well to say here that, while one or two letters have been received regretting that the Union has not given more support to objectors by pursuing a pacifist policy, several objectors have themselves written thanking us for standing by them."

Under the heading "*Foundations of Peace*," the Council's report states:—

"The Council welcome a recent letter which has deserved and received wide attention, and do so the more readily as it crystallises opinion in the shaping of which during past years Baptists have taken an active and prominent part. It was signed by the Moderator of the Free Church Federal Council as well as by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York and the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. . . .

"The Council accept, as the writers do, the Five Peace Points suggested by the Pope, but would add, as in their view essential, the right of all men and nations to full religious liberty.

"The Council also approve the "five standards by which economic situations and proposals may be tested" put forward by the signatories, and give a general and cordial endorsement to the letter. . . ."

We reproduce that letter on the front page of this issue.

CONCHIES HAVE COURAGE

Last month we reprinted from the columns of the *Baltimore Sun* an excellent letter treating of the question of conscientious objectors. We now reproduce from the same paper for January 24, 1941, another letter on the same theme, addressed to editor of our contemporary:—

Sir,—Mr. Frederic Arnold Kummer apparently is not at all familiar with the courage of conscientious objectors. He has but to read "Is Conscience a Crime, by Norman Thomas; "We Won't Murder," by Paul Comly French, who is on the Selective Service Board under Clarence Dykstra, and many other books on this subject to verify the above.

In the last war the conscientious objector was subject to brutality and suffering which far exceeded the agony experienced by some of our own boys overseas only because they were not selfish enough to kill others for fear of their own lives. I think it requires more courage to decide for yourself when the majority is being swayed by propaganda, hysteria and fear.

Mr. Kummer says he has two sons who consider it not only a duty but an honour to serve their country if called. Believing this, they would be more respected if they voluntarily joined to aid their country instead of waiting to be called. Regardless of the consequences to himself; the conscientious objector is not only aiding his own country but all of humanity by refusing to shed the blood of others and in so doing preserving our great democracy.

MARTIN FRIEDMAN.

Baltimore, Jan. 22.

UNITARIANS AND THE HOLY WAR

By The Rev. Richard Lee, M.A.
(Minister, New Great Meeting House, Coventry)

The General Assembly of the Unitarian and other Liberal Christian bodies is the only religious organisation which, by a majority, has passed a resolution in favour of uncompromising pacifiism. This was, however, before this war. Since the war, it has been agreed to pass a resolution expressing no opinion on the wisdom of this war but laying down pious principles as to the kind of peace we desire and the kind of Society which is to be built after the war is over. That was to have been the procedure at Oxford this year.

But it did not quite happen according to plan.

There was a rather stormy ruffle on the surface and beneath the surface there were distinct roarings and rumblings. Though no vote was taken there was raised the issue, quite clearly, between those who support this war as an instrument of policy and those who think this war, like the last, is a vain and futile struggle to achieve noble ends by ignoble means.

Three matters of supreme moment came before the members at the public and private sessions of the assembly and instead of a chronological account of the meetings I would like to set down the conflicting views on these matters. They are:

1. The Holy Innocence of Britain.
2. The Use of Force in War to lay the foundations of the New Jerusalem.
3. The wisdom of protest against the continuance of this foul, bloody struggle.

It was understood that as we all agreed with the pious abstract aims and principles of the resolution which embodied the manifesto of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, Cardinal Hinsley and other dignitaries, nothing controversial should be introduced.

The mover of the resolution in his address from the chair and the seconder acted far otherwise. One speaker spoke of the war as having its cause in a beer-cellar at Munich. The other questioned whether the Treaty of Versailles was not too lenient for the guilt of the Germans who made the last war.

As a considerable proportion of the audience resented this war-manufactured history these garbled versions were not allowed to pass without protest. One speaker of the pacifist group, among other arguments aroused a violent storm by pointing out that we were doing the same things as the Nazis in Bremen, Hamburg and Berlin and boasting about it.

We were not such Holy Innocents as the war-supporters pictured us. When another speaker got up to show how the post-war treatment of Germany had created Hitlerism, the British Nazis cried "Vote, Vote, Vote," and the closure was applied.

The Rt. Hon. H. A. L. Fisher in his *History of Europe* summed up the impartial judgment of history on the Versailles Treaty: "A great opportunity was missed. The statesmen made a peace which was no peace. Europe had not been made safe for democracy."

Even apart from the Versailles Treaty, the Black Troops in the Rhine, the re-arming of Poland, Czecho-Slovakia and Yugo-Slavia with the aid of France, the failure to disarm by the Allies, the scission of Upper Silesia by the clique of Nations, had far more to do with the growth of Hitlerism than what happened in the romantic beer cellar of Munich.

THE USE OF FORCE.

I was glad that this fundamental issue was raised in the Conference though it was raised in an unfair manner with no real opportunity for free discussion.

One official speaker put it plainly.

Only by force can we put down Hitlerism. The negative assertion "These things shall not be" is a *sine quo non* of the positive assertion,

"THESE THINGS SHALL BE."

The speaker went on to say that only by force could we dictate the kind of peace we desired. One would have liked five minutes to deal with the implications of this argument.

Mr. Liddell Hart could have dealt with the practical military and naval implications of this policy.

Events will show, as Poland, Norway and France have already shown, the easy optimism of these rose-coloured backers of war as an instrument of policy.

But leaving the concrete consequences alone, what the speaker calls force is cowardly foul murder and wanton destruction.

I do not meet one person in fifty who faces this use of force amid the mangled bodies, the ruined homes and the shattered churches of Coventry who believes for a moment that it can yield any spiritual result.

IAN MASARYK'S REPLY.

But a far more effective reply though an unconscious one, was given at the Conference by Jan Masaryk, the Czecho-Slovak Foreign Minister in his Essex Hall Lecture on "The Immortal Soul." It was not an easy lecture to follow, but its main theme was stated quite plainly :—

"The condition of Europe as a whole was due to the lack of ethical religion. Love was the supreme thing in the world and we had despised the principle of love in our economics, our politics and our religion.

"Only by a religion of love carried out in every part of life can we hope for a better world."

That the cowardly butchery and criminal destruction which the religious euphemist calls "Force" and the politician "war," and the wayfaring man "murder" will prove an instrument for the triumph of love can anyone really believe?

SHOULD PEACE MEN BE SILENT?

This was the third issue discussed at the Peace Fellowship and also in private conversation.

Everyone agreed that we should bear our witness against this war. Some, however, like Brer Rabbit would "lie low and say nuffin" in war-time except a brief statement of one's position.

Our witness should be confined to meetings of small groups and the churches should confine themselves to questions on which there is general agreement, *e.g.*. :—

(a) Better treatment of refugees.

(b) A just peace when the war is over.

(c) The keeping down of bitterness and hatred towards our foes, and such like.

By uniting ourselves to these matters we should keep our congregations together and avoid unhappy disastrous schisms in the Churches.

This moderating view was, I think, the view of the majority of the Peace Fellowship though there were inner searchings of heart among some as to its wisdom and its courage. The other view was stated that the continuance of this war is a menace to everything decent in civilisation and everything precious in religion. Even now it was destroying our freedom bit by bit and was carried on by methods without any shred of morality or humanity on both sides. Every other means of telling the truth about the ghastly business was closed to us, B.B.C., public meetings, press, cinema and parliament.

There should be some united attempt on the part of Pacifist ministers to bear the witness in public which in their inmost souls they felt as to the wickedness and futility of the continuance of this war.

In the final outcome, the Peace Fellowship instructed its Committee to explore ways and means of joining with other religious bodies in a little more peace activity.

In the meantime it should not be forgotten that every pulpit can be used for propagating the cry of "on to victory, victory, victory," in the name of the God of Love and for the sake of that new Jerusalem in which both pacifists and Never-Endians believe.

One thinks that war, in spite of all its horrors, will hasten the new Jerusalem. The other is convinced that war, and especially this war, will make any better world a far-off age-long dream.

I wonder whether the war-dreaming romanticists or the peace-loving realists are right.

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD

The Duke of Bedford contributes a striking essay to the current issue of *The Hibbert Journal* on the 18B question, under the caption : *Do We Live in a Free Country?* The essay opens in a manner that the working man would consider pertinent did he read such quarterlies as *The Hibbert*. The Duke states :—

"A writer in a Scottish Socialist paper, in a pertinent if somewhat acid comment on the popular view that we are "fighting for freedom," enquired, Freedom for whom and to do what? There is more in the question than meets the eye. A British unemployed man living in peace time on a scanty dole may have liberty of speech and liberty of political association, but how much liberty does he really possess? How much better off is he than the German workman in regular employment with whom a friend of mine attempted to commiserate on the ground that he was not allowed to criticise his Government and had his opinions manufactured for him by the State?"

The writer proceeds to discuss the conditions of the 18B prisoners, the circumstances of their arrest, and the general menace to thought and social well-being of modern totalitarian war and the tendency towards totalitarian government. We hope to reproduce the full essay later.

In a recent issue of *Forward* the Duke of Bedford published a long letter criticising the capital levy. This letter will be reprinted as soon as possible. So will another very long letter on the question of peace, from the Duke's pen, contributed to the *Harrogate Advertiser*. In this letter, the writer analyses the case for and against war, and defends the pacifist conclusion that militarism cannot destroy dictatorship or cast out despotism. He emphasises his own opposition to all cruelty, persecution, and dictatorship. This is a very long and mild but effective letter.

UNITARIAN NOTES

BATH.—During the prolonged indisposition of the Rev. H. J. Adlard, the pulpit at Trim Street has been occupied by Free Church Ministers of the city, six of whom responded to an appeal to keep the pulpit going during Mr. Adlard's illness. In view of the definite Libertarian and Socialist character of Mr. Adlard's addresses, his outspokenness on all subjects, his belief that the pulpit must be the centre of thought, the action of these ministers was appreciated greatly by Mr. Adlard's friends and admirers.

GLOSSOP.—The Unitarian congregation at Glossop united with Whitfield Parish Church and St. Luke's Church in five Thursday evening services during April, on the theme of "Towards a new Christian Social Order." The choirs of the three churches were responsible for the music and the attendances were good and representative. Discussions were held in an adjoining room after each service on the preacher's address. The joint services argue that Trinitarianism is growing less intolerant of Unitariansm. It can hardly do this and maintain its insistence on the divinity of Jesus or the Resurrection of Jesus from the dead. If the Christian ethic is more important as a basis of unity than the Trinitarian theology, then clericalism and orthodoxy are finished.

NEWPORT, Isle of Wight.—On March 19th the Rev. Gordon Cooper, M.A., preached a Unitarian sermon at one of a series of interdenominational services held in Carisbrook Church. The invitation to Mr. Cooper from the Vicar was much appreciated by the Newport Unitarian Congregation.

PLYMOUTH.—After the destruction of the Unitarian Church and Schools by enemy action, the Rev. E. H. Kersley discussed the possibility of amalgamating in the circumstances with other churches. Admitting that economies in buildings and ministries might thus be effected, he stressed the importance of keeping alive the Unitarian spirit and outlook in religious matters. The Unitarian witness, which would still be needed in Plymouth as elsewhere, could hardly continue without separateness. Amalgamation with other churches would eventually lead to disintegration. Truth would be compromised by an alliance with superstition.

OUR LETTER-BOX

Dear Sir,—May I say I have enjoyed many of your addresses at Abertillery in days gone by, and incidentally last heard you in Hyde Park prior to the War. I have enjoyed the copies of the *Word* that I have received.—Yours Sincerely,

T. JONES.

Penarth, May 10.

Dear Mr. Aldred,—I send you my sincere thanks for publishing such a fine paper; it is a great pity that its circulation is not many times greater. I send you my very best wishes, and wish you every success in promoting Socialism.—Yours fraternally,

R. A. PICKERING.

Bryn, near Wigan.

Dear Aldred,—I think the *Word* is absolutely "great" in its fearless exposition of Pacifism, and the defence of Objectors to Militarism.

Would God all Christian ministers would only take the same stand with regard to the monstrous evil of war!

I was at Dyce Camp in 1916.—Best wishes, yours,

F. A. GILMORE.

Grays, Essex, May 2.

Dear Sir,—I have become acquainted with your paper, *The Word*, with its Socialist slogan : "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity." For these three I might substitute the one word—Commonweal, for if you stop to think of the paucity of ordinary intelligence among the masses, I fear they would not know how to use this liberty, how to appreciate equality, nor how they and the more enlightened, cultured and highly evolved could possibly fraternise. We all know the causes of war. We know its devastating effects, yet the masses can still be conscripted into fighting armies more terrible than ever in our history, fighting wars by a handful of men who know what they want and go all for it. The notion Power—the power of wealth, of inherited properties in land and incomes, a handful of men owning this free England and exploiting its wealth—and with such gilded ostentation subduing and oppressing the crude and darkened minds of these same masses. Royalties with their blazoned, disgusting inherited deceitfulness. Popes and Cardinals, Bishops and Prelates with the pomp of robes and vassals—like the stage set for an act. These are the combined forces which make the laws that man blindly learns to kill and die for. Ignorance of the masses therefore is the chief medium of keeping kings on their thrones. Political chicanery as a governing state—popes and priests in the guise of spiritual leaders in their soft chairs. These are the dictators—the handful who, by their suggestion, play on the susceptibilities of the lower masses always susceptible to emotional values.

Let your paper propagate the truth, repudiate an autocracy bearing the name of a democracy. Have the moral guts to stand up to such dictators and humbugs whoever and wherever they are. Think in terms of the dignity, the unbounded strength of each man, woman and child in the making of a new order. Use this consciousness as a power linked up with the power of the hemispheres. Instil into the minds of your readers a belief in their individual importance, in the sacredness of their charge, by the power of each suggestion we might build on the stars.

But while we wallow in petty differences, in selfish lusts, in fear of losing a job, so surely will we create the Mussolini's with their warring "heilers" out to smash us up.

What has man made of London, of Manchester, of Birmingham, of any of the cities of this country. Places intolerable to live in; noise-wracked shrieking, looting. The very earth trembling under us. Eyes and nose assailed on every side with sights and smells that sicken. And the children of the poor begat in dark fetid slums of these cities of cathedrals and gross commerce to the utter destruction of the race, for such environment spells moral death to a finer evolution. With the total destruction of those who have built upon such a fabric, Hitler has shown the power of bluff in his propaganda; he knows how the minds of the masses are played upon. These masses are ready to receive other impressions. This large consciousness is unfolding. The time is propitious to the awakening of these emotional bodies. Your mission is clear.—Yours faithfully,

FLORENCE RENYARD.

Farnham, 3/5/1941.

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THE SCOTTISH SECRETARIAT

THOMAS JOHNSTON'S EVOLUTION

(*continued from page* 116).

[We have hoped to conclude this study in this issue. But the instalment would be too big to publish in one number. The essay will conclude in August.—Ed.]

IV.—"THE HUNS AT HOME."

In Chapter I. we reproduced Johnston's 1927 advertisement of his Tory Profiteers pamphlet. The reader will recall that this advertisement refers to his **The Huns at Home** pamphlet and boasted that 200,000 copies had been circulated. It claimed that this pamphlet contributed to the Labour victories at the General Election of 1922. This advertisement dates the pamphlet, which bears no year of publication on its title page.

The pamphlet consists of 16 pages. There are two pages of 10 point and 13 pages of 6 point. Roughly, it amounts to about 8,000 words. The extracts date the pamphlet, which now belongs to history rather than to propaganda. The data makes very valuable history from the Socialist standpoint.

The title page reads as follows:—

THE HUNS AT HOME

During Three Years of the Great War

By THOMAS JOHNSTON

(Editor of "THE FORWARD")

PRICE ONE PENNY.

"The Forward" Printing and Publishing Company, Ltd., 164 Howard Street, Glasgow.

There was no preface and there were no chapters. The pamphlet opened in 10 point, and this was the introduction. The pamphlet was divided by eight cross-headings.

The introductory section indicted Capitalism in terms that can be considered to-day:—

> "Capitalism can have no notion of commonweal; it can have no patriotism, since its very nature is to suck, leech-like, for profit—irrespective of any national or social consideration, and *a nation's hour of distress and extremity is Capitalism's hour of greatest opportunity.* During a war in which the nation is fighting for its life, Capitalism will raise its rate of interest upon money loans; it will increase its freight charges; it will raise its land rents; it will increase its charges for coal, iron, and food; it will hold up supplies of vital commodities; it will, in short, exhibit itself even more nakedly than it does in times of peace, as *the real enemy of the people.*"

The italics are in the original.

Johnston proceeded immediately to define the purpose of his pamphlet:—

> "The purpose of the following citations and extracts from the admissions in the Capitalist Press during the three years of the Great War is to supply in accessible form a massed, unanswerable case against the Capitalist system—an arsenal of authenticated fact and figure, to which every Socialist may turn in his daily task of sweeping the scales from the eyes of his fellows."

In view of Johnston's present position in the Cabinet no one will venture to question the authenticity of his quotations. These were presented by their compiler—for Johnston compiled rather than wrote, since he is not a great original writer or theorist—under suitable headings as follows:—

HIGH FINANCE: THE PRESS TURNS KING'S EVIDENCE.

The first War Loan in 1914 was at 3½ per cent. interest to the moneylenders. The second War Loan was at 4½ per cent., and those patriotic investors who held the first 3½ per cent. War Loan Stock were allowed to transfer into the new 4½ per cent. Loan—a clear gift of 4 millions a year in **extra** interest to the moneylenders. Then when, in January, 1917, the third War Loan at 5½ per cent. was issued, the 4½ per centers were raised to the profits on the new and higher level. The *Glasgow Herald* mildly criticised this ramp by saying it "does not help us at all to prosecute the war," and the *Daily Telegraph* openly declared that investment in the War Loan was no sacrifice but a golden opportunity," and "a certain gain."

At least three writers have dealt with the money position at the outbreak of war—Mr. John A. Hobson, Mr. Oswald Stoll, and Mr. Frederick Temple. Each tells us that the banks had no money to lend the Government, that they were afraid of a panic, and that the bankers interviewed Mr. Lloyd George, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, and "he did everything we asked him to do." The banks were shut for four days, Mr. Lloyd George got millions of pounds' worth of Treasury notes printed (£1 notes in black and 10s. notes in red colours), and handed over this money, backed by the credit of the State, to the banks upon terms that have never been disclosed. But, curiously enough, the banks were soon lending back at interest to the State, the credits which the State had so obligingly found for the banks, and Mr. Temple, in his "War Finance and the Worker," relates how he is in possession of a circular sent out by the banks to private individuals, advising them to borrow credits from the banks at 3 per cent. and lend them to the Government at 4 per cent.

"Money," declared the *Financial News*, "is at last coming into its own. . . ."

In March, 1916, the Bank of England was issuing advertisements in the press as follows:—

"IF YOU CANNOT FIGHT."

"If you cannot fight, you can help your country by investing all you can in 5 per cent. Exchequer Bonds. . . . **Unlike the Soldier, the Investor runs no risk.**"

Johnston quotes the leading article from the *Glasgow Herald*, for Monday, May 29, 1916, complaining that war investment was regarded "*not as a patriotic duty, but as a profit-making medium;*" McKenna's statement as to the power of the banks in the House of Commons, *Hansard*, August 15, 1916; *Manchester Guardian's* complaint against the bankers, September 9, 1916; *Glasgow Herald*, October 4, 1916, on the investing public; and the *Nation*, June 1917, denouncing war loans and inflation. These quotations make amazing reading.

Johnston turns to coal in these terms of analysis and indictment:—

COAL: SINGING THE NATIONAL ANTHEM, THEY RUSHED AT THE NATION'S THROAT.

According to Mr. Smillie, the coalmasters declared that their costs of production had been raised 50 per cent. between December, 1914, and February, 1915. But there was no increase in wages during that period. The 50 per cent. increase was bogus, and was merely an excuse to raise prices.

Welsh Coal Shares have risen since the outbreak of war by 60 per cent.—(*Edinburgh Evening News* 13/3/15.)

The Board of Trade Committee to enquire into the rise in the cost of coal reported (p. 7, Cd. 7866) that, whereas the total increase in the cost of production and distribution was at most 3s. per ton, the owners and distributors had raised prices by from 7s. to 11s. per ton.

The coalowners refused for 3½ months even to confer nationally with the miners over a demand for increase in miners' wages, and the *New Statesman* (April, 1915) estimated that "Every week the employers can delay the inevitable increase of wages means in the agreeable something like a quarter of a million pounds sterling in addition to their profits."

A coalowner, Sir Arthur Markham, stated in the House of Commons, that before Italy joined us in the war, British owners were selling coal to Italy at 17s. 6d. per ton. The day after war was declared, and Italy became our Ally, the price was jumped to 34s. per ton.

The Cabinet bided its time until 85 per cent. of the colliery output had been contracted for a year in advance at high prices before it announced its farcical scheme of limiting profits. The colliers had reached the limit of endurance. South Wales went on strike. Under the Government's Bill, coal for the Navy, for the Mercantile Marine, for export abroad, for the making of patent fuel, in adidtion to coal already contracted for, was exempted from price control (Clause 4, Sub-section 3). Finally the Government agreed to the men's term, and when the trouble was over the *Glasgow Herald* (20/7/15) commenting on the whole knavish business, declared that "The tender mercies of the coal rings are cruel."

Mr. Jonathan Samuel, M.P., estimated (*Manchester Guardian*, 23/7/15) that the new "Limitation of Prices Act" would **increase** the coalowners' plunder by £70,000,000 per annum; Sir Arthur Markham, M.P., said the new limitation would increase his profits by 1s. per ton; and Mr. Runciman, in introducing his Bill, said that "within the past year the coalowners of Great Britain had increased prices to the British people to the extent of £20,000,000." Mr. Wm. Le Queux, in his volume "The Deadly Peril," declared that "Coal delivered in London at 16s. per ton before the war is now delivered at nothing less than 40s per ton.".

But when the owners' profits were limited to an increase of 4s. per ton over pre-war rates, there were many loopholes left. An owner could start a coal-factoring business and sell to himself usually under another name; and although the coal factors were limited to a profit of 1s. 6d. per ton, they frequently sold to each other, and as the *Evening Citizen* hinted (31/5/16), each transaction added another 1s. 6d per ton to the price. Then the Welsh coal kings demanded an extra 2s. 6d. profit (July, 1916). The Government gave them permission to take it, and on September 23rd, 1916, the *New Statesman* told us why:—". . . it became necessary, for diplomatic reasons, to restrict the price charged for coal going to France and Italy; and **the South Wales coalowners insisted on being allowed to charge the home consumer what they had to be prevented from charging to the French and Italian importers.**" Two shillings and sixpence a ton is 1½d. per cwt.; consumers who burned two cwts. a week had therefore to find an extra tribute to the coalowners of threepence a week, or 13s. per annum.

In 1916 the United Collieries Coy., Ltd., raised 156,000 tons of coal less than they had raised in 1914, yet their profits had increased by £206,000.

SHIPPING: THE PATRIOTIC SEA PIRATES.

How the shipowners have plundered the public is, since Mr. Bonar Law's admission about his own investments in shipping shares (see Press, 4/7/17), a matter of common notoriety; but the student of Capitalism knew about it long, long ago. After five months of war—in January, 1915—the *Co-operative News* indignantly referred to the increase in freightage from the Argentine (11s. 3d. to 50s. per ton) thus:—

The somewhat long excerpt declared that, since the British Navy had swept German shipping off the seas, British shipping companies were able to wring extortionate profits out of British consumers. Johnston proceeds to quote the *Journal of Commerce*, November 27, 1914, the shipowners' journal, which stated precisely: "*German ships being swept off the seas, we have now no serious competitors in the carrying trade of the world.*" He quotes the *Western Mail*, as stating that new shipping companies are being formed, one with "*Lord Rhonda, the Food Controller, at its head.*" The same journal said: "*A state of war exists, and with it the chance of enormous procts.*"

Johnston collected a vast amount of data showing how the war increased shipping profits. Space does not permit quotation of these interesting details. He continued:—

> The *Statist* gave the net shipping profits for 1915 as 250 millions as against 20 millions in 1913. Even after deduction of their excess profits tax of 50 per cent. this was an increase of 543 per cent. Much ingenuity was shown in the methods by which the excess profits tax was evaded. One such method (see London *Times*, 27/12/15) was for shipowners to charter their ships to friends in neutral countries at very low rates, yielding the shipowner a nominal profit of, say, 6 per cent. for the year; he thus escaped the excess profits tax, and the friend, being a neutral and not subject to excess profits tax, made a fortune; at the end of the year the shipowner and the friend quietly shared the booty.
>
> Shortly after the outbreak of war, 247 ships were sold to freight owners. The Government admitted that two fleets of ships had been transferred to the American flag (*Glasgow Herald*, 28/7/16). The Japan Mail Steamship Company transferred itself to the Japanese flag, and now calls itself the Nippon-Yusen Kaisha. For the six months ending 31st March, 1917, it reaped £2,215,524 in profits.
>
> The Government secured 52 interned German ships from Portugal, but instead of using them to break shipping ring prices, obligingly handed them over to Messrs. Furness, Withy & Company, the shipowners, to "manage." (*Hansard*, 23/8/16).
>
> Mr. Henry MacIver, chairman of the Liverpool and North Wales Steamship Company (*Liverpool Courier* report, 4/11/16) told his shareholders, at their annual meeting, that shipowners could not "justify their action in taking advantage of the present position in order to benefit themselves at the country's expense. . . . Shipowners and others, for their own individual benefit, had quite unnecessarily increased and were still further increasing the cost of foodstuffs to the consumer. . . ."
>
> The *Dundee Telegraph and Post* (16/6/17) says—"Freightage rates have been increased more than tenfold, and the entire cost has fallen on the consumer."
>
> The *Daily Express* (16/11/16) described how shipowners were charging depreciation **at current war prices** on their ships before paying excess profits tax.
>
> Sir John Ellerman, whose "recreation is looking out for investments," is rapidly acquiring a monopoly of what shipping is left. Already he owns £35,000,000 worth of ships, over one-eighth of British liner tonnage of more than 1,000 tons—more than the tonnage of the entire mercantile marine of Italy.—(*Daily Chronicle*, 30/4/17).
>
> You understand now what the British Capitalist means when he refers to "The Freedom of the Seas!"

Under the caption, "*Weevils in the Wheat,*" Johnston next dealt with the war cornering of wheat. He proceeds to indict the bakers as follows:—

> In August, 1914, the Glasgow Master Bakers' Association proposed to raise the price of the 4-lb. loaf by a penny. The United Co-operative Baking Society refused, saying there was no need for the increase. The Master Bakers' Association quietly dropped their proposal.
>
> In the House of Commons Mr. Runciman admitted that "4 lbs. of wheaten bread were selling in Paris for 7d, whilst in London the price was just half as

much again." (*New Statesman*, 11/11/16.) Sir Francis Webster, at the Arbroath Chamber of Commerce, said the American Relief Committee were selling the 4-lb. loaf to the Belgians at 7½d., and making a profit of 10 per cent. on the business, while "the same loaf was being sold in London at 9½d." (*Arbroath Guide*, 4/11/16.)

By September, 1915, the Board of Trade Labour Gazette was announcing that the retail price of working class food had increased 40 per cent. since the beginning of the war. By July, 1916, it had increased by 65 per cent. The *London Times* (14/8/16) declared that "the supply of wheat on passage is fair, but the stocks are in speculative hands."

The *Statist* discussed the "London Wheat Corner," and asked dispassionately whether "the present withholders of imported wheat" would get "home with their 7s. or 8s. per quarter profit," or would they hold on too long and be "caught with some 200,000 quarters" on hand when the new supplies came in; and the *Times* (17/8/16) said that there were 120,000 quarters of wheat more in the country than there had been in the spring, yet the loaf had risen to 9d.

While British bread was being diluted owing to flour scarcity, cargoes of wheat were being sent to Sweden (*Daily News*, 10/5/17), and the *Yorkshire Telegraph* (21/5/17) reported that three large steamers with grain from England to Sweden had been torpedoed by the German submarines. Yet Sweden, they told us, was a pro-German country.

(To be continued.

ISLE OF MAN ACT

The official text of this Act is as follows:—

Isle of Man (Detention) Act, 1941.

4 & 5 Geo. 6 Ch. 16.

CHAPTER 16.

An Act to enable persons detained under powers conferred under the Emergency Powers (Defence) Acts, 1939 and 1940, or the Aliens Restriction Act, 1914, to be removed to and detained in the Isle of Man. [10th April 1941].

PREAMBLE.

Removal of detained persons to Isle of Man.
4 & 5 Geo. 5. c. 12.

1. A person detained in pursuance of powers conferred under the Emergency Powers (Defence) Acts 1939 and 1940, or under the Aliens Restriction Act, 1914, may, in accordance with directions given by the Secretary of State, be removed to the Isle of Man and detained, for the whole or any part of the period for which the order or direction for his detention remains in operation, at any place in that Island, and while so detained, and while being removed from the United Kingdom to any such place, or from any such place to the United Kingdom, shall be deemed to be in lawful custody.

2. This Act may be cited as the Isle of Man (Detention) Act, 1941.

"THE NEW LETTRE DE CACHET."

The Spectator, London, under the heading, *The New Lettre de Cachet*, has published some correspondence on the subject of *Isle of Man Detention Act*, which received the royal assent on April 10.

We reproduce two letters: one from the pen of Commander Geoffrey Bowles, R.N., which appeared in our contemporary for March 28 last; and the other from the pen of Captain Arthur Rogers, O.B.E., Hon Secretary, Liberty Restoration League, which was published on April 11.

Commander Bowles writes:—

Sir,—Parliament was invented to curb the Executive in defence of Englishmen's liberties. The right of trial before prolonged imprisonment is one of our most cherished liberties. The guilt or innocence of suspected persons ought to be quickly established in open court. Exercising its true function in 1679, Parliament strengthened the Common Law by passing the most famous of the four Habeas Corpus Acts to enforce the right of personal freedom by preventing prolonged imprisonment without trial. Lord Clarendon had previously been impeached for sending persons in custody outside England, where they could not be tried. The 1679 Act forbade Englishmen to be sent prisoner to Scotland, Ireland, Jersey or any place beyond the seas. It made the committing of any man to prison out of the realm the one praemunire unpardonable even by the king. This was expressly to prevent persons from being removed from the jurisdiction of English courts.

The present Parliament has already been called the "Suicide Parliament" from its having abolished its own privileges on December 11, 1940. The present Government is now asking Parliament to plumb still lower depths of infamy by passing a Bill, with the short title of the "Isle of Man (Detention) Bill," to reverse the Act of 1679 by giving the Executive power to send prisoners out of the jurisdiction of English courts, to the Isle of Man, where the Executive could imprison them indefinitely without trial. Although this Bill has only two sentences, they are enough to destroy our liberties. The Home Office is trying to rush this Bill through Parliament. If Parliament passes this Bill, it would enable the Government, under pretext of fighting Hitlerism, to get rid of persons inconvenient to it, without the possibility of their beng brought to trial—a practice which led to our Civil War nearly 300 years ago. If Parliament still further abdicates its function by passing the two fatal sentences of this Bill, it will have denied a natural right of man, older than Magna Carta, which did not invent the right, but only affirmed it. Is it possible for even this Parliament to sink so low?—Yours faithfully,

GEOFFREY BOWLES.

25 Catherine Place, S.W.1.

Captain Arthur Rogers wrote:—

Sir,—In your issue of March 28, Commander Geoffrey Bowles's letter, under the heading "The New Lettre de Cachet," criticised the Isle of Man (Detention) Bill, which is to reverse the vital provisions of the Habeas Corpus Act of 1679 by authorising the Executive to transport unconvicted British subjects out of the jurisdiction of the English and Scottish courts. In your last issue, under the same heading, Mr. H. P. Garwood's letter avers that "the normal processes of the courts" are insufficient protection against Fifth-columnists, &c., and defends the "locking up of all those against whom there is even the least suspicion." It does not reply to Commander Bowles's objection to the transportation of unconvicted subjects into what must amount to outlawry.

I have not heard of any argument for the retention in full of the "normal processes of the courts" where suspected traitors or enemy-agents are concerned. All are agreed that the Executive must be empowered to act promptly in apprehending such persons. The granting of special powers, however, calls for some safeguards against injustice to loyal British subjects. The issue raised by Commander Bowles is, clearly, whether the Executive, particularly the unidentifiable denizens of the Home Office, should be encouraged to break, or evade, the law.

The original Defence Regulation 18B authorised detentions of suspected persons for an unlimited period by order of the Secretary of State "if satisfied . . . that it is necessary so to do." This Regulation was repudiated by Parliament. The revised Regulation, now in force, states that "if the Secretary of State has reasonable cause to believe any person to be of hostile origin or associations or to have been recently concerned in acts prejudicial to the public safety or the defence of the realm or in the preparation or instigation of such acts and that by reason thereof it is necessary to exercise control over him, he may make an order . . . that he be detained." The Secretary of State, in the first place, must have reasonable cause to believe certain specified facts concerning the person; secondly, he must have reasonable cause to believe that those facts make detention necessary. The Advisory Committee set up by the Regulation does not merit discussion. It is in no way a judicial tribunal, and it is admitted that its advice has been arbitrarily rejected by the Home Secretary in fifty-five cases, for reasons unknown.

As the reasonableness of the Home Secretary is not infallible, it is claimed that the Regulation does not debar its being called into question in the courts by means of the *habeas corpus* process; but, as this claim is now *sub judice*, I can say no more. It is certain, however, that a detained person who lacks considerable means cannot initiate *habeas corpus* proceedings in London if he is detained in the Isle of Man. It is remarkable, also, that the Bill under discussion was introduced while *habeas corpus* and other leagal procedings were pending, and that a Government spokesman, during discussion of the Bill, said: "It is a constitutional issue about which the Attorney-General has no very clear or definite views," the Attorney-General being one of the three sponsors of the Bill.

If Mr. Garwood would re-read his letter in the light of the above comments he would see that he is, no doubt unintentionally, arguing, first, that the King's Judges are not to be trusted, and, secondly, that nameless bureaucrats should be free to break the law instead of initiating, if need be, a further revision of Defence Regulation 18B.—Your obedient servant,

ARTHUR ROGERS.

38 Bedford Street, W.C.2.

SIR WALTER STRICKLAND—

WANDERER AND SCHOLAR

(Concluded from page 120).

AN INVETERATE WANDERER

The explanation of Walter Strickland is very simple. If he requires understanding it is because of dulled interests and vitality of the ordinary individual, living under capitalism. Strickland was an inveterate wanderer. That was because his mind was that of the wandering scholar, of the type that belonged to the Middle Ages and played such an important part in the social history of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In order to pursue this life of learning he found it was desirable to live and to travel third class and to identify his interests with those of the poor and of the politically weak and outcast rather than with the social ruling class. He felt that the rich were not too sympathetic towards real scholarship, and so gradually his ideas assumed a propagandist guise. He felt the truth was no respecter of parties, institutions, social orders, or governments. Hence his love of scholarship tended to make him a revolutionist.

EARLY WANDERINGS IN YORKSHIRE

Walter Strickland first adapted himself to this life of wandering scholarship in Yorkshire.

Although he was born in London and educated first at Harrow and spent much time in London during both his Harrow and Cambridge days, he passed a great deal of his early years studying the natural history of Yorkshire. It is easy to understand how he came to take up this pursuit.

Strickland was devoted to his mother, who died when he was a boy of thirteen. Two years later his father married again and Walter Strickland was opposed to the second marriage. From that time on he reserved himself from his family and plunged into a variety of intellectual pursuits. During his student days he returned a great deal to Yorkshire for the purpose of studying conchology, otherwise the science of shells, which has fallen rather into disrepute because modern science maintains that the entire moluse must be studied. He also took up the more important study of mycology, or in plain words the science of fungi. An article contributed to the *Naturalist* for June, 1889, enables us to follow his wanderings through Yorkshire; from early November, 1874, to late October, 1888, a period of fourteen years. Some part of this period must have been spent in company with Freethinkers. When I stayed with him in France in 1912, he told me a great deal about the old Freethought movement in Yorkshire.

In his *Naturalist* article Walter Strickland makes a list of the fungi that he presented early in 1889 to the British Museum. Before presenting them he went through his specimens carefully and compared them with those to be found in the classified collection at the South Kensington Natural History Museum. His collection was made for self- instruction, and consequently contained many extremely common and widely diffused species. It represented a fairly general scheme of mycology, but also included some rare and curious specimens, some of which he felt were peculiar to Yorkshire. At that time, mycology was viewed as a recent branch of natural history. The specimens presented by Strickland to the British Museum covered thirty-one different orders of fungi. In presenting them he listed the place where he had discovered the specimen and the date of discovery.

We find that during these fourteen years Walter Strickland returned again and again to the Pond Wood at Boynton, to the Low Wood, to the Grove, to the Saw Mill, to the North Wood, to the Third Ridge, to the Grindale Plantation, to the Meadows and to the Botanical Gardens. We discover also that he collected peculiar fungi at the cliff beyond Scawby, the Meadow between Ayton and Scarborough, the Meadows by the Esk, above Egton, the Fir Plantation between Flockton and Seamer. We see him exploring the Pine stump, above Robin

Hood's Bay and delving into the fish-ponds at Hildenley. He finds fungi in the cliffs above Carnelian Bay, and again at the cliffs at Filey. Occasionally he goes into Lincolnshire and explores the Walcot Hill Top or the Vicarage Garden at Appleby. These names are mentioned not in order to list the places explored by Sir Walter Strickland at this period, but to show the part played in developing his roaming interests in natural history during this period in Yorkshire.

His first essay was published during this period. It consists of notes and observations of the forms of sand he observed at Redcar during the years 1882-3. This essay is a most interesting study in the symmetry of nature. The author does not content himself with mere scientific observation, but plunges into a great deal of philosophy and writes of the behaviour of the wind, and the part it plays, with the force of poetry. When one considers his later folk-lore translations and then turns back to his observations on the form of sand at Redcar one realises that his early work contained the promise of his later ambitious studies in the appreciation of folk-lore.

HARROW'S ADVENTURERS

Walter Strickland was sent to school at Harrow in the same term as R. B. Cunninghame Graham, who died in 1936. During a part of his life Graham was also a poet, a socialist, rebel, traveller, etc. Generally he was a character who must have had very much in common with Strickland. At Harrow they must have influenced each other. In 1914 Cunninghame Graham became a rabid patriot and denounced in very abusive terms the socialists with whom he had been associated formerly.

Strickland also supported the war for a short period and then repented of identifying himself with its horrors. He never abused, however, those who were opposed to war for the great characteristic of his thought during the whole of his student days and right on to the end of his life was a tremendous hatred of violence and of those who engaged in violence. This is made very clear in his eulogies of Buddhism.

It is the boast of Harrow that although her traditions are conservative, the conservatism is largely superficial. This school claims to have produced very many "adventurers," intellectual as well as actual, among whom is included Byron.

The headmaster at Harrow was Dr. Butler, who later was appointed Dean of Gloucester and became Master of Trinity College at Cambridge. At Harrow Strickland lampooned the headmaster in the monthly magazine, called *The Tyro*. At Cambridge he came to understand Butler differently and largely sympathised with the uncomfortable situation in which the distinguished pedant found himself. Dr. Butler was not entirely orthodox in his theology, and he had to serve up orthodoxy in the Public School to retain his position. He effected a kind of satiric compromise. Strickland became his correspondent and they retained correspondence to the day of Dr. Butler's death.

During 1888, whilst studying the fungi of Yorkshire and the sea shells of Durham, Strickland found time to pour ridicule on Professor James Stewart, M.P., who was Trinity lecturer in Elementary Physics at Cambridge. For a short time Professor Steward found it impossible to pursue his work as a professor at Cambridge properly because of his firm support of Mr. Gladstone. He plunged into politics at the expense of everything else. The attack on Parnell and the sacrifice of that distinguished Irish politician to mean political interests caused Professor Steward to return to his educational work and to find solace for his shattered political illusions in the laboratories at Cambridge.

Down to 1892 Strickland was settled in London or the neighbourhood. During his Harrow and Cambridge days he was for many years a constant visitor to the smoky Metropolis. In that year he left England with the intention of settling permanently in Italy. He stayed in Italy eight years and then proceeded to Australia and New Zealand, Java, Singapore and Ceylon.

BUDDISM: THE DUKE'S STRICTURES

By A. A. MORTON

[Mr. Morton wrote his defence of Buddhism in the form of a letter, but we thought it was better to publish it as an essay.—Ed.]

I feel I cannot let the Duke of Bedford's strictures on Buddhism pass without comment.

His Grace recommends a book by a Christian priest to an enquirer as to the respective values of Christian and Buddhist approaches to Truth. Naturally, the Christian must have a bias in favour of his own form of religion, looking through the Christian spectacles of his father, his heredity, his church. The result is inevitable, and we get a repetition of the exoteric explanation of the sublime teaching of Gautama the Buddha on the one hand, and on the other the old Christian emphasis on the conception of an anthropomorphic, extra-cosmic God to whom the lazy thinker can turn when he finds the Greek philosopher's advice "KNOW THYSELF" puts too hard a task before him.

Does not much of the controversy turn on the interpretation of such words as "God" and "desire"? If a man cannot interpret to himself the thing that is his SELF, how can he begin to approach the wider conception of an impersonal Deity, of the Law and Order that rule the Universe? May I paraphrase a text from I John IV, 20 and say, "If a man say I know God and hateth his brother, he is a liar; for he that knoweth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he know "God", whom he hath not seen?"

Again, Buddhism puts against "desire," "aspiration," a higher power of the same energy directing the WILL to search for that Knowledge which is his birthright, "the knowledge of his own identity and destiny," an inherent power born in each individual. Such knowledge is not easy of attainment, though intuitional flashes will certainly light the path of the earnest seeker and

"Deeds in hours of insight willed
May be through days of gloom fulfilled."

It is a spiritual science of a magnitude of which we have little conception until aspiration sets our feet on the beginning of the Path in intuitional certainty.

The Buddha's verbal silence on the Ultimate is natural when, realising that something other than a process of intellection is necessary to convey any conception of the INEFFABLE, man's brain-mind stops short in the adytum of Supernal Truth and he bathes in the great Silence in supreme realisation.

But indeed Buddhism has the most satisfying message for "the struggling soul who fails in the fight." In that priceless little book, "The Voice of the Silence," containing precepts put into the hands of mystic students in the East, we read ". . . if he falls, e'en then he does not fall in vain; the enemies he slew in the last battle will not return to life in the next birth that will be his," so that truly "each failure is success." For the doctrine is based on the scientific law of cause and effect, given in the New Testament in the sentence "as ye sow so ye shall reap,"—known in the east as Karma—and the necessity for the ego to return to the place of his sowing of good or bad deeds to reap their reward or punishment, seeing in one short life it cannot reap all the effects. Thoughtful consideration of any life story will convince one of this, and the doctrine of reincarnation be found the necessary corollary to that of Karma. For "rigid justice rules the world." As one cannot stop the ripples from a stone thrown in the water, so one cannot stop the effects resulting from causes set up in any medium, natural or spiritual, and NATURE being ONE her laws obtain on all planes. So man lets the past, over which he has no control, take care of itself and seeks perpetually to avoid setting up the wrong causes, seeing injury to himself is injury to his brother, a part of the ALL and hence a part of himself.

And the goal? How put into words a magnificence beyond apprehension by the *head* though the true *heart* of man may have perfect vision. What power has a drop of water determined to maintain its spherical identity compared with the same drop united with its fellows in the crushing immensity of an ocean wave? The egotistic drop will start a long period of disintegration before it again gets a chance to augment the sum of divine-human power, for, "he who would save his life shall lose it," a truly occult saying. The immediate goal is therefore work for Brotherhood. "Live the life and ye shall know of the doctrine"—the life of personal service.

New and Revised Edition.

Ready Next Month.

RICHARD CARLILE, Agitator
(1790-1843).
HIS LIFE AND TIMES,
By
GUY A. ALDRED.

"As the worth of a man, so the worth of his trade, or vice versa. As the worth of his trade, so the worth of the man."—*Diderot.*

"Who is the more honoured to-day, Socrates or the magistrate who made him drink the hemlock."—*Ibid.*

"In candour, in independency of judgment, in perfect moral fearlessness of character, Carlile cannot be paralleled among the public men of his time."—*George Jacob Holyoake.*

Richard Carlile was the greatest public man of his time. No contemporary equalled him in courage, public affection, and libertarian impulse. Posterity will rank his fame higher than that of Thomas Paine even, no less for the part he played in the emancipation of the English Press and the enlightenment of the proletariat, than for his personal firmness of character. The present record is not merely an essay of historical interest, not a dead monument, but a live propagandist study. It is full of the eternal spirit of revolt, the fire of freedom and defiance. Carlile's jail wisdom—with its caustic criticisms of "law and order" methods of revolt—and the daring of his publishing—with its essays delineating the character of a soldier—are of special import at the present time. Knowledge of his work and message are a vital necessity to every toiler who thinks that he might be free.

1912 BIOGRAPHY.

Guy Aldred first wrote and published his "life" of Carlile in 1905-6. It was published serially in the columns of the *Agnostic Journal*. Revised and published in the *Herald of Revolt* in 1911, it appeared in pamphlet form the following year. Under the title: *Richard Carlile: His Battle for the Free Press*, it ran into 40 pages of close print and was published at one penny. The author also edited and compiled from *The Republican*, etc., a collection of Richard Carlile's *Jail Jottings*. This was a 48-paged pamphlet, produced on good paper, and published also at one penny. These two pamphlets had a large circulation. The "life" was banned from being sold in London in the L.C.C. parks. No reason was given. *Jail Jottings* was not banned. These two pamphlets gave the reader an insight into the work done by this greatly neglected champion of liberty.

The Truthseeker, New York, for July 19, 1913, devoted over two columns to a review of *Jail Jottings*. We excerpt the following:—

"A condensed but clear account is given of the succession of mock trials by which Carlile was robbed of liberty for some of the best years of his life for no crime whatever, his convictions being based solely on the publication and sale of Paine's works and other Freethought and Republican literature. The remainder of the pamphlet is devoted to selections from Carlile's writings during his incarceration. The following extracts will suffice to show the courage and intellectual capacity of this hero of Rationalism and progress, for whom the British government could find no better use than to clap him into a dungeon for using his intellectual attainments to enlighten and uplift his fellow men."

1923 BIOGRAPHY.

In April-June, 1923, Guy Aldred published a

new study of Carlile's "life" in the *Freethinker*. This study and the previous 1912 biography were combined and issued in book form during the same year. It embodied the reports of the "mock trials," as Carlile termed his prosecutions, previously prefaced to *Jail Jottings*. The contents of this biography were as follows:—

Dedication; Foreword; The Carlile Family; Early Years; An Epoch of Cant and Terror; Legal Biography; Earning a Judgeship; Carlile Turns Publisher; Iron Purpose and Espionage; Peterloo; Mock Justice; Judge and Prisoner; Carlile's Speech from the Dock; Verdict and Sentence; Christian Judges; Pious Polemics; Principles and Politics; Mental Evolution; Karl Sandt; Thomas Paine; The Instruction of Youth; Jail Wisdom; Struggle; Anti-Militarist Publisher; Exposing Freemasonry; With Robert Taylor; Further Trials and Imprisonment; Eliza Sharples; "The Christian Warrior"; Death and After; Epilogue; Appendices; Notes. 190 pp.

This work was not only a record of the struggle for the Free Press between 1790 and 1843. It related the economic struggle of the working class, the rise of corrupt judges and landed families, and traced the interests behind reaction. It was plainly written, and replete with valuable propaganda facts. From the reviews of the time, we make some extracts:—

The Literary Guide said—

"A valiant fighter for free speech. . . . In this well-got-up and cheap volume our readers will find a fund of ill-arranged information concerning one of the bravest fighters in the ranks of heresy. Carlile justly takes high rank among the author's heroes, and he pays him unstinted tribute. With a candour which is commendable, Mr. Aldred mentions in his Preface that the publication of the work was declined by the R.P.A.—for reasons which will be obvious to every reader."

The reasons are more obvious to-day, in view of the speeches made in the House of Lords, and the House of Commons, respectively, by the leaders of the R.P.A.

The Freethinker said:—

"Those who read Mr. Guy Aldred's articles on Richard Carlile which ran through these columns, will be pleased to know that Mr. Aldred has very much enlarged these and has just published a biographical study of the great reformer. The volume extends now to 192 pages, and is being sold at 1s. 6d. in paper covers, and 2s. 6d. in cloth. It is well that the present generation should know something of one of the most heroic figures in the history of Freethought, and in this work Mr. Aldred has judged well in his sketch of the environment in which Carlile moved and against which he reacted. The book is written clearly and without ostentation, and we wish it every success. . . . Freethinkers will appreciate the portraits of Carlile and Robert Taylor (the Devil's Chaplain) which the book contains."

George Lansbury, with all his faults, a man of instinctive kindnes towards the struggles for liberty, wrote in the *Daily Herald*:—

"Guy Aldred, in 'Richard Carlile' has given us the life-story of a man whose one crime appears to havo been that he loved freedom of thought and freedom of expression above everything else in the world. Again and again he suffered imprisonment, always for some offence against idiotic laws based on the belief that religion would be destroyed if any of its doctrines were challenged. We have not even yet fully emancipated ourselves from this folly. Guy Aldred himself has been in prison many times because of his championship of freedom of speech and freedom of the press. It is this fact which makes his life of Richard Carlile (a publisher and writer who lived from 1790 to 1843) so sympathetic and worth reading. He writes not only as a lover of freedom, but as one who himself has been willing to follow, at whatever the cost, in the footsteps of his teacher. All Christians should read this book and learn from the story of Carlile's life and sufferings what Christians should not do in order to defend their creed. All politicians should also read it because we also are very apt to think that all truth and learning resides with us, and that our actions and motives should be accepted without question. . . . Richard Carlile lived his life in his own way, followed the light of his own conscience to the end. Such a man we can and do respect, however much the light of our own conscience leads us to disagree with him as to what is truth . . . amongst the clever and intellectual, and amongst those who have no book learning at all, there are to be found those who are great and who are worth remembering not for what they have written or said, but for what they have done, and amongst those are these two very dissimilar men, so far as creeds are concerned—Richard Carlile and Pastor John Smith."

The Socialist, Glasgow, organ of the Socialist Labour Party, treated the work to a lengthy review. We quote the following passages:—

"Guy A. Aldred has done well in setting out the life and times of Richard Carlile. The book is very well got up. The opening passages, in which Carlile is allowed to speak for himself, are most interesting and inspiring, setting forth the outlook and the spirit of the agitator Carlile, whom Aldred looks to as his master in the struggle towards civilisation without superstition and society without misery.' The period in which Carlile lived, the cant and terror which then prevailed, is portrayed vividly in the reproduction of passages from the examinations and cross-examinations of witnesses at a prosecution of a dissenting minister. Aldred no doubt had his mind set on the similarity of the methods of the prosecution of those days and those that exist to-day, particularly in relation to his own experiences in the Dock. Just to give the reader a taste of the many interesting episodes in the book, the following is quoted from some cross-examining. . . . From the beginning to the end it is thrilling. It gives an agitator's spirit, philosophy, persecution and achievement on behalf of the common people. To read of Carlile is to read of struggle. What better book can you read to instil within you that fighting spirit that the Revolution calls from you."

The Salisbury Times, a well-known local paper, founded in 1860 and still going strong, published the following notice of the book:—

"An interesting peep into the social life of this country a hundred years ago is given in a book which has just been issued entitled 'Richard Carlile.' It deals extensively with the career of that extraordinary but little-known character, who, in defiance of the law, insisted on publishing Thomas Paine's 'Age of Reason.' . . . Carlile was the son of an Ashburton cobbler but became a leading figure in the fight for freedom of thought which occurred at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The author of this biography, Mr. Guy A. Aldred, has a great admiration for the defiance of the policy of official repression which was displayed. . . . Another consequence of Carlile's courage was the abolition of the stamping of newspapers. . . . This is only a little book, but it will bring the curious into the company of a number of very outstanding characters in very tempestuous times. To their boldness and pertinacity, whatever one may think of the views expressed, the freedom of the Press of to-day is largely due."

Common Cause, Sydney, N.S.W., Australia, reviewed the book and emphasised the social aspects of the struggle, as follows:—

"Among the publications recently received in this office is G. A. Aldred's 'Richard Carlile.' This was a very remarkable man born towards the end of the eighteenth century, who endured much persecution because of his championship of opinions on political and theological matters that were not liked by the powers that were. A particularly notable thing in Aldred's biography . . . is what is said therein about the ferocity of the criminal law. The ruling class at that time had great contempt for what is called (in the words of Edmund Burke) 'the swinish multitude,' and consequently, men, women—and even children—were 'strung up' for quite petty offences. From 1805 to 1818 inclusive, seventeen persons were hanged for 'petty larceny,' which means the stealing of a sum under £40. For robbery from the person, 188 were hanged; for horse-stealing, 85; for sheep-stealing, 43; and for burglary, 199. The special consideration that was given to the money-power is, however, indicated by the fact that more persons (207) were hanged for forgery than for murder or any other felony. Out of the unfortunate 207 persons hanged, 176 were victims of bank prosecutions. These hangings were 'the direct consequence of the introduction of paper credit.' . . . From 1797 to 1818, no fewer than 313 persons were hanged for uttering or possessing forged notes on the Bank of England. This was during the suspension of cash payments, which enabled a profit of £29,280,626 to be made on the 1797 capital of £11,642,000. The British ruling class greatly increased its wealth by its control of the Bank, but its money was obtained by the callous taking of the lives of the unfortunate creatures whom it 'strung up' or 'turned off' (to quote the heartless terms that were commonly used at that time.) . . ."

1941 BIOGRAPHY.

This work is final. It embodies the 1923 biography. Some chapters are re-written. There is much new matter. A lengthy introductory essay deals with Carlile's contemporaries and their reactions to the social crisis, to prosecution by *ex-officio* information, and to the suspension of *habeas corpus*. An addendum discusses very fully the prison system in London, especially from 1790-1843 and a little beyond. Thus a complete setting is given to the "life" of Carlile. A new picture of Carlile is included, but the portrait of Robert Taylor is removed, as it is proposed to publish a separate biography of "The Devil's Chaplain" later. Many new illustrations of London between 1790 and 1843, lent by the Postmaster-General, are included, and also pictures of Newgate Prison, and of trials. The new work aims at picturing and describing faithfully an important chapter in the life of the common people of Britain, and even of the English-speaking world.

Richard Carlile's selected writings other than those included in this volume, will be published as a separate work.

The price of this work will be 1s. 6d., paper covers. Post Free, 1s. 9d. Special terms for quantities.

FIRST WOMAN CONCHIE

The *Daily Express* for Tuesday, May 6, carried the story of Daphne Kiek, the first woman conscientious objector, written by Hilda Marchant. We have the Glasgow and London editions of the *Daily Express*. The story is varied slightly. Both editions print pictures of Miss Kiek. These vary also. We asked the editor to loan us the blocks or else to supply the prints, charging the usual copyright fees. This approach was turned down, apparently on the ground that, to publish a portrait of Miss Kiek in these columns would affect the course of the war or some such nonsense.

Miss Kiek's attitude is described by our contemporary's special correspondent in the following study:—

The first woman conscientious objector is Miss Daphne Kiek, aged 21, who comes from Surrey. She is a shorthand typist, efficient at her job, and she will not register under the new call-up for work in munitions, the women's services, or on the land.

Miss Kiek is an attractive English girl. There is nothing odd about her appearance or background.

She just refuses to be part of the "war machine."

Her objections—which she has sent in a letter to Mr. Ernest Bevin—are not on the grounds of Christian faith.

She is living in the middle of a badly hit district in London, but remains a pacfist. What she has seen and what has happened around her do not shake her from the conviction that we should make a negotiated peace with Hitler. . . ."

There are no tribunals for women, but they have the right of appeal to a hardship committee which will respect objection as a reason for application.

Miss Kiek has offered herself as the first test case for a woman conscientious objector.

I asked her yesterday if she would refuse to take down letters which would direct emergency services into a blitzed town.

"Certainly," was her reply. "I would not type anything which supported an organisation which prolongs this war."

I asked if she would help the injured in a bombed building.

She said: "Yes, if I were a civilian. But I feel A.R.P. and nursing are part of the whole organisation for war.

"I would not deliberately train as a nurse or a warden. I could not take on a uniform job of any sort or any first aid."

Miss Kiek is not in the least affected by any of the raids she has been through, and when I asked her: "Would you be prepared to accept a victory by Hitler?" she answered:—

"I do not believe that a victory on either side will solve any problem at all."

When I asked her if she would go in a munition factory she was most emphatic with her "No."

She said that these were the instruments of destruction which "to my mind would cause similar horrors to that which Britain is now experiencing."

On the question of defending our homes or working to defend them she said that she could not possibly undertake any work of that nature.

"It would be active participation in the war," she said.

So Miss Kiek went on with her typing in a room that has already had its windows blown out.

She insists that she can take no part in any of the women's organisations. "Even going on the land would be subscribing to the war effort."

UNITED SOCIALIST MOVEMENT.

A statement of the Socialist and Pacifist principles of this movement has been issued in leaflet form. Post Free, 1d stamp. 100 copies, 6d.. Comrades are invited to become national members and to form local groups.

NATIONAL SERVICE ACT

SECOND READING DEBATE

(Concluded from page 110).

It reminds me of a story of the great perturbation which arose in one area over whether a certain Labour Member should be elected to the magistracy, because it was feared he would be biased in favour of the proletariat. It was decided to chance it, however, and this Labour Member, knowing that there had been this criticism, would pass a sentence of 60 days where another magistrate would have given only 30 days—in order to avoid any criticism from the ruling classes that he was biased in his attitude. This Bill is being presented by a Government of Tories and National Liberals and Labour Members—if there is any difference between them. Some of the Tories have served in the war, and here I would pay my tribute to every man, whether he is in Civil Defence or National Defence, who is fighting for the things in which he believes. But how many Labour M.P.'s have fought on the battlefield? How many trade union leaders? The first thing that was done was to get the Ministry of Labour to reduce the ages in certain reserved occupations from 30 to 25, so that every clerk in their offices should be in a reserved occupation. It was for the proletariat rank and file to die in defence of the freedom that they had decided they wanted to preserve. The average Labour Member of Parliament who is within the age is not prepared to serve, and yet is prepared to sit silent and not even defend the rights of individuals under this Bill. One would expect some generosity to come from them; but no, they are caught up in the trap completely, and they go on and penalise these other men.

Before I finish let me give an example of a man who was a conscientious objector but who succumbed and entered the Army. I had entered into correspondence with this individual. He was an absolutist. He would not serve. He asked me for advice. I said that I would give him information, but I would not give him my advice. On all occasions I have said to conscientious objectors, "You must make up your own minds; decide your course of action for yourself. I am not going to advise you one way or the other." After a time he wrote to me. He said that I should be amazed to see where the letter came from. It came from a military barracks. In it he said, "You know, McGovern, I am afraid you will think I have let you down tremendously, but I found that my whole social environment—in my home, in the district, amongst my companions—was so overwhelmingly anti-conscientious objector that I was compelled to succumb. I had not the necessary courage to be a conscientious objector, only sufficient courage to be a soldier." That was the confession of one man.

There is a large number of people in this country who take the view that conscientious objectors are cowards, simply people who are evading service. They are wrong in that. There may be some people who only try to evade service and are not against offering up other lives. I would say to this House and to Labour Members in the Government that the conduct of the Secretary of State for Scotland, the Minister of Home Security and the Hon. Member for Shipley—that they take this view that they are cowards because they wish to change the attitude of people like these. In one war they are absolutely against the war, and then in the present war, when they are over military age, they are backing the war and inviting repression of conscientious objectors. People say, "Is it not true that this conscientious objection business is only a ramp?" They are encouraged to believe it is a racket because of these people who have been active in opposing war when they were of military age and are backing war when they are over military age—and you cannot blame them for that.

I know many genuine men who are conscientious objectors. My own son is a conscientious objector. He would probably not come completely within the terms of the Act. He is a political objector: he makes no bones about it. At the tribunal every form of pressure was used against him. At the tribunal he was asked whether his father backed the Spanish Civil War or not. That is the type of mind that was on the bench. He was asked, "Is it not the case that your father backed the Spanish Civil War, and would you have backed the Spanish Civil War? Did you believe that the Spanish Government were right?"—all that sort of thing. On the Spanish position he was turned down—although the present Lord Privy Seal went out to Spain himself, and they all backed the Spanish Civil War. He was turned down because he said manfully that the Spanish Government were right in resisting Franco. It was on his paper. He did not say, and I have never stated, that I would fight for the Spanish people. All that I demanded was that the Spanish people had the right by international law to purchase arms for their own defence, if they wanted to. I opposed intervention, and his opposition was the same. (Interruption). I do not object to the hon. Member for Derby (Mr. Noel-Baker) believing that this is a thoroughly proper struggle and that he ought to take a rifle and go out to defend the people of this country.

I have never objected to Labour Members joining the Army, but I have said that they shelter themselves behind the fact that they are Members of Parliament. They were prepared to declare war and encourage the young people to go out to fight in order to keep them and their Parliamentary government going. One of the great arguments against Hitler is that he has oppressed trade unionism and Parliamentary government. It might be true that if he came here, Parliamentary government would have to be defended, and no doubt I should defend it in a concentration camp. That is no reason why I should ask the ordinary men and women to go out and keep me in a privileged position in this country. If I believed that, I ought to go out and defend it myself. Let us put an end to this humbug by people who are persecuting the conscientious objectors and by some of these people who are so versatile that they can change from one position to another in a very short space of time. There is the Noble Lady who is sitting there. (Interruption). I am sorry. I made a mistake when I said "Noble Lady." I was thinking rather of what she imagines than of what she is. One would expect people like her, according to her professions of a few years ago, to defend the rights of conscientious objectors of the present time. One would have expected her to oppose the Bill, because she has professed to stand for freedom, especially when she was a member of the Communist party.

The Joint Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Home Security (Miss Wilkinson): For five years I fought against the Nazis while you people tried to excuse them. Why should I not fight against them now?

Mr. McGovern: Why are you not in the W.A.A.F.S.?

Miss Wilkinson: I am doing my job here.

Mr. McGovern: It is a damned good job. I can quite understand, when people climb into that kind of job at £30 or £40 a week, that they can ask the ordinary soldier to fight and do his job for 2s. a day. That is the kind of sacrifice we are getting.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The Hon. Member is getting very near to personalities.

Mr. McGovern: Yes, but I must express myself. It is very difficult for anybody in my position to keep from personalities. The Labour movement has been built up on personalities.

Mr. Noel-Baker (Derby): May I ask whether it is in order for an hon. Member to attack the personal honour and courage of Members of this House who, throughout many months, have shown immense bravery in their constituencies by helping during the air bombardment which has taken place?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: It is never in order for an hon. Member to attack the personal courage or conduct of any individual Member by name. One can attack a group or a party. I endeavoured to restrain the hon. Member from attacking individuals.

Mr. Noel-Baker: If the hon. Member avails himself of the Ruling you have just given, is he not acting in a manner which is beneath all contempt?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: That is a matter of opinion.

Mr. McGovern: I can understand the hon. Member being annoyed, because truth always annoys a considerable number of people. It was all right when they were lashing across at the Tories before the war began, but not when an hon. Member, who believes in his Socialism, has a conscientious objection and states what he believes to be true. I will stand up for my opinions inside this House, if it is in order to do so, or outside this House, according to my views and beliefs. In my estimation, the Bill is the culmination of a series of acts that have been designed to penalise those who have a genuine conscientious objection and who have failed to get recognition from the tribunals. The penalties it seeks to impose are very drastic, in our opinion.

Some people may be prepared to do work of a civilian character, but the fact that they are to be ordered to do so by a court and that penalties will be held over their heads will compel a large number of those people to resist to the end. In so far as they resist, our work has always been in their defence, whether in war or in peace. We will, therefore, oppose this Measure, as coming from a Government who, in our estimation, are travelling the Totalitarian road, and are destined in the end to embrace the things which they profess to be out to end. I refuse to believe, as some people do, that the Bill is necessary in order to conduct the war. I believe it is part of the industrial dragooning that has taken place in this country against the workers and against every person with principle and independence.

Mr. Silkin (Peckham): We have just listened to a speech which was interesting, abusive, irrelevant and muddleheaded. The hon. Gentleman has taken advantage of the Privilege which this House offers of making slanderous statements which I am certain he would not dare to make outside this House.

Mr. McGovern: I will make them in any part of the country you like, and I have made them outside. I will go further than that:

Mr. Silkin: It is obvious that the hon. Member has not read the Bill and does not know what is in it.

Mr. McGovern: I have read the Bill. As a matter of fact, not only have I read the Bill, but last night I went through it very thoroughly indeed. There was scarcely a comma that I did not look at.

Mr. Silkin: If the hon. Member has read the Bill, he has not understood it.

Mr. McGovern: Oh, yes I have. You cannot get away with that cheap stuff.

Mr. Silkin: The hon. Member cannot possibly have a grievance about the Bill, which improves the position of the conscientious objector and does not take away any of his privileges. If the hon. Member has a grievance, it may be against the original National Service (Armed Forces) Act, but the Bill sets right many grievances. The hon. Member made a speech which was irrelevant, and I do not feel moved to take up any of the points which he made; but I think it worth while to say one thing.

Mr. McGovern: Yes, you have to defend your

leaders.

Mr. Silkin: I would like the hon. Member to say whether he would have the House believe that he wants everybody who alleges that he has a conscientious objection to be taken as such, merely on his own word.

Mr. McGovern: The test of conscience must always be the personal evidence of the individual. The conscientious objector is compelled in many cases to supply evidence to the tribunal, and in spite of the overwhelming character of the evidence, prejudiced people refuse to accept it. I am defending these men, who are genuine conscientious objectors.

Mr. Silkin: The reply of the hon. Member is quite of the order of his speech. He did not give a categorical answer whether he would have the bare statement of the conscientious objector accepted without any question.

Mr. McGovern: Yes.

Mr. Silkin: If he would have it so—

Mr. McGovern: Just as in the case of the Minister for Home Security during the last war.

PACIFISM NOT IRRELEVANT

By The DUKE OF BEDFORD

[The following essay is a review of a small pamphlet by Mr. Alexander Miller, entitled *The Irrelevance of Pure Pacifism*. The editor will give his opinion of this pamphlet in a later issue. It is published by *P. Wilson, 33 Townsend Drive, St. Albans, Herts.*—Ed.]

Mr. Miller's criticism of the Peace Movement and discontent with what he feels to be its ineffectiveness and lack of policy—an ineffectiveness and lack of policy which he feels can only be remedied by peace-workers identifying themselves with Socialism—is somewhat in the nature of a curate's egg.

No doubt the peace movement would have accomplished more in the past and would be more effective at the present time if it were more united on a definite constructive programme. Mr. Miller, as already indicated, feels that this programme should be Socialism. I feel that it should be the reform of the monetary and foreign trade system as a preliminary to an effective survey of the position and further changes, which, when brought into being might, or might not, satisfy Mr. Miller's definition of "Socialism" but which must anyhow achieve those ideals of justice which are the goal of Socialism. Of the fundamental importance of the reform of the monetary and foreign trade system as a condition of peace and justice, Mr. Miller, like many pacifists and non-pacifists, Socialists and non-Socialists, appears to have little comprehension and, in so far as this is so, he, when attacking pacifists for their lack of a constructive programme, is a pot calling the kettle black. He also, I think, underestimates the value of the work and co-operation of those who can travel no further along the same path than in their common opposition to war. War, i.e., armed conflict, is not a mere unimportant sideline in the general conflict between good and evil, justice and injustice. It is a manifestation of evil of peculiar malignancy, power and destructiveness, as we can see all too plainly especially if we chance to live in bombed areas; and those who are united only in their opposition to war are not united on a merely negative basis, but in an active crusade to check or prevent a very definite and terrible evil.

Mr. Miller is, I think, also mistaken in assuming too readily that every pacifist, to be useful and worthy of the name, must have a definite political policy allied to his pacifism. Although I myself have such a policy and believe in having one, I realise that great respect is due to the work of those pacifists who take little interest in politics as the term is generally understood and who place their opposition to war on a purely spiritual and religious basis, regarding armed conflict as disobedience to God and an act of criminal injustice done to man.

I think that lack of a definitely constructive programme is, perhaps, more damaging to the efficiency of the peace movement in time of peace than in time of war because, when war is actually raging, the war issue itself provides more for pacifists to get their teeth into—if I may be forgiven the use of such an aggressive phrase!—and an ever-present reason for not getting slack in mind or action.

Mr. Miller's booklet is weakest in its criticism of pacifists who, he suggests, defend Hitlerism or favour a negotiated peace. In his attitude towards the Nazi régime he shows that lack of imagination and capacity for fair judgment which is so characteristic of the mentality of the British politician and the British war-monger. His emotions are so outraged by the bad features in the German system that he cannot give honour where honour is due and recognise the good. He cannot really put himself in another's place and realise how the sufferings of the post-war Germany have given birth to elements of tyranny and cruelty in a manner characteristic of nearly all countries where the same conditions are fulfilled; and most of all he cannot distinguish between sympathising *with* wrong behaviour, and a broad-minded understanding of human nature which, while deeply *grieved* by an evil, is not *shocked* by it, because it realises how natural it is for the frailty of man to produce such results.

Mr. Miller has evidently obtained his information of European events from the time of Munich to the outbreak of the war from newspaper sources and has little conception of what was really going on behind the scenes. He does not realise that true appeasement means something more than grudgingly and grumblingly giving way when an opponent demands, with a threat of force, what justice should long ago have granted. He does not realise how much evidence there is that Chamberlain merely went to Munich to gain time for the speeding up of the rearmament programme, giving Hitler good reason to accuse him of bad faith when he promised to settle further problems peacefully, by the method of negotiation—a blunder none the less fatal even if Hitler himself were not sincere. Mr. Miller has also obviously failed to realise how weak was the case for the Polish war and how reasonable were the terms first offered by Hitler in the previous March, terms which our alliance encouraged the Poles to continue to reject. He, I think, mis-states and misunderstands the position when he represents the Polish war as one into which the Government was forced by public opinion. Talking to ordinary people at the outbreak of the war, I remember a very general feeling that Poland was *not* an adequate reason. The Polish alliance, moreover, was arranged, without consulting the nation, at a small week-end meeting of Cabinet Ministers. The Polish war, again decided upon without consulting the nation, was the result of the decision of the House of Commons, and public opinion in support of the war, in so far as it existed, was manufactured by the incessant propaganda of many of the leading newspapers. To this also may be attributed the popular fear—based, incidentally, on no reasonable foundation—that a negotiated peace must be the equivalent to "having Hitler over here."

In his opposition to a negotiated peace, Mr. Miller again shows little imagination, little grasp of human nature and, one might add, little awareness of the hard and obvious facts of the present situation. A lasting peace will depend, not upon the men who sign it, nor upon the nature of the Governments in power in Germany or this country; it will depend on the justice of its terms and upon the fairness and generosity of our foreign policy after the war is over. If this policy is what it should be, whatever the personal characters of the Nazi leaders, they will, after the terrible lesson which the peoples of all countries have received in the destructive power of modern warfare, never be able to secure popular support for another war on a weak and unjust issue. For this same reason—the destructiveness and natural unpopularity of war and also because, unlike ourselves at the present moment, Hitler has an economic policy capable of gaining prosperity for his country and popularity for himself in time of peace—there is good reason to believe that he would be willing to make very considerable concessions in the way of restoration of liberty to conquered countries in return for an opportunity of abandoning war and starting on constructive work. Moreover, it should by now be apparent to any reasonable person that we have no chance of overthrowing the German Government by the method of war alone.

If we do not, or cannot, while war continues, put into successful operation an economic system obviously superior to Hitler's in the eyes of all the peoples of Europe; and if Hitler is not rash enough to reject very reasonable peace terms put forward by ourselves and left on permanent offer—with the result that he provokes revolution, the only alternative is for us to work for the elimination of the evil feature of the Nazi régime by those methods which, in peace time, are open for this purpose. If we can show the German people, and the peoples of the other European nations an example of a country whose inhabitants are happier and more prosperous and are making better use of their economic resources even than those of Germany, then, when fear of military attack and economic aggression can no longer be appealed to by the leaders of the totalitarian states, their restrictive regulations will become tedious and absurd and their power to oppress will melt and crumble like snow beneath the sun.

UNCONDITIONAL EXEMPTION!

Exeter's C.O.'s Fire-Watching Refusal

The Exeter Express and Echo, for May 8, and *The Western Morning News*, Plymouth, for May 9, give prominence to the case of Eric Strickland Randall, of 34 East Grove Road, Exeter, a 21-year-old window-dresser, employed by Messrs. Colsons, of Exeter. Randall was granted unconditional exemption from service under the Armed Forces Act when he applied to the local Conscientious Objectors' Tribunal in March, 1940.

Summoned at Exeter Police Court, on May 8, for having failed to perform fire-watching duties at his place of work on April 24th, Randall pleaded not guilty, and held that the exemption granted by the Tribunal applied not only to combatant duties but to civil defence work, of which fire-watching was a part.

The Court disagreed with his interpretation of the law, told him that the Fire-watchers' Order did not come into force until January of this year, and that he had rendered himself liable to a very heavy penalty. Randall was informed that the penalty would be deferred for a week, and that the only grounds upon which exemption could be obtained from fire-watching were those of hardship or physical unfitness.

The Chairman of the Bench, A. G. Guest, said to Randall:—

"In the meantime I strongly warn you to seek some advice."

We hold that the Chairman is in error and the Court's decision is wrong. Fire-watching is part and parcel of military defence. If a man has received unconditional exemption, and is opposed to fire-watching, he has no right to be menaced and threatened in this way. It was the first case of its kind to come before the local Court. It is the duty of the Ministry of Labour, and of the Ministry for Home Security, to see that it is the last case of its kind to come before any Court.

The Acting Chief Constable (A. E. Rowsell) stated that, when informed of the duties required of him, defendant sent a registered letter to one of his director's, declaring that he wished to draw the firm's attention to the fact that he was granted total exemption from military, non-combatant, and civil defence duties for the duration of the war. Therefore, the letter continued, he would not be on call for fire-watching duties on April 24th or at any other time.

Randall's letter concluded:—

"Will you, therefore, erase my name from the rota on which you have put my name without my consent or consultation?"

Robert J. Barton, director of Messrs. Colson's, Ltd., said Randall flatly refused to do fire-watching because he had a conscientious objector to performing the duty.

Inspector Reeve, who interviewed Randall, said defendant replied that he did not think the

Fire-Watching Order covered him, as he had total exemption. Randall also said that he had a conscientious objection to fire-watching on conscientious grounds as it was part of the war.

In answer to the Magistrates' Clerk (James Whiteside), Randall said his interpretation of the law was purely personal.

In evidence, Randall contended that fire-watching was in integral part of home defence. "You cannot break the law if you are above the law," he asserted. "The exemption granted by the C.O. Tribunal places me in that position."

The Magistrates' Clerk reminded Randall that the exemption was granted by a Tribunal set up under the Armed Forces Act and that there was a limit to the scope of its authority.

H. T. Michelmore, a member of the Bench (who is also a solicitor, and did not want the accused to forget that most important fact of status), told Randall that the only two grounds on which he could claim exemption from fire-watching were those of personal hardship and medical unfitness.

Randall: I disagree.

The Magistrates' Clerk: Your large experience as a window dresser of 21 years old hardly entitles you to disagree with the interpretation of the law given by the Magistrate concerned.

The Acting Chief Constable asked Randall what his position would be if the Court held that his interpretation of the law was wrong. What would be his reaction when next called upon for fire-watching?

Randall: I shall still refuse to perform this duty. I am prepared to put the matter before any authority and have it thrashed out one way or the other.

The Chairman (Mr. A. G. Guest) said the Bench found the case proved, but they would defer their announcement of penalty for a week. In the meantime he strongly advised Randall to obtain some advice on the subject.

We would like to know how the Magistrates' Clerk comes to play such a large part in the Court's proceedings, when he is purely an official, and not an administrator of justice. We would like to know also the grounds for Mr. Michelmore's impertinence. Since when have solicitors been entitled to assume the importance of Counsel as authorities on the interpretation of the law? Have not learned judges often been less well informed concerning the meanings of the law than window-dressers? We could list many learned decisions that rank as distatsteful nonsense that wise men wish to forget. Yet their authors received huge incomes from the State, and paraded in pomp and ceremony at the expense of unlearned victims far wiser than their judges. The bumptious country Michelmores should know that many laymen are jurists where most solicitors remain but lawyers. Strike them off the rolls, take away their state trade union licence, and they express their personalities as begging clerks or letter-writers. Solicitors usually are to law and jurisprudence what schoolmasters and pedants are to the language, and to literature: authorised and licensed obstructionists and formal enemies. There are exceptions: but they do not address the lay youth in the impertinent terms of power employed by Mr. Michelmore and his friend, the Magistrates' Clerk, in this case.

The case came before the Court again on Thursday, May 15. The Chairman (Mr. Henry T. Michelmore) was accompanied on the Bench by Messrs. A. G. Guest and J. W. Tallman.

The acting Chief Constable (Mr. A. E. Rowsell) said he had consulted with a director of Messrs. Colson's, who, on his advice, had prepared a rota showing that Randall was wanted for fire watching duty on Monday last. A letter was written to Randall acquainting him of this. Randall replied, stating that until he had obtained the legal advice he was seeking he did not feel he could undertake the duties. He (defendant) still maintained that the Fire Watching Order imposed upon him a duty which was a breach of faith, having regard to the unconditional exemption granted him from aiding the war effort.

Police Inspector Reeve, said the acting Chief Constable, went to Messrs. Colson's that night and found Randall was not on duty.

Randall said that he had written to the Chairman of the Conscientious Objectors' Tribunal which granted him exemption under the Armed Forces Act.

He produced a reply from Judge E. H. C. Wethered, chairman of the tribunal, which stated that the order was made by the South-Western Tribunal on March 28, 1940, did exempt him from the obligation of serving as a fire-fighter under the Fire Prevention (Business Premises) Order.

The Magistrates' Clerk (Mr. James Whiteside), to whom the letter was handed, commented that the opening sentence appeared to be a typists's error, in view of the subsequent paragraphs, which read:—

"The order of the tribunal exempted you only from military service; that is to say, you were registered as a conscientious objector to military service, and you were not required to undertake civilian work under civil control as a condition of the exemption. The order does not exempt you from complying with other duties which you may be called upon to perform. The Fire Prevention Order does not contain any provision for exempting a conscientious objector. The only exemptions are on the grounds of personal hardship or medical unfitness."

Randall said that he did not feel compelled to do fire watching duties. He had now applied to the Hardships Committee for exemption.

After a retirement, the Bench sentenced Randall to 6 days' imprisonment. The Chairman said that the Hardships Committee would sit on Tuesday afternoon, May 27. As Randall had refused to do fire-watching pending the sitting of that Committee, he would go to prison. The Chairman added:—

"You will be set free on Tuesday in order to appear before the Committee. If their decision is in your favour, you will be free. If their decision is against you, you will be served with a further notice to do fire watching. Then, if you still refuse to do fire watching, you will be brought before the court again. What is the position between now and Tuesday? Are you going to do fire watching or go to prison?"

Randall: Go to prison.

The Chairman: Very well. You will go to prison for six days.

Randall is a Christian objector and a Communicant of the Church of England. His statement to the Bristol Tribunal, and the evidence given at the Tribunal, will be published next month. He is a member of the P.P.U.

FROM AUSTRALIA

As a result of a notice of our work in a Unitarian contemporary, we received an enquiry from Australia. We sent a batch of pamphlets and papers to the correspondent and have received the following post-card from Melbourne:

"235 Westgarth Street,
Northcote, N. 16,
Melbourne, Victoria,
Australia.

"31/3/41.

"Dear Guy,—I trust you are safe and well at the present time. My brother, J. H. Costar, who attended High Myddleton School with you, lives at Croydon, Vic., which will find him.

"W. E. COSTAR."

This post-card takes us back to the years 1893-1901.

"PONTIUS PILATE" CORRECTIONS

Dear Comrade,—In my Article, entitled "The Return of Pontius Pilate," there are two corrections (apart from printers' spelling) which are important.

In the paragraph, beginning "To induce," tenth line, the word "*obeyed*" should read "*disobeyed.*"

In the next paragraph, the curious word "*follicon,*" which is a printer's masterpiece, should be "*Gallican.*"

Yours,

C. H. NORMAN.

London, W.C.2. May 23.

BEN GREENE'S APPEAL

We have seen no newspaper report of Ben Greene's *habeas corpus* appeal against his 18B detention. The Court advised that his case be re-heard by the Advisory Committee. Herbert Morrison informed the House of Commons that it would be re-heard.

A correspondent has sent a brief report of the procedings. This report contains two items of interest to lovers of democracy:—

(1) The Court ruled that it had power to bring the Home Secretary into Court and examine the grounds he claimed for ddetention.

(2) The Court ruled that it was unwilling to hear any more applicants in their own behalf in these cases.

The first ruling is correct. In theory, it affords some legal protection against the executive. In practice, it might not operate to any great extent. The danger of a time of crisis and clamour is, that, quite honourable men may turn persecutors over night and reach indefensible conclusions, often feeling that they must do so. Wrong having been done, they fear to right the wrong.

The second ruling is absolutely undemocratic. The most ardent Labour supporter of the present Government should protest against this ruling. The briefing of counsel is as unsatisfactory as it is expensive. Many of the 18B internees are poor people, very poor. Only a few are rich. The ruling is wrong in equity. It is also wrong in juridical principle. *It is the unwritten law of England, as it is the unwritten law of Scotland, that the citizen shall have the right to defend himself in person against the Crown in any of the King's Courts.*

This is the bold tradition of our law. It is the commonsense of all law. The chronicles of British history are rich with the names of fearless men and women, pioneers of democracy, who would not employ counsel, but defended themselves against the Executive. The present Government includes in its Cabinet and its Ministry persons who once called themselves comrades of the late John MacLean. Did he not speak in his own defence, and does Labour not circulate his famous Edinburgh speech? Could counsel have spoken for him as he spoke for himself? Ernest Thurtle, who, being a Rationalist, upholds 18B legislation, admires Richard Carlile. So does Lord Snell, Labour-Tory leader of the House of Lords. Carlile pled in person and actually inspired, in all, 900 men and women to do the same.

We urge simple democracy and uphold the canons of common law and the first principles of jurisprudence. *Internees must be secured the right to be heard in person in all habeas corpus proceedings.*

LIST OF BOOKS.

The Strickland Press has issued a 24 paged catalogue, listing and describing the pamphlets published in *The Word Library*, in the *Strickland Classics*, and also outwith any series. This pamphlet reproduces several press opinions. It will be sent post free to any reader on receipt of a 2d. stamp. 12 copies will be sent post free for 9d.

Although intended for free circulation, this pamphlet is not merely a list of books. It contains the history of The Bakunin Press and also of The Strickland Press, and of the Anti-Parliamentary and United Socialist movements. By purchasing several copies of this pamphlet and circulating it freely among their friends, comrades will be doing useful propaganda and also making a small donation towards the loss on our printing and publishing work.

Order this useful pamphlet now direct from

104 GEORGE STREET, GLASGOW, C.1

THE STRICKLAND PRESS

If you live in Glasgow, call at this shop, open daily, 9.30 a.m.—6 p.m., except Sundays.

Printed and Published by the Strickland Press, at 104 George Street, Glasgow, C.1.

SOVIET WAR: OPEN LETTER to CHURCHILL page 142

Liberty! Equality!! Fraternity!!!

THE WORD

To Rouse The People, To Combat Fascism, and To Speed Commonweal.

An Organ of the United Socialist Movement, Edited and Published by Guy A. Aldred, at The Strickland Press. 104 George Street, Glasgow, C.1. All unsigned matter is from the pen of the Editor. Annual Subscription, 3s. 0d.

Vol. II. No. 12. JULY, 1941. Price: TWOPENCE

FASCISM AND SPAIN:

Another Unheeded 1936 Appeal.

In *The Word* for August, 1940, we told the story of the part played by the United Socialist Movement in the struggle against Fascism by the Spanish workers, 1936-1939. We have reproduced in these columns 5 of the 19 mimeographed leaflets that the U.S.M. issued, headed *Regeneracion*, Nos. 4, 6, 10, 11, and 12. Copies of *The Word* containing these reproductions are obtainable still. Below we reprint *Regeneracion* No. 7, issued on August 16, 1936. We circulated this leaflet widely at meetings and were ridiculed for our pains by the orthodox Labourites and also by the respectable upholders of Toryism. The result is that, what would have been a social war against Fascism, has been turned into an imperialist war, which has cost humanity a greater toll of life than the revolutionary destruction of Fascism and Nazism through Spanish loyalty and good faith would have demanded. Although it is too late to weep, the facts ought to be known and appreciated.

This is what the United Socialist Movement urged in August 1936:

REGENERACION!!

No. 7. August 16, 1936. Sub.: Voluntary.

WORKERS! **You must express your solidarity with the Workers of Spain by IMMEDIATE UNITED ACTION.**

The United Socialist Movement, at its meeting in Bakunin Hall, 71 Stirling Road, on 11th August, 1936, carried the following resolution for practical working class action in Britain.

The United Socialist Movement demands:—

1. That all workers' organisations convene public meetings for the purpose of expressing complete solidarity with the Spanish Government *de facto* and *de jure*, and a strong censure of the British Government for not supplying, according to the law of nations, the Spanish Government with arms, ammunition, airplanes, etc.
2. A censure of Stanley Baldwin for supineness and covert Fascism, in not recalling Parliament and placing it in continuous session during the Spanish crisis.
3. A censure of Atlee, leader of the Opposition, and all Labour M.Ps. for not demanding the recall of Parliament under threat that the Opposition would appeal to the working class to set up Councils of Action and organise a general strike in behalf of Spain.
4. The recall and dissolution of Parliament and a direct appeal to the electors on this one issue: SUPPORT SPAIN.
5. A united front at the ballot box on this issue. All Anarchists and Anti-Parliamentarians to vote for and support all candidates standing against Fascism and for practical support of Spain. No division at the polls.
6. If the Government declines to resign and Parliament is not recalled and dissolved, general strike action be prepared by the workers through Councils of Action.
7. The immediate establishment of Councils of Action. In all workshops, political groups, trade union branches, etc., the demand to be put forward for the immediate establishment of Councils of Action, representatives of all sections of the workers' movement, to sit in permanent session until the Spanish crisis is concluded.
8. The impeachment of the Foreign Minister and the Home Secretary for permitting the airmen, Campbell Black and Cathcart Jones, to retain their passports, after acting for the insurgents against a friendly and properly constituted government and supplying the fascist rebels with airplanes.
9. The immediate withdrawal of passports from these men, their arrest, indictment, and public trial before a special court in London, for endangering the peace of Europe and treasonably making war on a friendly nation, thereby proving their public disaffection. The trial to be before three judges and a jury of twleve members. At least one of these judges shall be elected by the workers and the jury to include at least six workers.
10. Definite action of support of the Spanish Government and the workers of Spain.

We ask all comrades to bring this programme before their Socialist or Trade Union branch. We call for a complete fellowship and solidarity in action, spirit and approach between all sections of the workers' movement. We ask the people to realise what the triumph of Fascism means:—

1. If General Franco and his native troops succeed, with foreign help, in crushing the people of Spain, Fascism will overwhelm France and reach Britain.
2. If the French democracy makes a stand against Fascist invasion, European war will

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United Socialist Movement Leaflet Against Fascism. Issued August, 1936. Title and opening paragraphs. Reproduction is a little smaller than the original typed leaflet.

Concluding portion same leaflet.

Workers! Defend Spain!

Issued by Guy A. Aldred on behalf of the United Socialist Movement, Bakunin Hall, 71 Stirling Road, C.4.

.....

SPANISH SOLIDARITY DEMONSTRATION. GLASGOW GREEN (OLD BANDSTAND).

RALLY. SUNDAY, AUGUST 23RD, 3 P.M. RALLY.

result almost at once.

3. The establishment of a Fascist dictatorship in Spain means territorial concessions to Italy and Germany of the Spanish Islands and also Spanish Morocco. Such concessions would endanger Gibralter and mean war in the Mediterranean for the defence of the British Empire.

Under these circumstances it is a democratic duty to support these demands and move forward solidly against Fascism.

RALLY TO ALL MEETINGS WHICH SUPPORT THIS PROGRAMME AS PUT FORWARD BY THE UNITED SOCIALIST MOVEMENT.

* * *

CIRCULATE THESE LEAFLETS.

* * *

DONATE AND LEND ALL THE MONEY YOU CAN TO FORWARD THIS VITAL DEMOCRATIC PROGRAMME OF ACTION.

* * *

GIVE NOW.

WE NEED YOUR HELP NO MATTER HOW SMALL

* * *

Address your communications and offers of help to

Guy A. Aldred, 145 Queen Street, Glasgow, C.1.

* * *

Comrades who endorse these demands are asked to reprint and circulate them.

WORKERS! DEFEND SPAIN!

Issued by Guy A. Aldred on behalf of the United Socialist Movement, Bakunin Hall, 71 Stirling Rd., C.4.

SPANISH SOLIDARITY DEMONSTRATION.
GLASOW GREEN (OLD BANDSTAND).
RALLY. SUNDAY, AUGUST 23rd, 3 P.M. RALLY.

Told in Press Cuttings

LABOUR AND THE WAR AGAINST FASCISM

We have recently been going through our collections of press-cuttings. The research has proven interesting. Only a small part of the result can be set before our readers in the present essay.

Lansbury and Churchill.

Speaking in the House of Commons, on Thursday, April 13, 1939, George Lansbury appealed for an international conference to discuss the world situation. He thus anticipated the week-end message that President Roosevelt addressed to Hitler and Mussolini. The press ignored Lansbury's powerful speech.

From Hansard's report of this striking contribution to social thought, we make the following extract :—

"The right hon. gentleman the Member for Epping (Mr. Churchill) spoke of the 'easy, comfortable lives' of people in this country.

"It is nothing to my credit, so please do not think that what I say is in any way self-righteous because I love to live where I am living—but I live among people who in the days immediately after the War, literally starved and many of whom to-day are in a state of semi-starvation.

"Easy comfortable lives? All my lifetime those people, or most of them , have never known such a thing, but when the War came in spite of me—and I know they will do it again—the very poorest districts sent the biggest numbers into the Army to fight.

"Boys of 17 and 18 years of age whom I had known as babies, went away to fight. A few came back maimed and bruised and battered, and we had to fight to secure proper conditions for them when they did come back. But multitudes never came back at all.

..."Now we are to face the same thing over again. . .

..." We are all full of indignation at the crushing of conscience in Germany and Italy.

..." You cannot condemn that attitude there if you establish it here on this business of compulsory military service.

..." I say that, too, because I am an old man, and whatever happens to me does not matter. I might be put in prison in safety somewhere and it would not matter one bit; but I do not feel that I have any right to go out and be part and parcel with the younger people in fighting against this business without doing what I can in this House to make that clear.

"I told Mussolini, and I told Hitler, that it is impossible now to build a new imperialism. The day has gone by. The world is too small. Science and invention have destroyed the power that men used to possess. To-day what the world needs more than anything else is that some men in position shall be found who will understand that a new technique, if you will, is required in international relationships, and that somehow or other we have got to bring to the service of mankind all there is in the world for the use of mankind, plus all the science and all the invention that God and nature have given us."

Lansbury and Bevin.

Lansbury's Pacifism cost him the leadership of the Labour Party. Ernest Bevin forced his resignation and advocated strongly the policy of collective security, which, of course, meant support of Imperialist re-armament under Capitalism. Bevin did not face the fact that re-armament meant conscription. Lansbury did.

Bevin supported re-armament from horror of Fascism and Nazism. He then realised that he was heading for war and conscription and looked at Chamberlain and the other "*Ministers who have shown incompetence all along the line.*" He was horrified at the thought of handing the lives of lads of twenty to twenty-one over to them. Time will decide whether he has, in fact, done so.

Bevin and Downing Street.

In the monthly journal of the Transport Workers' Union, *The Record*, for May, 1939, Bevin penned some startling observations.

Extract No. 1 explains Bevin's reaction when, in anticiption of the present war, he first visited Downing Street :—

"Since last week, when as a member of the General Council, I went to 10 Downing Street to meet Chamberlain, I have been asking myself what is the difference between the methods of Hitler and Chambrlain. The British Press and the politicians complain that 'Hitler's word cannot be relied upon; that he came to an Agreement at Munich and then let the Prime Minister down; that he makes unilateral decisions, breaks treaties and goes back on his word to other people.' ... ...

"I have been asking myself 'What is the material difference between such action and the speech we listened to in that Cabinet room last week?"

Dealing with conscription, Bevin wrote :—

"I would utter this warning to those fathers and mothers who haven't any boys in the present conscript age group and who may therefore be somewhat indifferent. You may have younger or older children, but they will be drawn into the paw of the conscriptionist at an early date." ... ...

"*Into the paw of the conscriptionist*!" That is hardly a picture of the people organising themselves "*to defend democracy*!"

Bevin Depicts Duff Cooper.

Bevin turns to Duff Cooper and depicts him as a defender of democracy :—

"The price of liberty is eternal vigilance. I hope no one will be misled as to the intended policy of the present Government, and that our people will be ever vigilant. The Duff-Coopers have taken upon themselves with their journalistic enterprise, to lecture the Trade Unions on these issues. What good did Duff-Cooper ever do for any of us when he was in office? What can be shown in the records of any of the conscriptionists as having been carried out in the interests of the working population? But I forget—the greatest monument to them all is the Means Test, the cuts in Unemployment Benefit, and the imposition of the humiliation of poverty on our people."

How Labour Leaders Fall.

Bevin describes the approaches that reaction makes to Labour leaders in time of stress, in the following intriguing piece of pen-portraiture :

"Before the Government's announcement all kinds of people tried to get some of us in the Labour Movement to pronounce for conscription.

"On one occasion three different people called at office within a period of two days from different agencies, all with the same purpose.

"It was strikingly curious. They said, 'Is there no one in the Labour Movement who as a Leader of Labour would make a pronouncement in favour of conscription? If only someone in the Labour Movement would do so the Government could immediately take steps to accept it.'

"All these attempts were made from what we might regard as Middle Class folk.

"Naturally, I declined, but I have no doubt that others in the Labour Movement have been approached in a similar way.

"The approaches of the conscriptionists were full of flattery: 'You are the one man who could do this thing for the nation; you are the person the workers would follow if only you would say the word."

Ramsay MacDonald fell for this sort of thing more easily than Bevin did. We would say that Bevin's department has made a good stand for the conscientious objector and that he has not fallen completely, even now. He often raps out profound mistrust of his Tory supporters in the House of Commons. Yet he is playing his part, pursuing, as Member of the Cabinet, under Capitalism, a policy of Imperialist war on a dozen fronts with the same aims and based on the same strategy as the last war with the difference that the lives of the civilian population are being gambled with as well. Pursuing a policy of mere war and ignoring the revolutionary and powerful weapon of propaganda.

The Right to Resist.

In *The Record* article, Bevin concluded :

"Even assuming that we are in an absolute minority, and no one can judge yet, I am still satisfied it would be right to resist this effort to destroy our liberties."

Accused of being unpatriotic because of his criticism of conscription, Bevin succumbed. Yet he knew that his objection expressed democratic wisdom and he was unhappy in his surrender.

Bevin's Southport Speech.

At the Southport Labour Party Conference, 1939, the National Government was criticised but not challenged. By the block vote, the conference automatically approved the official party support for conscription. Ernest Bevin indicated that he was worried. In a striking speech, he said that

"he had been gravely concerned over the views and propaganda for collective security which he supported but which were lacking in any clear idea of its natural consequence."

The natural consequence finds Bevin in the War Cabinet, still worried, and the social war against Fascism, which he ought to be conducting, turned into an Imperialist War between Capitalist Fascism and Capitalist Democracy, with the workers as robots, ordered to do this, or to do that, their right to think, to question, and to disobey sacrificed.

After denouncing Germany, Bevin declared that "*the biggest contributor to the present world disaster is possibly this country and not Germany.*"

This shows that Bevin realises that there is a clear distinction between the social war, that must be waged by the workers of the world, against Fascism and Nazism, and the Imperialist War, that is being waged to-day. That war, after a terrible toll of human suffering, may effect the destruction of Fascism. It may sacrifice democracy to Fascism. The social war is uncompromising and must go on. It cannot conclude without the utter destruction of Fascism. Somehow, events seem to have carried Bevin into the wrong war : a more disastrous, a more spectacular struggle, but of less vital usefulness to mankind.

Bevin continued :

"I do not want this Movement to be fighting for the salvation of the Paris Bourse, the London Stock Exchange, the Amsterdam Exchange and Wall Street. I want this Movement in its peace policy to be fighting for the salvation of the common people of the world."

This is a good declaration. We believe that Bevin meant it. But can the mutual massacre of the common people of the world be considered the way of social salvation?

Labour and the Northcliffe Press.

The Southport decision, which Bevin supported, although lamenting it in his speech, was approved by the *Daily Mail*. In a leader, headed "*Sense From Southport*," our contemporary stated :—

"It is pleasant to say a good word for the Socialists. The occasions for it are all too infrequent. To-day we commend the party conference at Southport for their wisdom in throwing out a resolution proposing a boycott on conscription."

What is the *Daily Mail*?

We have before us, as we write, the leader from the *Daily Mail* for October 26, 1931. It is headed, "*To Save England.*" After making an absurd adaptation of two lines from Homer, the scribe who writes this editorial says:—

"To-morrow you, the people of this country, go to the poll. How will you use your votes?

"Above all things, remember that the issue in this election is like the issue in no election of the immediate past. IT IS BETWEEN NATIONAL LIFE AND NATIONAL DEATH. It is whether England is to continue to exist as a Great Power or to be ruined irrevocably by a predatory Socialism."

The rest of this ridiculous and lying article speaks of "Socialist" extravagance, etc., "*and careless surrender to violence.*"

We all know that the gesture of "*careless surrender to violence*" was made by the National Government to the forces of Fascism and Nazism, to Mussolini and to Hitler; and no press organisation urged, aided and abetted that surrender so thoroughly as the *Daily Mail* and its allied newspapers. To be commended and supported by the *Daily Mail* is a fact that ought to have caused Ernest Bevin much searching questioning and many sleepless nights.

The *Daily Mail* is issued from "*Northcliffe House, London, E.C.4. Telephone: Central 6000.*" From that same address, and carrying the same telephone number, is issued the *Sunday Dispatch.*

On August 9, 1936, the *Sunday Dispatch* published an editorial of about 550 words, boldly headed: "*Stamp Out the Plague.*" This denounced the Republican Government of Spain as Reds. Two passages were set out in heavy type as follows:—

"Spain, in short, has become the new cockpit of the real struggle of our age—between the Bolshevists and the anti-Bolshevists."

"One thing above all others is certain. It is that neither Herr Hitler nor Mussolini, both of whom had to kill the evil in their own lands, will permit the rise of a new Red Republic in Western Europe. . . ."

The following extract from the same article was not set out in bold type:—

"If Germany or Italy takes steps to restore order and decency, and to prevent further outrages, they wil lhave the moral support of every man and woman in Europe whose own mind has not been debauched by the immoralities of the Bolshevist philosophy."

Only five years have elapsed since the Northcliffe press was backing Hitler and Mussolini against the workers of Spain. Yet this press approved of Bevin supporting conscription in 1939. Why? Was it from love of the working-class or of the Socialist struggle against Fascism.

The National Government supported the Fascist and Nazist intervention in Spain.

On Saturday, July 16, 1938, Sir Archibald Sinclair, then leader of the Liberal Party, and to-day Secretary of State for Air, sent a message to the then Spanish Government in which he said:—

"Monday will be the second anniversary of this horrible war, and assuredly our sympathy goes out to the Spanish people in their sufferings.

"The war has long ceased to be predominantly a civil war; it is now a struggle between the ill-armed, ill-equipped and ill-fed masses of the Spanish people against the Italian and German invaders, who spread destruction on their cities from the air, and seek to terrorise them by the cruelty and ferocity of their methods of warfare."

"Let us hope and pray that, in this third year of war, their struggles will be crowned with something better than victory—a just and lasting peace which will rid their territory of foreign invaders and unite the Spanish people in working for the salvation of their country."

Hating Socialism, the Northcliffe Press—the *Daily Mail* and the *Sunday Dispatch*—upheld this foreign Fascist and Nazi invasion of Spain.

Yet, in its issue for June 8, 1941, the *Sunday Dispatch*, in its chief editorial, wrote:—

"Waste no time buttering the Turks, the Spaniards or any other people. They are not willing to die for the liberties of Democracy . . . The task of fighting this war falls on the people of Britain."

Workers, contrast this declaration against the quotations made from the 1936 editorial of the same paper, and think of Spain's heroic working class dead. Then pause before expressing your opinion of the Northcliffe Press.

Answer Fascism—with Socialism!

If we must fight against Fascism, shall we do so successfully under the leadership of the Capitalist enemies of Socialism, who applauded Hitler and Mussolini for entrenching Fascism in Spain? Why not insist that the struggle be waged under the leadership of a Socialist Government, pledged to inaugurate a Socialist Commonwealth, and able to combat Fascism with the weapon of propaganda and the menace of social revolution. Answer Fascism with Socialism and so emancipate Europe and the world.

CONSCIENCE, WAR AND THE STATE

Which Side is Surgeon?

The Inquirer for August 24, 1940, published some very fine words on the subject of conscience, under the sub-heading, "THE CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR," as follows:

"The basis of the position of the conscientious objector with regard to the State is found in the principle that the State has no right to demand what the conscience of the individual does not approve. This is the very basis of liberty, at least as understood in the final development of Christian belief; and quite apart from Christian belief this fundamental principle could be defended as the only possible basis for a free and happy community of people. The State—it could rightly be claimed—that was not founded upon this principle would very soon become rotten. The conscientious objector to war, therefore, in a free State has the right to claim not to take part in war. The basis of his objection may be incomprehensible to many people, but nevertheless the objection is made and must be respected. Like all true forms of freedom the principle justifies itself in the ultimate strength of the State in the long run.

"But conscience is a tricky thing; it can be used by the unscrupulous in more senses than one; the State consequently has every right to make sure that the claim not to take part in war is conscientious in the true sense.

"When this has been done, the objector, if he is proved to be what he claims to be, ought not to be penalised in any form. The kind of life he chooses to live afterwards is his concern and nobody elses. What that life will be in a time of unparalleled suffering in the community in which he lives, what effort he is prepared to make by example to impress others with the truth of something that must be so real to him is his concern. The State, and other corporate bodies, have no more right to act as moral arbiter in this than they have in other intimate moral concerns. The sun shines upon the just and the unjust; the solution of this problem lies elsewhere than through the censure and persecution by opinion outside the law."

The same issue published, in part, a letter from the Rev. C. Prestwich Scott, on the subject of War and Christianity. Mr. Scott replies to the famous analogy of the surgeon so often advanced by the defenders of war by demanding a rule by which, in any given war, we can distinguish which side is acting as surgeon. He adds:

"In all wars, honest people on both sides have believed that their country was the surgeon. And because of that belief, sincere young men on either side have found an outlet for their idealism in war. War giving them a school of discipline, heroism and self-devotion, an opportunity for self-sacrifice to a cause greater than themselves.

"So, in this war, many of our bravest and best young men gladly face death while fighting Germans because in so doing they believe they are helping Britain to remove the curse of Nazi persecution from the world. But, likewise, many a sincere German youth is willing to sacrifice himself while devastating English towns in the belief that thereby he is helping his Leader to rid Europe of the tyranny of unemployment due to a fundamentally evil social and economic system. Unfortunately there is no infallible test to decide which is right in the belief that his Country is the surgeon removing a deadly cancer. And in the end, both sides find that they have been deluded into following a quack remedy which, far from curing the disease, has only aggravated it."

New and Revised Edition.

RICHARD CARLILE, Agitator
(1790-1843).
HIS LIFE AND TIMES,
By
GUY A. ALDRED.

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PARLIAMENTARIANS AND FASCISM

When They Honoured Mussolini

The attitude of our Socialist Parliamentarians, like that of their colleagues, the Conservative Parliamentarians, would be laughable were the plight of the world not so tragic. These reformist misleaders of the common people have careered the world into disaster and now have no remedy but violence against violence; the violence of war which may result in the violence of pseucho-revolution and so develop into a post-war repressive reactionary violence, leading to more war. These people used to sneer, away back in 1906, at our anti-parliamentary withdrawal from the careerist movement, and declared that we believed in violence. They, dear little goody two-shoes, anticipating comfort for themselves and elevation from working-class status, were shocked at the thought of violence. Since then they have sentenced two generations to the servitude of death and have left a legacy of misery, fear, and violence for generations yet unborn. Splendid parliamentarians! Most wise reformists!

In another column we reproduce *Regeneration* leaflet No. 7. Everyone knows with what ineptitude the Socialist Parliamentarians responded to that appeal. Many of our most fire-eating Anti-Nazi Tory parliamentarians not only ignored that appeal, but openly supported Hitler and Mussolini in their Franco conspiracy. They had not learned, being regular attenders at the established Churches, that as a man sows, so must he reap. They sowed violence and invasion. They are reaping the menace of their sowing. Whoso sows the Fascist storm must reap the Nazi whirlwind.

Our opposition to Fascism did not begin with the 1936 invasion of Spain and the Franco conspiracy. Because we protest against 18B detentions, and the treatment of uncharged political suspects as though they were convicted felons, it does not follow that we have any sympathy with Fascism. On the contrary we hold to democratic principles, and disbelieve in tyranny and the exaggerated power of the Executive. We have held to this idea and ideal throughout our public career, during years in which the present enemies of Fascism were flirting with that evil and its Arch-Apostles.

From our former paper, *The Commune*, Vol. I., No. 2, June, 1923, we extract the following paragraph that we wrote and published at the time:—

"DENIKIN AND MUSSOLINI!

"On May 6th last King George V conferred the Grand Cross of the Most Honoourable Order of the Bath on Signor Benito Mussolini. A number of his lieutenants were made Knights Commander of the Royal Victorian Order. Sir Benito is the first foreigner to receive this distinction since General Deniken, now living in Brussels, but then warring on the Soviet Workers' Republic. We note, without comment, this honour conferred by the British Sovereign on the Grand Commander of the Black-Shirts and congratulate our colleague, Sir Walter Strickland, on repudiating the use of his inherited title."

Denikin and Mussolini!

This paragraph speaks for itself. It explains our attitude. It explains the ruling-lass attitude in Britain towards Mussolini. Readers should investigate the present political status in the councils of the State of the statesmen who honoured Mussolini with a British knighthood. How far are they war-mongering and sending youth to death, because of their own yesterday's reactionary building-up of Fascism?

We want to be quite fair. Exactly two years after our attack on Mussolini quoted above, the *Times*, as Britain's leading journal, criticised Mussolini's conduct in its editorials. Mussolini took exception to the criticism and sent a short letter of protest which our contemporary published.

Mussolini claimed that the *Times* was wrong in declaring that the legislative measures then

voted in the Italian chamber were "*against the most elementary liberties*" of mankind. He added the explanation that the "*Opposition is carried on by a small dispossessed group*" of politicians. He concluded:—

"Even the Italian Opposition now recognises the great historical importance of the Fascist experiment, which has to be firmly continued in order not to fail in its task of morally and materially elevating the Italian people, and also in the interest of European civilisation."

The *Times* made some effective points in its editorial reply. It declared that Mussolini *confines himself to general assertions and general denials.*" All dictators do. Our contemporary continued:

"If the discontented are but 'a small group,' why is it necessary to gag the Press, to forbid free speech, to forbid public meetings, and to arm the Executive with arbitrary and practically irresponsible powers?"

It referred "*to the common-sense of the public,*" his contention:

"... that the Bills just passed by the Chamber, including the Press Bill, the Civil Service Bill, and the Bill investing the Government decrees with the force of law, are not against the most elementary of liberties."

By this, the *Times* meant a democratic public, a genuine public believing in the first principles of human liberty.

The Times complained of a leading Italian newspaper, of very moderate liberal views, being suppressed for reporting Mussolini's speech and then commenting upon the sittings. It drew the moral that *material elevation of the Italian people "and in the interest of European civilisation"* were unlikely to benefit "from Fascism."

This was bold writing; but the semi-official organ of Printing-House Square could not forget that Mussolini had been honoured by the British Government. It softened its criticism to the following somewhat contradictory tribute:

"The character and the extent of the services which the 'Duce' has rendered to Italy have been fully recognised in many articles upon the movement. It has been acknowledged again and again that he saved her from a social peril which was imminent and great, and that he reformed many scandalous and inveterate abuses."

Which was and is absolute nonsense. We do not need to prove the nonsense now. But the writer of this nonsense has contributed to the present condition of Europe and the world. Do our readers understand that?

Even this concession to reaction did not avail the *Times*. All manner of political reactionaries and die-hard Anti-Socialists were horrified at even such mild criticism of the renegade "Socialist" leader. Socialist Parliamentarians also hastened to pay their tribute to Italy's Public Enemy No. 1. Why did these people not exhibit more political understanding. *Statesmen have no more right to traffic in shoddy politics than a shoemaker has in shoddy boots.*

We ask the reader to consider the facts as related by us in *The Commune*, Vol. I., No. 13, p. 122, for July, 1924. The article is reproduced in full to speak for itself:—

Fascism and MacDonald.

"The noble actions of the Fascisti."
—Lord Curzon.

"The wise leadership of a powerful statesman."
—King George V on Mussolini.

"Justice is no more in Italy a high priestess, but a prostitute."—
—Ezio Bertalini, editor of "La Paca," on Mussolini.

The Mussolini gang murdered Matteoti because he had prepared an indictment of the graft practised by the Fascismo leaders, the "incorruptibles," who were to cleanse Italy. He collected evidence of Fascisti robbery and proposed to broadcast it. He intended to prove that Mussolini suppressed democracy by violence and political perversion. He had prepared an exposure of the Banca Commerciale in regard to the Polish loan for citation as an instance of the unbridled avarice of the Fascisti rulers. Then there were the concessions in Emilia and Sicily to the Sinclair Oil Company and evidence of widespread blackmail by the Fascisti newspapers. Also the case of the Fascist Banco Italiano Disconto. The Fascisti collapsed this on coming into power, then reorganised it. This bank now owns the largest building in Rome and controls the Italian financial market. Matteoti had intended to expose the robbery and scandal of this financial octupus which, with the Fiat Motor Company, is the strongest supporter of Fascism. Hnece the Fascisti determined to silence him.

Matteoti was a very tame Socialist. And he was a millionaire. By community of interests he belonged to the bourgeoisie. Mussolini, renegade Socialist, made the mistake of not realising this fact. The Fascisti had murdered hundreds of workers and received the applause of bourgeois governments. Now they murdered a millionaire—and found they had gone too far.

The Fascisti do not restrict their campaign of murder and blackmail to Italy. Mario Castagna has just been sentenced in Paris to seven years' imprisonment and ten years' banishment for shooting in self defence, when menaced outside a cafe by a band of Fascisti, a year ago, the Fascist leader, Gino Yeri. Castagna is only 21. He belongs to a family of active Trade Unionists and Co-operators, and crossed the French frontier without a passport in 1923, after his two brothers had been left for dead by the Fascisti. His widowed mother was expelled from her cottage by a Fascist proprietor. She died on learning of her son's arrest in Paris.

In America, also, Fascism menaces Labour with violence. There the white-sheeted Ku Klux Klan are seconded by the black-shirted Fascios, newly organised under the title, "Minute Men of the Constitution," by the banker, Dawes. This individual is the author of the Dawes plan for the receivership of Central Europe, which MacDonald has pledged himself to impose on Germany. Banker Dawes is the future Republican Vice-President of the United States and the personal friend of Mussolini. He was the henchman of the capitalist crook, Mark Hanna, and is a notorious strike-breaker, war-grafter, and profiteer, sometime general purchasing agent for the American Expeditionary forces. His active fascism is condemned even by the American Federation of Labour. His trip to Europe, resulting in the Dawes plan of reparation, was undertaken in the interest of capitalist exploitation. His plan is a Fascist insurance policy against the development of Socialism in Europe. MacDonald upholds and applauds it.

Dawes is the power behind the president. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, speaking recently to the Amalgamated Food Workers of America, showed how this power operated. She detailed the strange case of Carlo Tresca, the well-known editor of "Il Martello," an American-Italian Syndicalist organ. He was arrested in August, 1923, for anti-Fascisti articles published earlier in the year. He was convicted in October for a birth-control advertisement that appeared in his paper in September—that is, a month after his arrest! Tresca had to be suppressed for exposing the Fascisti machinations, but the Minute Men of the Constitution, and Dawes, their leader, had to be screened somehow.

MacDonald is at one with Fascisti Dawes in his reparations enslavement of Germany, which is a plan for the next war. How firmly he stands for Fascist Imperialism in opposition to proletarian Internationalism, is obvious from his speech to the Empire Press Union, reported in the "Times" for May 9 last:—

"Alacrity of mind, vigilance of intellect, and hatred of revolution—that is the genius that is going to enable the British Empire to continue vital."

That is the genius of Fascism. We have before us, as we write, two versions of the British Fascisti No. 1 leaflet. This informs us that the President is Lord Garvagh. The leaflet defines the several departments of Fascist organisation. We select the following items:—

Section A—Units—"Consisting of seven members (or less) under a chosen leader to take active measures against the revolutionary elements in their own districts." For mobilisation purposes, "3 units form a troop under a troop officer; 3 troops a company under a company officer; and 3 companies form a division under a division officer."

Section B—Transport—"To maintain communication in event of revolution."

Section D—Intelligence Department—"This department will call the attention of Units to existing Bolshevik activities in their districts which may have escaped notice. The Units will be informed, *and the combative measures left entirely in their hands.*"

Section E—Special Section—"Volunteers for *practical work*, so that an effective force may be raised to combat the ever-increasing menace of Socialism and Bolshevism."

This leaflet is signed "R. L. Liutorn-Orman," as organising secretary. The same gentleman signs "Leaflet No. 4" which displays in big type the following question:

THE UNION JACK or THE RED FLAG.
Which will YOU serve?

This leaflet speaks of a Workers' Republic being a "welter of anarchy, chaos, and ruin," and refers to "the heroic determination" of the Italian Fascist.

The character and purpose of the organisation is revealed in the following extracts:—

"It is not enough to ENCOURAGE Patriotism, we must FORCE it on our people ... Patriotism is not an optional sentiment, but a DUTY, the first duty of every British man, woman, and child."

"Bolshevism cannot be suppressed by words alone; you must be prepared to back up your words by something more effective when necessary, i.e., Force."

"Bolshevism is an evil scourge, an expression of the lowest instincts of men who are less than the brute beasts. And you cannot fight brute beasts with the weapons of a mere debating society."

"The British Fascisti believe that the various Patriotic Organisations ... do not go far enough, and are not, individually or collectively, sufficiently virile to smash Bolshevism as it MUST be smashed. We believe that the only way really to accomplish this very necessary end is by the wide-spread inculcating of the spirit and principles of Fascism, which alone saved Italy ... We, the British Fascisti are inspired by the same spirit which animated the Fascisti of Italy ... in addition to the *counter-Revolutionary* propaganda which we are spreading—and intend to spread—throughout the country, we are also organising our active members into a strong, disciplined, really loyal Force, on a *Military Basis.* This militant force is organised in the Provinces under County Commands, and in London and other large cities under District Commands."

In all these quotations, the capitals are in the original and used by the Fascisti to emphasise their faith in violence.

MacDonald identifies himself with Dawes, the American Fascisti leader and organiser, and King George V identifies himself with Mussolini. In May 1923 the British sovereign conferred a knighthood on Mussolini, a British Order of Chivalry! On the eleventh of that month, speaking in Rome, in reply to a welcome from the municipality, the British Monarch said of Fascism and its chief:

"Knowing, as I do, the traditional qualities of the Italian race, their loyalty, their valour, and their determination: recollecting, as I do, the crisis *from which they have recently emerged under the wise leadership of a powerful statesman,* I look forward with confidence not only to the future association of our two peoples in the cause of peace and progress, but to the continued triumph of the high intellectual and spiritual ideals which they jointly represent."

What are "the high intellectual and spiritual ideals" of capitalist militarism and reaction?

Curzon backed the King by expressing his admiration for the "noble actions" of the Fascisti, and Signor Tutoni replied:

Lord Curzon's noble message has caused among us the most favourable impression."

And now we know the worth of the wisdom and nobility in action. Murder will out.

We know what Curzon's foreign policy is, and that, in all essential details, MacDonald has continued it as his own.

Fascist banker Dawes dictates MacDonald's reparations policy. What then is the difference between Mussolini and MacDonald? If Fascism must go, can MacDonald remain? There is but one answer the workers must make: No! MacDonaldism is Fascism and must be destroyed that the workers may establish socialist society.

Thus concluded our 1924 protest against flirtation with Fascism. When Curzon died, MacDonald and Thomas eulogised him in the name of Labour, and we had to protest again. But how many men owe their position as M.P.'s to-day to the fact that they acquiesced in MacDonald's eulogy of reaction? How many others owe their status to the fact that they upheld the 1924 honouring of Mussolini and concurred in the political falsehood that was spoken then by the political rulers of Britain in the interest of economic reaction? Ought we not to recall such criminal reaction when these same men shout for war, war, war as the only way to combat Fascism? But for our ruling class in 1923 and 1924, there would be no need to combat Fascism to-day by wallowing through the mire of blood and tears.

U.S.M. HEADQUARTERS.

Bakunin Hall, Castle Street, was vacated on May 28. U.S.M. Headquarters are temporarily established at the Editorial Offices of **The Word,** at **106** George St. (next door to our printing office). Group meetings are held here on Mondays at 8 p.m. Study Circle, Thursdays, 8 p.m. Sunday meeting, 8 p.m. The enlarged Strickland Press headquarters mean increased activity. The story of Bakunin House (Burnbank Gardens), Bakunin Hall (Stirling Road), and Bakunin Hall (Castle Street) will be told later. In addition to the enlarged George Street headquarters of the Strickland Press, we aim to establish a large Bakunin Hall in the centre of Glasgow. Meantime the U.S.M. Centre is at 106 George Street, Glasgow, C.1.

TO POSTAL SUBSCRIBERS.

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A **X** against this paragraph indicates that your Subscription Renewal is due. Please send us the Renewal Subscription without delay to assist the struggle.

THE SCOTTISH SECRETARIAT

THOMAS JOHNSTON'S EVOLUTION

(*Continued from page* 116)

This instalment continues the analysis and summary of Thomas Johnston's "**Huns at Home.**"—Editor.

GENERAL PROFITEERING: MODERN ALI BABAS.

The *Glasgow Evening Citizen* (commercial paper) frankly and unblushingly admitted (15/1/15) that—

"In business patriotism does not enter. Insistently the pocket comes first."

The *Globe* (Dec., 1915) declared there was not the "least justification" for the rise in corn and coal, "but war is an excellent excuse, and our friends the contractors are taking the utmost advantage of it."

And Lord Devonport, of Kearley & Tonge, Ltd., and the International Tea Stores, who later became Food Controller, was excitedly calling for financial retrenchment in the House of Lords (11/11/15)—

"£20,000,000 to £30,000,000 could be saved by cutting down the allowance to soldiers and dependents."

It was January, 1915, before the increase in food prices had so severely hit the average working-class household, that there was a general outcry against and exposure of the profiteers. The Capitalist press did its utmost to suppress and ridicule the agitation, the **Scotsman** (23/1/15) declaring it was a "foolish and largely baseless agitation." When the Labour Party in the Glasgow Town Council moved a petition to the Government to take over food and coal supplies and prohibit any rise in house rents during war-time, they were beaten by 69 to 31.

Reynolds Newspaper (13/3/15) proved that from the outbreak of war our tea kings had exported to Holland ten times the quantity of tea they exported for a similar period in peace time, and that Holland was busily engaged in re-selling the tea to Germany. The scarcity of tea thus caused in the British market enabled the tea owners here to raise the market price of the common leaf tea from 7½d. to 10d. per lb.

The Government bought 60 million pounds' weight of tea in Calcvutta at 8¾d. per lb.; it cost 1d per lb. freight to bring it here, yet the Government issued an order to buyers "that they must not give less than 1s. 4d. per lb. in London for tea."—(*Hansard*, 2/7/17.)

The *Weekly Dispatch* (20/8/16) said that after a great quantity of bacon had been kept in storage till it went wrong, the resultant market scarcity enabled retailers to increase prices by 6d. per lb.

In the Food Control debate in the House of Commons (15/11/16) Mr. Runciman admitted that milk had been poured down drains, and that a "most important" Agricultural Association had advised its members to feed pigs on milk rather than sell the milk at present prices."

The *Glasgow Herald* (1/5/17) described how the cornerers of onions held up large quantities to produce a market scarcity with prices at 5d. per lb.; then when the warm weather began and the onions showed signs of sprouting they were hastily unloaded on the market, and prices fell to 2d. per lb. Burmah peas and beans had soared to 1s. per lb.; the Government intervened and took over the stocks; prices at once fell to 6d. per lb. (*Morning Post*, 2/5/17). Haricot beans before the potato shortage were 4d per lb.; when they became a substitute for potatoes they were rushed up to 1s. per lb. (*Glasgow Evening Times*, 2/5/17). The Government's Food Control Department obligingly fixed the price of Swede turnips at 1½d. per lb.; the pre-war price was 6d. to 8d. per hundredweight (*Smallholder*, 14/4/17). . . . The Duke of Atholl complained in the press (17/5/17) that while the cost of a boll of meal was 45s., its selling price had been fixed at 64s. 2d.: "profiteering to an unreasonable extent," declared his lordship. While Britain starved for lack of potatoes, potato exporters were allowed to sell to America and reap the benefit of the high prices ruling there (*Chicago Journal*, 22/1/17).

The *Daily Mail* (25/6/17) declared there was no shortage of meat, but "what we have is being gambled in by men who are ready enough to talk and preach patriotism, while with both hands they are practising profiteering . . . the long-suffering public is being plundered right and left. . . ."

The *Weekly Dispatch* (3/6/17) said that meat speculators "have forced up the price of chilled beef from 3s. 8d. per stone to 9ss. 4d. per stone." The profits of the British Argentine Meat Company rose from £67,000 in the year 1914 to £411,000 in the year 1916, after paying excess profit duty.

This profiteering riot could not well continue without an explosion, and that explosion was about reached when as a result of questions by Mr. W. C. Anderson, M.P., in the House of Commons, it was admitted that the firm of Kearley & Tonge, Ltd., the firm of wholesale grocers founded by Lord Devonport, the Food Controller, had stopped the import of Danish butter until the British butter market was "more brisk." After Lord Devonport had resigned his office as Food Controller, his firm—Kearley & Tonge, Ltd.—applied to the Courts for £20,000 compensation for commandeered cheese. The Government offered compensation "on the basis of the new Government scheme for the regulation of prices" but Kearley & Tonge, Ltd., held out for compensation on the "market price."—(*Daily Chronicle*, 30/6/17.)

OUR NOBLE FAMILIES DO THEIR BIT.

The *Highland News*, in March, 1915, announced that the Duke of Sutherland had applied to the Land Court for power to evict smallholders of 144 acres in the parish of Clyne to enable the Golf Club of Brora to be extended. He also endeavoured to evict an old man of 83—MacKay, of Cnocan—who had three sons with the colours, in order to extend a grouse moor (*Highland News*, 2/10/15). MacKay was sent to prison for 20 days for refusing to be evicted (*Northern Ensign*, 28/3/16). . . .

In November, 1915, we had the Macintosh of Macintosh, Lord-Lieutenant of the County of Inverness and Lieut.-Colonel Commanding the 3rd Camerons, prosecuting a poor carter at Inverness Sheriff Court for the hideous crime of catching a wild rabbit in one of the Macintosh's woods. The carter had taken the rabbit home as a delicacy for a sick child; he had already had a son killed in the war "defending his country," and he had other two sons at the front. The Macintosh had millions of wild rabbits. The carter was fined £1, and the Macintosh got £1 1s. of expenses (*Highland News*, 13/11/15). Whenever the case was raised in the House of Commons by a Labour Member of Parliament, the Secretary for Scotland promptly remitted the penalty.

In February, 1916, Mr. Wm. Young, M.P. for East Perthshire, proved in the press that the Sidlaw Hills was being planted with trees for game production; that the hills of Altalloch on the Coyles of Minch were being turned into a deer forest (it had been a sheep grazing for generations).

The *Glasgow Herald* (19/9/16) reported that 10,000 sheep were being cleared off Auchallander (Breadalbane estate) to make room for deer. . . .

In November, 1915, we find landowners screwing a royalty of 8s. per ton on ironstone taken from their land by the Government; and one landowner generously offered the State a compromise; he would only take £150,000 per annum in royalties, no matter what amount of ironstone was mined from under his soil. His terms were agreed to.—(*Hansard*, 9/11/15.)

ARMAMENT: CAPITALISM HAS NO FATHERLAND.

In May, 1915, Sir John French was appealing for more guns, and the press was accusing the working class of being drunkards and slackers. . . . The *Woolwich Pioneer* (26/3/15, and successive issues) had, however, shown that the Government Arsenal plant at Woolwich was being deliberately kept idle, so that the work should go to the private armament firms. "The 3" guns (anti-aircraft) have been made in the Royal Gun Factory until recently. The whole of the order has now been taken from the Royal Gun Factory and placed with a firm that has no experience in the manufacture of armaments" (2/4/15). "The trouble is not with State Control but with the machinations of State Control in the interest of private profit" (30/4/15). These and other charges were pressed in the House of Commons by Mr. Crooks, M.P., and Mr. Snowden, M.P. . . .

Speaking in the House of Commons (20/12/15), Mr. Lloyd George told how the Ministry of Munitions, by threatening to examine the books of one of its contracting firms, compelled it to reduce its charges to the Government by 33⅓ per cent. After the National Shell Factories were erected:—

"The cost of the ammunition for 18-pounders, which is a considerable item, running into tens and scores of millions, has been reduced by 40 per cent. The cost of the ammunition for 4.5 howitzers has been reduced by 30 per cent. . . . all the new contracts are based on these prices."

He told how the metal merchants were taking "unwarranted" prices from the Government, and how the Ministry of Munitions formed a metal department to control all metals, and how the result was a saving to the country of £15,000,000.

The Ministry of Munitions during the year 1916 managed to limit the armaments profits by means of what is called "the costing system"—*i.e.*, examination of the books and only allowing a moderate profit upon actual costs. "The total saving in the cost of ammunition in 1917, calculated on the cost of the preceding year as affected by reduction in prices, is estimated at £43,000,000, and that, notwithstanding the rise in wages."—(*Glasgow Herald*, 14/8/17.)

We got Wm. Jacks & Coy. (Mr. Bonar Law's old firm) convicted of selling pig-iron to Krupps; and, by the way, among the list of patents granted by the British Government for the week ending 29th September, 1915, is one for "Ordnance, etc.," to Messrs. Krupps. In the House of Commons (*Hansard*, 28/4/15, and 4/5/15) it was admitted, in answers given to Lord Charles Beresford, M.P., that Krupps had got a royalty of 1s. 3d. on British shells manufactured before 16th July, 1914.

Sir George Riddell, managing director of the *News of the World*, and a close friend of Mr. Lloyd George, boasted in a speech at the Rotary Club (March, 1916) that at the end of the war there would be about £200,000,000 worth of automatic machinery paid for by the nation, in the hands of the armament manufacturers.

Sir Ralph W. Anstruther, chairman of Nobel's Explosives Co., Ltd., declared at the annual meeting of his Company that an original investment of £100 in 1872 in Nobel's now represented a capital interest of £3,000 in ordinary shares, and, besides, on that original £100 no less than £8,500 had bee paid in dividends. (*Glasgow Evening Citizen*, 31/5/16). Thorneycroft's profits, said the *Weekly Dispatch* (1½/6/16) are increased by 3,800 per cent. The Jute Kings had so robbed the nation that the Government was compelled to take over the entire control of the jute trade. By doing so, they saved on sand bags alone a sum of £3,000,000.—(Public Accounts' Committee Report. Daily Press, 19/8/16.)

The first million ammunition boxes were bought by the Government at 13s. 6d. each; when the second order was placed the contractor was screwed down to 3s. each; and Mr. Ashley, a Tory M.P., declared that their real price was only 1s. 2d. each (*Hansard*, 30/5/16). The same gentleman declared that the Government was buying one-third of its tapioca from an ironmonger (25/7/16). Dr. Haslip, at the British Medical Association *Sunday Chronicle*, 30/7/16) declared that some doctors in London had made a corner in Salvarsan.

In the House of Commons (10/11/15) Mr. Leif Jones, M.P., told the story of the contractor and the wheelbarrows. The War Office wanted wheelbarrows. It arranged with a contractor to get them, on the footing that the contractor was to get 10 per cent. on the purchase price for his trouble; so the bigger the price the bigger the percentage to the contractor. First the contractor went to a man and got a price. It was not high enough, so he went to a second man. The price was not yet high enough, so he went to a third man "and got a higher figure still." From this third man he bought the wheelbarrows. But the third man had no wheelbarrows to sell, so he, the third man, went to the second man, and the second man sold to the third man. But the second man had no wheelbarrows, so he bought from the first man, "who was the only man who could supply the wheelbarrows." Result—the second and third men had each a profit, and the contractor has his increased percentage. Business as usual!

The *Daily News* (7/10/16) published a statement showing that the Army clothing contractors were making £500,000 profit upon every million soldiers' outfits.

In the House of Commons on 21st February, 1916, Colonel the Earl of Kerry asked questions designed to prove that a firm of Army contractors—Dickeson & Co.—were allowed 17½ per cent. upon all vegetables purchased locally before selling them to the troops. He alleged, also, that the firm in question was selling swede turnips to the troops at Brentwood at 140s. per ton, whereas the local price was only 30s. a ton; that he had the evidence in his possession "on both sides" to prove it; and that a partner in the firm was actually a member of the Board of Control appointed to adjudicate upon disputes between the contractors and the soldiers. The Duke of Bedford, in the *Times* (13/3/16) supported the Earl of Kerry's assertion that Army contractors were being allowed a clear 17½ per cent. profit upon Army goods purchased locally—milk, vegetables, etc. "Of the sum of 5½d. a day allowed by a grateful country to its defenders for food, the Army contractor therefore annexes one penny over and above the market price."

"SUPPORT HOME INDUSTRIES."

"Dyes were one of the first commodities in which we experienced a famine after the war began. A Manchester firm seized the opportunity of making a year's profit of £80,00 on a capital of £90,000. . . . One colour, bought at 7d. per lb., was sold at 35s. per lb."—(*Weekly Dispatch*, 24/12/16.)

The *Evening Times* (26/8/16) told us that the wholesale jam manufacturers were to be given a monopoly of sugar for jam, and that this would give them command of the market. They could get their own price for jam.

In 1917 the Government fixed the price of gooseberries for jam at £20 a ton. The average price for the previous five years was £12 10s. a ton. . . . The Government bought plums worth £4 to £8 a ton for £14 a ton (*Weekly Dispatch*, 19/8/17). Lord Middleton, in the House of Lords (11/11/15), related how two exploiters were making £30,000 a year out of Government horse purchases. . . . In 1916, the Coats Thread Trust announced profits of over three and a third millions after allowing for excess profits tax. Lord Northcliffe, the great patriot, issued a translation of the French Yellow Book (Documents relating to the war) at 2s.; bought up all the French copies which were being sold by the French Government at 5d.; endeavoured to induce the *New York Times* to sell its edition in America at 2s. instead of the 2½d., at which it was being sold; and sought in every possible way to create a "corner" and make a scoop. He was finally frustrated by Sir Edward Grey, who issued the documents at the price of 1d. Thereafter Sir Edward Grey was marked down for political assassination. He became one of the "Old Gang"!

Members of Parliament (Patriots to a man!) with public salaries of £400 per annum, earned an extra £400 in their spare time by carrying despatches to and from the back of the front. (See House of Commons' Reports, Nov., 1915.)

The more money they scooped in the louder did they beat their breasts and advertise their patriotism.

(*To be concluded.*)

"THE EXTINCTION OF MANKIND"

Visioned by Walter Strickland, Enemy of War

ANTI-MILITARIST BARONET'S ENDEAVOUR TO ARREST "THE MARCH OF HOMICIDE"

I. "THE EXTINCTION OF MANKIND."

The fact that Sir Walter Strickland went pro-war for a short period in 1914 detracts from the uncompromising consistency of his Anti-Militarist attitude. As pointed out in the essay dealing with this lapse [*Word*, January, 1941, Vol. II., No. 6, p. 71] he hastily regretted this decision and returned to his old position of absolute opposition to war. His essays against war are powerful writings and covered a long period of time.

Apart from earlier essays dealing with the social struggle within nations, in which he showed a lively understanding of the class struggle, his sympathies being always with the oppressed, Walter Strickland wrote and published, in 1906, a striking essay against war, entitled *On Modern Patriotism*. This answers Scott's theory of the patriot being thrilled at the thought of returning to his native land. Five years later he wrote another essay, suggesting that the gorilla was a higher type of animal to the Aryan, denouncing all theories of racial supremacy as leading to war and annihilation. These two essays were published as a penny pamphlet by the Bakunin Press, in 1912, as No. 3 of *The Revolt Library*, under the title of *Apes and Patriotism*. The pamphlet had a wide circulation in Britain and the U.S.A. The same year, the Bakunin Press published Strickland's striking essay, *The Extinction of Mankind*.

The *Extinction* pamphlet was written in prophetic mood at Munich, on November 2, 1911. Several thousand copies were circulated, and in 1920 a second edition was published by the Bakunin Press, in *The Spur Series*, No. 7.

Extinction was liked by Socialists. They regarded it as an intriguing pamphlet, vigorous in style, blasphemous in parts and definitely anti-Militarist in tone. Its title was considered outrageous but amusing, like the author.

The essay was replete with sarcasm and irony, and the author turned from the one moral to the other as his pen travelled along, easily and venomously against the enemies of social peace. His ironic theme was that mankind must give way to avian personalities, that power had left the earth for the skies. And he posed a question culled from *Tennyson's Maud*: *"He now is first—is he the last?—is he not too base?"*

The title shows with what vision Strickland gazed into the future.

In 1928, he reissued this pamphlet, with a new preface, through his New York publishers, B. Westermann, Inc. It was published again by this firm two years later.

Dated November 14, 1928, this preface says, with continued prophecy, employing the almost obscene language that Strickland considered became both the theme and the facts:—

"Shadows of the coming pig fight—I beg pardon: the homicidal vanity of the higher races will have nothing falser than 'the great war'—were already looming large and THE EXTINCTION OF MANKIND was written as a last appeal from Philip Drunk to Philip Sober, for I was then quixotic enough to believe that an appeal to reason and decency might not be completely thrown away upon what subsequent years have demonstrated to be little better than hordes of raving maniacs. I have learnt wisdom and indifference since.

"About the beginning of 1913, the vision of the coming outburst of insanity became a practical certainty, but even then my inherent scepticism prevented me from leaving Europe. Even in April and May when there was no doubt whatever, hesitation supervened. An ounce of faith and my subsequent life would have been a much happier one.

"The pig fight then came off in all its glory and nastiness. There was one poor consolation. The Christian monsters tore one another to pieces instead of somebody else. That helped to open somebody else's eyes. Literary vanity would like to believe that the brochure exercised an infinitesimal effect in opening the eyes of the inferior races. This would be another reason for its republication and diffusion now that it has been proved to demonstration that the higher races whose whole being consists of fear, greed, and above all vanity and murder have not, and for that matter cannot change by one iota from a nature which is imposed upon them by thousands if not millions of years of savagery.

"Do I then affirm that all the wonderful achievements in science, morals, et cetera of the higher races are all pure moonshine? I sadly and unhesitatingly reply, yes. The benefits of progress are something like the word itself. Drop the "pr" and you get "ogress." Nearly all the beneficial achievements of science are abused by the higher wisdom to create more woe and misery than good. Some are distinctly detrimental. . . . From medieval bows and arrows to Napoleonic wars down to the seventies and 1914, both the hecatomb and the brutalities have increased almost in a geometrical progression.

"War and cuisine, as elementary etymology demonstrates, are both forms of cannibalism. Cooking and conquest, victuals and victory are all the same. Cruelty like syphilis is incurable. Once a certain stage is reached it is impossible to revert to the past. . . . In the next approaching pig fight, it is estimated—let us be frank and say, hoped—that the carnage and mutilation will be at least three times greater than during their last performances. As these insane superior races are quite incurable, is it altogether very fantastical to opine that the extinction of mankind would be the best solution for our planetary kitchen-midden?"

We find this style of writing as displeasing as the most sensitive and most pious reader. Our vigour would be less direct. There is also error in some of the description. Yet the picture has truth and compels thought, which is what matters.

Strickland never learned indifference. His last letter, written from Buitengorg, dated December 14, 1937, is evidence of this fact. This letter has commanded a wide circulation. It was published in the *Malton Messenger*, and in *The Word*, in full; and, with only a small deletion, in the Cambridge University paper, *The Varsity*. It now circulates in pamphlet form, under the title, *This March of Homicide*. The text of this letter argues anxious anxiety as to the fate of humanity. Strickland was not indifferent. He was most anxious to see the end of war and exploitation, to contribute to the inauguration of a new world order of peace and commonwealth. This fact is demonstrated by reference to an article that appeared in the *Evening Times*, in September, 1935. We feel that, as part of the collection of data by, or relating to the career and associations of the late Sir Walter Strickland that article ought to be republished. It is unfortunate that its duplicate statements have already been published in these columns.

II. 1935 WAR FEAR AND PEACE PLAN.

The *Evening Times*, late City Edition, September 30, 1935, published the following news article:—

£90,000 FOR ANYONE WITH A PEACE PLAN.

YORKSHIRE BARONET'S OFFER THROUGH GLASGOW MAN.

THE CURIOUS STORY OF SIR WALTER STRICKLAND.

A sum of £90,000 is available to anyone who can evolve a workable scheme for stimulating peace-consciousness and outlawing war among the peoples of the world.

This fortune is offered by an 84-year-old Yorkshire baronet, Sir Walter Strickland, without restriction, provided that the money is devoted in some way to propaganda which will turn national feeling throughout the world away from force as a means of settling disputes.

Sir Walter makes no other stipulations. Pacifists with ideas will be invited to make known their proposals, but presentation of the money to the League of Nations is barred. The donor feels that the League is rather an aid to violence, and he maintains that it conceals, while serving, the interests of rival Powers.

Through Glasgow Friend

He has made his offer public through Mr. Guy Aldred, a Glasgow friend and confidant for almost a quarter of a century.

Writing before the Geneva Conferences, Sir Walter, who has assumed Czechoslovakian nationality and is at present resident in the Dutch East Indies, anticipates a new world war which would menace the future of the white races as well as civilisation itself. He describes war as "the blasphemous reality of Christendom," and asks if it is not possible for an effort to be made by all people to stop the "madness."

"I want to be identified with no partisan propaganda," he declares, "but with some definite movement of the people to outlaw violence.

"I look to women and to the common folk, not to statesmen and politicians. I am an old man, and have little use for money. If a real movement is set on foot I shall gladly support it, but it must be real and with elements of success."

Sir Walter Strickland

Who is this man who comes forward as a world peacemaker?

He has never taken part in public life, and he is probably not known to more than a dozen people in Britain, but nevertheless he is one of the most striking figures of this generation.

Holder of an ancient baronetcy, graduate of Trinity College, Cambridge, linguist, author and world traveller, Sir Walter William Strickland is an anti-Imperialist with an anarchical trend as far as politics are concerned, and a Freethinker inclined to Buddhism in religion.

Since early youth he has led a nomad life. He has lived in practically every country studying the habits of the people, assessing with shrewd insight their aspirations and political feeling, translating books on folklore, and writing violent pamphlets against all established systems.

Property to the Continent

In 1909, when he succeeded to the title, Sir Walter spent three weeks in Yorkshire to attend the eighth baronet's funeral. After that visit he decided to remove every scrap of property he could to the Continent and, for the future, to have as little as possible to do with Britain and Britons.

In the course of his wanderings he gave substantial help in the cause of Czechoslovakian independence, which led him to become a naturalised citizen of that country, and he also played an important role in Chinese politics, donating £10,000 to the war-chest of Sun Yat Sen's party when victory seemed far away and Sun Yat Sen was in exile.

Some years ago Sir Walter intimated through his solicitors that he wished to give up his title and be known simply as Walter William Strickland.

Developing his opposition to all forms of Imperialism and turning more and more to Eastern philosophy, especially Buddhism, he wrote many bitter articles against British rule in India. One essay was suppressed in 1912. China and the Chinese are the objects of Sir Walter's especial admiration.

A Curious Story

Since the start of the Hitler regime in Germany Strickland has been unable to get his works out of Berlin, where he had his translations and original productions printed some years ago. Seven valises of MSS. and diaries deposited with a Berlin bank cannot be recovered.

The circumstances in which these are detained make a curious story.

While resident in India several years ago Sir Walter adopted two Tamil boys, educated them and set them up in life on condition that they devoted themselves to the cause of a free India. One of the boys, who became a doctor, disappeared from a ship, while the other died in Berlin last year, shortly after depositing the seven valises in the bank.

Under German law Sir Walter cannot recover his property without the consent of the relatives of the adopted son who deposited the bags—and most of the relatives, who live in India, do not speak English and know nothing about the matter.

Diaries of Travels

The contents of the bags are diaries of Sir Walter's travels. They contain a thorough study of Italian politics made many years ago when Sir Walter first travelled in Italy, and of the Socialist movement to which Mussolini's father belonged. The diaries include later studies of Fascism and the first steps towards the Italian conquest of Africa. All this mass of information is stored in the Berlin bank and, apparently, will never be recovered.

The family of Strickland is an old one. The first members are said to have settled in Westmoreland before the Conquest; and the first baronet was one of "Oliver's Lords," a member of the House of Peers created during the Great Rebellion.

It was the first baronet's association with Oliver Cromwell which was responsible for Sir Walter Strickland's interest in Guy Aldred. In Carlyle's record of Cromwell's life and writings there is an account of Oliver riding into London with Sir Walter Strickland on one side of his carriage and Colonel Aldred on the other side.

In Ripened Form

This led Sir Walter, who was resident in Paris, to write to Mr. Aldred in London, in 1909.

Sir Walter thought the names of Strickland and Aldred should be united. He considered his love of freedom or anarchist philosophy to be the republicanism of his seventeenth century ancestor in ripened form and his association with Aldred a remarkable repetition of History.

Though Sir Walter is resident in the Dutch East Indies at present because he considers the Dutch have the best-governed colonies, he is considering resuming his British citizenship in the event of war so as to be better able to express his opinions.

The *Sunday Pictorial* had published the story, more briefly—but giving an important detail the Glasgow *Evening Times* omitted—in its issue for Sunday, September 29, 1935, as follows, under a streamer heading:—

BARONET OFFERS £90,000 TO ANYONE WHO CAN AVERT WAR!

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.

While the nations are wrestling with the problems of war an eighty-four-year-old baronet has asked his secretary in Glasgow to search for a man who can lead the world to peace—and has offered to back the peace-maker to the extent of £90,000!

Yesterday, in a little one-roomed office I read the letter written in green ink and in the handwriting of Sir Walter Strickland. The baronet's ideas are vague, but his offer is definite.

He offers to realise certain securities to the value of £90,000 if he can find a means of placing it at the disposal of a responsible person—or persons—who has discovered and will pursue a policy to ensure peace among the nations.

In his scrawling handwriting he states his opinion that Europe, by its policy, is heading for a war that will obliterate civilisation, and he looks to the East as a source of peace. Sir Walter, by the way, was a friend of Mussolini before he rose to power.

Strickland died in August, 1938. He never saw the outbreak of the war he dreaded. Before his estate could be realised the Germans had entered Czecho-Slovakia and Paris. At the Credit Lyonnais, Paris, his strong-box and securities were seized. Previously, bonds deposited in Prague had been lost owing to the German occupation. What was intended to aid the cause of world-peace, was lost in the devastation and advance of world-war. Thus was justified Strickland's anxious fear of the coming war.

Strickland's ideas and ideals were not vague. That was a pretence of the press. He had devoted years of his life to a study of the question, how war could be overcome. When we met him in France in 1912, and travelled with him from Dieppe to Paris, wandering round Paris with him discussing, and visited some Anarchists he knew in Rouen, he outlined his proposals clearly. His ideas were worthless only so long as they remained the isolated opinions of one man. Open democratic consideration could have fashioned his tentative proposals into use values. Entrenched economic interests, war industry and a war investing public, humanity's moral and mental laziness which found refuge in complacent conservatisms, would not consider his anti-militarist suggestions. The easy way was to dismiss Strickland as an eccentric.

Strickland was an offence to a world that toiled and leisured along the course that led with ever increasing speed to disaster and death. This world had no time for Strickland's great natural abilities: his scholarship; his command of so many languages; his intimacy with their dialects; his consequent wide reading; his world observations and experiences; his lack of careerist interest in life; and his sense of world citizenship. Such a man had no place in the world of hunger, power, and glory, devoted to its diseases, and impatient at any idea of remedy. What could it do with a person who visioned *The Extintion of Mankind* and protested against this vision two years before the first world war; who ironically pilloried Aryan pretensions in a study of *Apes and Patriotism;* and, almost with his dying hand, and on the eve of the Second World War, sadly protested against *The March of Homicide*. For the last forty years of his life Strickland asked the world to consider his plea for anti-militarism. He asked in vain.

To-day, in the midst of a second world war, another man, also English, also an aristocrat, of a long and distinguished lineage, less vehement, but no less a scholar, asks to be heard in protest against the arbitrament of war and violence. He also is outlawed, abused, and misrepresented. Charges are made against him which could not have been made against Sir Walter Strickland. The offence is the same: opposition to the criminal folly of war. The Duke of Bedford might enjoy popular public life, with the enthusiastic support of certain Labour democrats, if only he would cheer for war. He falls short of what is expected of Dukes in times of war. He would prefer that wars should end and a new world order be established. So he finds himself in the position once occupied by Sir Walter Strickland: a social outcast because he harbours the illusion that twentieth-century Christianity ought to outlaw violence and the appeal to the sword, or the greater destruction that the sword symbolises.

"THE BRITISH DRAFT ACT"

Beneath this caption, *Argonaut*, San Francisco, Cal., U.S.A., for March 7, 1941, says:

"The British Draft Act in this present war is remarkable for the liberality of its provisions for conscientious objectors to war, since it provides a separate register for conscientious objectors and complete exemption for all who profess themselves to be conscientious objectors to all war and conscription. Those who contend that there is no difference between the ideals of England and the ideals of Hitler's Germany would do well to consider how great a difference there is here manifested between the drafts in the two countries.

"If an Englishman is so opposed to war that he will not even fight for the defence of his country, he is not compelled to fight. But no German is allowed to stand out against Hitler's will. Every German is Hitler's slave. He must think as Hitler thinks; he must feel as Hitler feels; he must speak as Hitler speaks; he must do what Hitler tells him to do. He has not an atom of liberty. He must not believe anything that various types of thinkers including Jews, have written. He must take his philosophy, his science and even his aesthetics from the ignoramus who now rules him. If Hitler should maintain that the moon is made out of green cheese, he will be compelled to maintain the same. Science and learning were free in the Germany of the Kaiser; they are free no longer.

"We are told that, after this war is over, England will be a totalitarian state as much as Germany, Italy and Russia are. This is possible, to be sure; but it should be clearly apparent that English statesmen are doing all in their power at present to prevent such a contingency. Englishmen are not willing to be slaves; they are determined to be free. They are fighting to preserve liberty and democracy, even the liberty of those who object to fighting.

"The British Draft Act is far more liberal than the American Draft Act. Our country has already sent men to jail for their failure to register. The Englishman is allowed to register himself as a conscientious objector to war, and that is all that is required of him. Even in the last war, England did not punish conscientious objectors very severely. They were sent to jail for a few months, and that was all. But here we sent Emma Goldman to jail for two years, while Eugene Debs and other men were sentenced to serve twenty years, and even after the war was over, President Wilson refused to pardon Debs, though virtually everybody else, including his own attorney general, recommended his pardon. But, then, we had joined forces with the Tsar of all the Russias to make the world safe for democracy."

This is a bold and useful comment on the United States attitude towards war resisters. But it is incorrect in some details. Conscientious objectors in Britain were sentenced repeatedly by Court Martial and many suffered three years' continuous imprisonment. We experienced four Court Martials. Emrys Hughes was sentenced five times by Court Martial and endured nearly three years imprisonment. Creech Jones told his record in the speech reproduced in the May *Word*.

We correct these details because such errors spoil the effectiveness of our contemporary's clear and simple argument.

REMEMBER SPAIN!

OPEN LETTER TO LORD HALIFAX

My Lord,—How are the tables turned! A few short years ago you were approached by the lawfully-elected Government of Spain for the right, under international law, to purchase arms for the defence of the nation. To that appeal you turned a deaf ear and now in 1941 you are yourself a suppliant for American help to wage a war against the very forces which you callously watched destroying Spanish liberty.

I wonder if your thoughts ever go back to that 13th day of May, 1938, when Senor del Vayo appealed to you for elementary justice and requested, as he had a perfect right to do, that the embargo on arms to Spain be lifted.

Do you ever think of that, my lord? Do you sometimes spare a moment from the deep religious meditations in which you are reported to indulge to ponder on the Spanish women and children murdered by the Nazi-Fascist forces which you now profess to recognise as the embodiment of evil, because the lawful Government of Spain was unable to compete in armaments with the armies, well equipped by Germany and Italy, which General France had at his command? From a distance of 3,000 miles across the ocean you speak of freedom and the need for fighting to the death to crush this "evil thing" that menaces democracy to-day. Do you ever meditate upon the fight for freedom of a Workers' Army that, knowing little of the science of arms and sustained only by the conviction that their cause was just, held off for many weary months the trained and disciplined soldiers of the Fascist pioneers who won their initial victories against Democracy in Spain, while powerful Democratic nations, ruled by blind and bigoted Statesmen, watched the uneven struggle without a qualm?

In a speech delivered at Chicago recently, after boasting of our determination to "stick it out" whatever happens (but without specifying the battlefront on which you yourself proposed to serve), you refer to the needs of the "new world" which will arise out of a war which you and your associates in the Conservative Party have, by your betrayal of collective security, done so much to render inevitable. "The first," you say, "is a system of security which will ensure international stability, the second a system of economic collaboration between the free people, and the third a system of ordered change in the relationship between States, which will restore confidence in the integrity of the word of nations." My Lord, your self-righteous lament over the lack of integrity in the word of nations would be laughable if the subject were not so serious. Few Governments have shown such contempt for integrity in their dealings with foreign powers as that of which you were a member for so many weary years and which was brought to a long overdue close as a result of our defeat in Norway. You wish to restore "confidence in the integrity of the word of nations!" Ask the martyred people of China how much confidence they will ever have in the word of Britain until her Government is purged of those unworthy Statesmen who watched her being butchered by the imperialists of Japan in spite of the hypocritical lipe service they had paid to the League of Nations and the principle of Collective Security. Ask the people of Abyssinia, Czechoslovakia, or Spain who trusted in the word of honourable Christian gentlemen and found themselves enslaved by Fascist tyrants with whom these honourable Christian gentlemen did not hesitate to dine in public, and whose friendship they assiduously cultivated while the murderers' hands were red with human blood!

Speaking at a press conference the other day in Minneapolis you referred to the activities of Col. Lindbergh. "I have no doubt," you said, "that he holds his opinion as sincerely as I do my own, but when he touches on the field of world affairs and matters that affect the future of all

free people I think some of his arguments are dangerously mistaken." Possibly, my Lord, they are, but who are you to criticise them? Col. Lindbergh is an Isolationist who professes a desire to keep his country out of war—and that was the very policy which you and your Conservative colleagues pursued in the most critical years of the Fascist menace to our liberties in Europe. To every plea for action you were deaf. To all appeals for a united front against the Fascist menace you retorted with the cry of "war-monger." To those who, overborne in the struggle, asked for help you gave no assistance whatsoever—now you ask for aid yourself. Try to imagine how you would feel if America refused to listen to our plea to-day and you will begin to understand how others, now rotting in the grave, or languishing in Fascist dungeons, must have felt when you and your associates refused to listen to their even more legitimate requests for help!

H. W. HENDERSON.

SINCE THURTLE FORGETS

In the House of Commons, by sneering questions and interruptions, and also in the columns of the *Literary Guide*, Ernest Thurtle M.P., Rationalist writer and speaker, has made, since the beginning of the second world war, bitter attacks on conscientious objectors. This man forgets his past. It is time that we recalled it to him.

Ernest Thurtle was born in New York State, 1884, of British parents. Came to England when two years of age. Became steel worker in Monmouthshire. Joined the Labour Movement at the age of 19. Settled in London in 1908. Joined the National Union of Clerks. Married Dorothy Lansbury, daughter of George Lansbury. Served in the Army during the Great War and obtained a Commission. *On leaving the Army, he became an aggressive anti-militarist.* Was the unsuccessful Anti-Militarist candidate of the ex-Service men at S.W. Bethnal Green in 1918.

In the *Daily Herald*, 3rd November, 1920, Thurtle wrote an article on the organisation of ex-Service men, in which he criticised "The Comrades of the Great War," and suggested that they were in the pockets of the Government.

Writing on the "Pageantry of the Cenotaph" in the *Daily Herald*, 21st October, 1921, he condemned military ceremonial on Armistice Day, and said: "*Men did not die in Flanders in order that the spirit of Potsdam might be brought to Whitehall.*"

In a letter to the *Daily Herald*, 2nd March, 1923, on a Bill by a Conservative member to make it a punishable offence to teach sedition to young people under 16 by means of Bolshevist Sunday Schools, Thurtle wrote:—

"Perhaps the Labour Party will take steps to introduce a Bill forbidding the teaching of bigotry and reaction to young people under 16. This deplorable teaching is very prevalent in Sunday schools of the conventional type, and it has a most harmful effect on the young mind."

On the abolition of the Death Penalty in the Army, he wrote, in the *Daily Herald*, 17th April, 1923, that in the discussion on this matter in the House of Commons it had been admitted that the death penalty was necessary

"in order to compel soldiers to endure the hell of modern warfare. . . . By implication it was also admitted that what keeps soldiers fighting in the trenches and drives them over the top is not patriotism, nor hatred of the enemy, nor respect for officers, nor any of the other fictions invented by newspaper correspondents, but the fear of being shot in cold blood by their fellow-countrymen, in accordance with the provisions of Military Law of Christian England.

"This hardly-extracted piece of truth should be broadcasted by anti-militarists until it becomes a commonplace, and until the flag-waggers and war-mongers—most of whom take care never to fight themselves—are shamed into holding their peace for evermore. The abolition of the death penalty would not only be a belated act of justice to the soldier, it would also be a blow which would go a long way towards paralysing the arm of the militarists."

In the General Election of 1923 Mr. Thurtle was elected as the Parliamentary representative for Shoreditch, and was appointed Parliamentary Private Secretary to the Minister of Pensions (Mr. F. O. Roberts) in the first "Labour" Government.

In 1924 he published a pamphlet under the title of "*Shootings at Dawn*," in which he gave what purported to be the details of 264 soldiers who were, in the words of the *Daily Herald*, 14th May, 1924, review, written by George Lansbury—i.e., Thurtle's father-in-law—"*shot by their comrades during the late war (and) were sent to their doom solely because they were part of a soulless machine which in war-time takes no account of men's nerves or feelings.*"

In a reply to Purcell (*Daily Herald*, 10th September, 1924) Thurtle said: "*I, as one who believes that Britain has no right to continue to hold India in subjection by force under any pretext whatever, cannot agree with him (Purcell)*"

Thurtle voted against the five cruisers in the Socialist Government's programme, and was also one of the thirteen M.P.'s who voted against the Army Estimates in 1924. This 1924 record and contributions to debate are detailed in our *At Grips with War*, 1929 Edition, pages 67-70, and 75.

Chapter VIII. of this brochure is headed: "Socialism—Checking War!" It is a direct and detailed attack on the Socialist Party in the United States and on the Labour Party in Great Britain for ineptitude in face of war. The debate on March 17, 1924, during a Committee Stage on Army Estimates is summarised. Walter Ayles, then Pacifist and Labour member for North Bristol, moved to reduce the standing army to 11,600 men—this motion meaning the abolition of the standing army. We summarise and comment on Walter Ayles' speech and continue, pages 70-71:

"Ernest Thurtle, Labour M.P. for Shoreditch, seconded the amendment. Actual fighting experience had convinced him that no human being should be asked to endure the experience of modern war, AND HE WOULD NOT TAKE PART IN FUTURE WAR. Ninety per cent. of the British voluntary army was recruited from the unemployed. The chief recruiting offices in London considered that the extension of the London tube and the building of the Empire Exhibition had lessened the number of recruits. In the House of Commons the previous Secretary of State for War had been asked if it were not possible to take the dole away from men under 25—in order to stimulate recruiting! The late Lord Roberts had described recruiting as 'the conscription of hunger.' Inexperienced youths were inveigled into the army, that their lives and limbs might be used as a shield for those who fought by proxy. It was cheap and spurious patriotism, the easiest and most despicable thing in the world, to fight to the last drop of someone else's blood.

"This was an excellent speech that showed well the economical conscription of the army. But it never touched the real question, the economic cleavage that means there are two nations within every nation, the rich and the poor. Thurtle made the mistake of speaking and thinking of one united nation despite the economic circumstances that make this idea a political and social myth."

On page 75, we again mention Thurtle. J. J. Lawson, member for Chester-le-Street, Durham, who became Secretary to the Ministry of Labour in MacDonald's 1929 Government, and was Financial Secretary to the War Office in the 1924 administration, declared, in this debate, that the policy of *Universal disarmament by mutual agreement* had been laid down at the Labour Party Conference in 1923. At this same Conference, by a majority of over two million votes, the Labour Party had decided to vote for the Navy, Army, and Air Force Estimates.

We quote the reference to Thurtle that followed our summary of Lawson's speech.

"Thurtle interrupted here to point out that the motion against all Service votes was supported by Major C. R. Attlee, member for Stepney, the 1924 Under-Secretary of State for War."

We present this quotation to Attlee as well as to Thurtle to-day. It speaks volumes on the subject of political consistency, integrity, and progress towards Socialism, through the medium of parliamentary careerism.

Addressing a women's meeting at Whitechapel (*Daily Herald*, 24th November, 1924), Thurtle remarked in reference to the good name of the Labour Party:—

"We haven't to protest, for example, that we are just as good imperialists as some of the others. . . . There was also far too much talk about the folly of the class struggle. To him the existence of the Party was evidence of the existence of that struggle. They ought not to talk about not being a menace to the other side in the struggle. We are a menace to them. We ought to publish and proclaim the fact."

Speaking on the expulsion of the Communists from the Labour Party he said that

"he personally did not think local Labour Parties would be wise to carry out the decision to expel Communists, and he did not think it likely that it would be followed in Shoreditch." (See "Workers' Weekly," November 28 and December 12, 1924).

In the *Daily Herald*, 10th January, 1925, he protested against the sugar beet subsidy on the ground that subsidies to industries were inconsistent with Socialist principles. Industries that required subsidies in order to carry on should be taken over by the State.

Writing in *Lansbury's Labour Weekly*, 11th April, 1925, Thurtle declared that

"the parents who would hate to see their children trained for human slaughter ought never to assist the recruitment of the children of others for this purpose. . . . Out attitude must be: 'Not a man, not a gun, not a bomb.'"

Replying in the *Daily News*, 20th June, 1925, to an article in that paper by Mr. Philip Snowden on "The Labour View of Emigration," Thurtle expressed his disagreement with the opinions of Mr. Snowden, and denied that they represented the Labour view.

"We still believe that the British Empire in the main 'is the product of capitalist aggression, and has been built up by force, rapine and plunder.'"

Speaking at the I.L.P. Summer School, Easton Lodge, Essex, *Daily Herald*, 25th August, 1925, he said:—

"An Empire which had to be held together by means of armed forces was not one in which Socialists could be consistently interested. . . . If I were a Russian I would disband the Red Army."

Addressing the Brotherhood Church, Southgate, he remarked in reference to the suggested visit of Mussolini to this country:—

"If there is any real spirit in the Labour and Socialist movement in this country it will stir up such tremendous feelings against Mussolini that he will not dare to put his feet on the shores of this country." ("Daily Herald," November 23, 1925).

During 1927 Thurtle addressed a number of meetings of protest against the Government's policy in China, and against the Government's Trades Union Bill. Speaking at Norwich on the Trades Union Bill, he stated that

"The Trades Union Bill was the most insulting challenge which had been made to the Labour Movement since the movement came into existence, and the Labour Party throughout the country was going to take up this challenge as soon as opportunity occurred, and was going to make Mr. Baldwin pay the very heaviest price imaginable for this outrage on the liberty of the workers." ("Eastern Daily Press," April 11, 1927).

In an article in the *Brisbane* (Queensland) *Daily Standard*, 12th November, 1927, he attacked the British Government's representatives at the Geneva Disarmament Conference, describing them as hypocrites. But he was glad the Conference failed.

"Because I think it would have been very much worse for the world if the hypocrites had come to an agreement."

He added:—

"Just as we build warships on the assumption that we may one day fight America (avowing at the same time that the idea of fighting America is unthinkable!), so we are building a great fighting aeroplane force on the assumption that we may one day fight France, while the Locarno parchment, sealed with the seals of Britain and France, declares that such fighting will never be. And Locarno notwithstanding, the Government will not even permit the construction of a Channel tunnel between our shores and France."

At this time it was revealed through a case in the City of London Court that Mr. Thurtle's wife was an employee of Arcos, being accountant to the Russian Bristle Export Co., a trading concern of Arcos, at a salary of £36 per month, income-tax paid. (See the *Financial Times*, 28th October, 1927. Also a letter in *The Patriot*, 10th November, 1927).

Writing in the *Daily Herald*, 13th December, 1927, on the Prayer Book controversy, Thurtle declared:—

"As a means of forcing the separation of the Church from the State and eliminating the Bishops from Parliament—an end to be desired by all Socialists—I hope all my fellow Labour M.P.s will

vote against the Prayer Book."

Mr. and Mrs. Thurtle went to India with the Simon Commission in a non-official capacity. The *Bombay Daily Mail*, 22nd February, 1928, reported that

"at a meeting of the Calcutta Parliament to-morrow Mr. Thurtle, M.P., will move that, in the opinion of the House, the British Labour Movement will whole-heartedly stand by Indian self-gavernment."

In an interview with *Forward* (Calcutta), quoted by the *Bombay Daily Mail* of the same date, he expressed regret that the Labour Party was represented on the Commission.

"They could best serve India by getting control of the British Government. What was more important to India than the Simon Commission and its work was the complexion of the next British Parliament. He and Mrs. Thurtle were present at the Shraddhanand Park Boycott Demonstration, and he was convinced that the policy of boycotting the Commission really had the support of the Indian masses. . . . He thought it would have done Sir John Simon good to have been present at that meeting."

In an address at Calcutta to a demonstration of workers he said that he brought the fraternal greetings of the poorest quarter of London, and they had asked him "*to convey to the people of India the hope that at the earliest possible moment the people might be a free nation. . . .*" He hoped that they, with all their heart, would carry on their campaign for freedom, and that they would present one united front to the people, and that the time would come before long when they would be able to be got rid of their bondage. (*New Empire* (Calcutta), 27th February, 1928).

In moving his motion in the Calcutta Parliament, he said that there were a few members of the British Labour Party who said things that smacked of Imperialism.

"But it would be unfair to judge a great movement by the stray speeches of a few individuals. The working men and women of Britain were not imperialists but internationalists, especially after the experience of the last war."

He went on to suggest that the Indian leaders should agree on a constitution and speak in the name of a United India.

"If the Labour Movement failed them when they had produced such a constitution, it would be legitimate for them to condemn it as having betrayed India's interests." ("Calcutta Statesman," March 1, 1928).

Under the title "More Thurtleisms," the *Allahabad Pioneer*, 5th March, 1928, reported an interview with Thurtle, in the course of which he stated that he was convinced that the opposition to the Simon Commission was very deep and widespread and represented the view of the great mass of the Indian people.

"When I return to England I shall do my best to convince my colleagues of the Labour Party that Nationalist India has firmly made up its mind to have nothing to do with the Simon Commission. I feel that the Labour Party must face the fact that the Commission is thoroughly unpopular, and that no appeals to Indian Nationalists to co-operate with it will be of any avail."

After hinting that a Labour Government would be returned at the General Election, and stating that it would be in sympathy with the Nationalists, Thurtle continued:

"Unlike Lord Birkenhead and other British Imperialists, ordinary British men and women dislike the idea of their country keeping other people in subjection, and they will be very glad to see India take its place amongst the free self-respecting countries of the world. . . . The idea that India is unfit for self-government is a bogey deliberately created. I am sure, however, it is rapidly losing its power to do this."

During his stay in India Thurtle had an interview with Mr. Gandhi. (See *Bombay Daily Mail*, 8th March). In an interview with the *Madras Hindu*, 12th March, he alleged that

"Sir Alexander Muddiman had treated him with downright rudeness, which was an illuminating exhibition of official boorishness."

In a letter to the *New Leader*, 4th May, 1928, Thurtle wrote:—

"We are not so much anti-Imperialists as internationalists. . . . We think justice should be done to oppressed peoples in India, China, Egypt, or elsewhere, even if the British Empire is thereby weakened. If there is something inherently beneficial to humanity in the British Empire, that organisation will probably survive in some form. But, if a choice has to be made between the two, we believe much more in International Justice than in the British Empire."

OUR APPEAL

In May, the deficit on the appeal we issued in November for £1,971 11s. 3d. stood reduced to £1,849 4s. 10d. We shall not list any acknowledgments until the full sum has been raised. When this has been done, although there is a deficit on every issue, we shall discontinue a special appeal. The sum asked for must be raised. Some comrades wish us to increase the price of the paper to 3d. This we have refused to do. Also, as long as possible, we wish to retain our size. So please respond. If every reader would help—if *you* would help—now, we could end this begging: the only mean space in the paper. Last month's response was poor. It was only £12 10s. 10d. This reduces our need to £1,836 14s. *Do please help immediately you have read this appeal. We consider this paper a brave and useful paper. If you agree, do not let it die.*

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LIVERPOOL COURT-MARTIAL

By The Rev. SIDNEY SPENCER, B.A.
(Minister, Hope St. Unitarian Church, Liverpool).

[The name of the Rev. Sidney Spencer, B.A., was mentioned several times during the proceedings of the Court-Martial on a Military Officer and 5 N.C.O.'s, held at Liverpool in April. The proceedings did not impress us, so we did not publish the very full report we have in hand. Mr. Spencer issued a statement as to what happened and the part he played to his church membership. This we reprint.—Ed.]

Last September I was surprised and shocked to learn that a number of "Conscientious Objectors" who had been drafted against their wish into the Non-Combatant Corps had suffered ill-usage. Having been drafted into the N.C.C., they were anxious to follow the procedure laid down by the Military Training Act, whereby a man who refuses to obey an order on "conscientious" grounds, if sentenced by a Court-Martial to not less than 93 days' imprisonment, obtains the right to a further appearance before the Appellate Tribunal. It appears that they were informed in Liverpool that they would not be given this opportunity, but would be compelled to accept army service. A number of them were sentenced by the Commanding Officer to 14 days' detention, were put on bread and water and kept in darkened cells. Some of them were brutally struck by an N.C.O. The treatment had in fact been so severe that the men concerned felt compelled for the time being to obey orders.

Hearing what had taken place, I determined along with other members of the local Advisory Committee for Pacifists, to do anything possible to see that such irregularities were put an end to. Representations were made to the War Office, and other steps were taken to draw attention to the matter. Three weeks later eleven of the men again decided to disobey, hoping that this time they would be court-martialled. Instead of that, they were kicked and struck by N.C.O.'s, to such an extent that they agreed to accept orders. I was in touch with some of the men, who were stationed at the College, and so I was immediately informed of what had happened. I wired forthwith to the War Office and M.P.'s. Meantime the men had been sent away, along with others, to South Wales. Eventually a Court of Inquiry was held by the War Office in Liverpool, at which each of the men received full opportunity of stating the facts. As a result, the War Office decided that a military officer and five N.C.O.'s should be court-martialled on a number of different charges.

That is the background of the court-martial. All that they desired was that the facts should be brought to light, and that instructions should be issued by the War Office to prevent further ill-usage. Some of the men appeared before the Court-martial only because they received subpoenas, and one, who was still under military control, in the N.C.C., refused even so to give evidence—knowing that he would be punished for his refusal.

I have written elsewhere (in "Peace News" for May 2nd) of my impressions of the trial. I can only here record my belief that the Court, which consisted of seven miltary officers, did its best to deal impartially with the evidence, but that in the circumstances that was extraordinarily difficult. The policy of the defence was to deny completely the allegations of bruitality, and to suggest that the story was a "lying invention" devised for political purposes. I was apparently one of the people who were supposed to have assisted in the invention—perhaps even to have instigated it! In the upshot, of the five N.C.O.'s two were found guilty on three charges between them, and the officer was found guilty on two out of five charges—of having permitted men to be assaulted, and having failed to report such assaults to his superior officer. The case of the "Conscientious Objectors" was thus substantially etablished. I feel, at least that in view of the publicity given to the case it is most unlikely that similar treatment will again be attempted.

NAZI-BOLSHEVIK PEACE PACT ENDS

Let the Struggle Towards Peace Begin

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE WINSTON CHURCHILL, M.P.

(His Majesty's Principal Secretary for State)

Dear Mr. Prime Minister,

On Sunday, June 22, the Soviet-German Pact, signed on August 23, 1939, ended. Hitler, without warning, made war on his "good neighbour," Stalin. It is only fair to add that, from the time that the pact was signed, to the date that Germany invaded the U.S.S.R., the Government of the Soviet Union paid strict observance to its pact with Germany.

On August 25, 1940, Molotov declared that the Soviet-German pact corresponded to the fundamental State interests of the U.S.S.R. and Germany. Moscow described the pact as "historic"—it was, like all waste-paper—and defended it as being a protection against the dangerous aims of "*the British and French Imperialists.*"

This statement by the Kremlin was alike hypocritical and premature. The authors knew that their so-called peace-pact was but the prelude to the second world war. For the rest, as a contract it has not attained a second birthday. Hitler has returned to his Anti-Bolshevik propaganda. The so-called "Communists" have resumed their denunciation of Hitler. He is once more super-robber, bandit, invader, and murderer. And you, sir, have denounced him as "a bloodthirsty guttersnipe," in charming forgetfulness of some eulogies you passed upon him in other days.

Your present description of Hitler savours of the soap-box rather than the forum. It may be true but it is not statesmanlike. I do not complain of its want of dignity. I do complain of your lateness of expression and your failure to recall the circumstances that moulded Hitler into a figure of pomp and power and then imposed him upon Europe. I deplore the frank opportunism of the British political reaction to the conclusion of the Nazi-Bolshevik Peace Pact.

The British Government does right to make the most of the war in the East. But it is not right to view the extension of the conflict into the Soviet Union as a mere military opportunity. The British Government must view the conflict as a contribution to world peace. The world needs peace, not war; peace, not victory; peace, a lasting social peace, leading to social reconstruction, and not the sorry jobbery of a mere armistice. Now is the time to make sure that 1918 is not repeated.

Britain is to send military and economic missions to the Soviet Union. Sir Stafford Cripps will return in triumph to Moscow. Willie Gallacher, as you told him in the House of Commons, will receive his marching orders and right-about turn. Nazi pressure in the West has been relieved, almost miraculously, by Nazi hostilities in the East. Britain is supposed, from extreme Right to extreme Left, to have made common cause in the struggle of war without pause until victory is secured. Victory, as you must know, means another dictated peace, another 1918, with all its horrors of exhaustion, reconstructed militarismtarism, dictatorship, concentration camps, and more war.

Militarist politicians and pressmen, as distinct from statesmen, soldiers, and thinkers, advise you that Britain's great need, during this lull in the West, is to consolidate the war effort. It is nowhere said that the great need is to consolidate the peace effort. Unless we do consolidate that peace effort, humanity is doomed to untold tragedy. Unquestioning service to the cause of war is dubious patriotism and most queustionable service to the cause of peace. Many seek refuge from facing this urgent truth by dubbing whoever would discuss peace as a traitor. It is an easy label with which to adorn others in times of crisis and emotionalism. But the label does not remain affixed. Crime does not pay, not even the crime of war. And now is your opportunity to consider this fact.

In 1939, against all rhyme and reason and all previous declarations, Hitler and Stalin decided to become friends. That affirmation of friendship, cynically signed, sealed, and delivered, became the death warrant of thousands of innocent men, women and children throughout Europe. The signatures have been erased, the seals removed. But the blood-letting goes on. The criminal responsibility of the pact remains. Had there been no pact, there would have been no war.

As Principal Secretary of State for Great Britain you have pledged yourself to defend the Soviet Union against invasion. You speak clearly, directly, on this issue. From the standpoint of war, your pledge is sound. It is wise strategy, correct tactics, good fighting. But you make no contribution to the ending of war, no enunciation of definite principles of peace. To do so would be to prove yourself the statesman of your age.

The idea of victory is the illusion of violence. It is ignorance, unbroken by mercy and unrestricted by remorse. The idea of victory, complete and smashing, is unforgivable in the people and unthinkable in the statesmen. The slogan of victory pays no regard to the lessons of history and to the sufferings of the people.

Diehards are entitled to make the most of the argument presented to them with such ruthless irresponsibility by the Nazi leaders. Thinkers should trace 1941 back to 1918 and reflect on the folly of the law of violence. You, sir, have been not only contemporary with the events I propose to trace, but have been an active participator in most of them. Those events point to a programme and policy of peace, to a clear definition of the first principles of peace, and of the way in which war could be halted even under capitalism, and the cause of peace and reconstruction advanced. I believe that there can be no real security of peace unless and until we establish a Socialist society. But I do not believe that the question of war is a small side-issue, of no consequence in itself. On the contrary I consider that, even without the establishing of Socialist society, the arresting of violence is an important achievement. I am assured that the propaganda of death has been the grand error of the human race.

1941 is the conclusion of 1918. In that year was laid down, in clear, concise terms, the conditions of peace, in our English tongue, by one of its clearest spokesmen. His statement was treated with callous levity. Whatever his faults as a politician, he defined the conditions of peace in the terms of statesmanship. Those terms stand. They remain a clear statement of the conditions of world peace. It is the business of the English-speaking world to accept those terms to-day, without qualification or hesitation, and to implement them. From a war of bombs the war should become a war of propaganda; and the peace that was not achieved in 1918 should be advanced to reality in 1941. To your Ministry of War you should add a Ministry of Peace and a Ministry of Propaganda. Let the enduring principles of 1918 be reproclaimed not as a treachery leading to an armistice but as a declaration of intending lasting peace, fraught with happiness to mankind. Let the war between nations end and the struggle of ideas begin.

On January 8, 1918, President Wilson laid down his fourteen points or conditions of peace in a message to the United States' Congress. John Buchan, the distinguished novelist, biographer and historian, who died as Lord Tweedsmuir, Governor General of Canada, described these points in *Nelson's History of the War*, as destined to hold the ground as the Allied Charter. The points guaranteed three items essential to human well being:—

(1) A Peace of Agreement.

(2) Self-determination.

(3) No crushing of Germany.

Points (6) to (13) inclusive need not be instanced here as they but summarise the application of the basic principles defined in the other points. These were:—

1. **Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at after which there shall be no private international understanding of any kind, but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view.**
2. **Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas, outside territorial waters, alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants.**
3. **The removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for it maintenance.**
4. **Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.**
5. **A free, open-minded and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the government whose title is to be determined.**
14. **A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike.**

The emendation of these principles were made by President Wilson in his statement of the Four Principles in February, 1918. These were:—

1. **That each part of the final settlement must be based upon the essential justice of that particular case, and upon such adjustments as are most likely to bring a peace that will be permanent.**
2. **That peoples and provinces are not to be bartered about from one sovereignty to another sovereignty as if they were chattels or pawns in a game, even the great game, now for ever discredited, of the balance of power; but that**
3. **Every territorial settlement involved in this war must be made in the interest and for the benefit of the populations concerned and not as a part of any mere adjustment of compromise of claims amongst rival States.**
4. **That all well-defined national aspirations shall be accorded the utmost satisfaction that can be accorded them without introducing new or perpetuating old elements of discord and antagonism that would be likely in time to break the peace of Europe and consequently the world.**

In September, 1918, President Wilson further defined the fourteen points in what is known as the Five Particulars:—

1. **The impartial justice meted out must involve no discrimination between those to whom we wish to be just, and those to whom we do not wish to be just. It must be a justice that plays no favourites and knows no standards, but the equal rights of the several peoples concerned.**
2. **No special or separate interest of any single nation or group of nations can be made the basis of any part of the settlement which is not consistent with the common interest of all.**
3. **There can be no leagues or alliances or special covenants and understandings within the general and common family of the League of Nations.**
4. **And more especially there can be no special selfish economic combinations within the League.**
5. **All international agreements and treaties of every kind must be made known in their entirety to the rest of the world. Special alliances and economic rivalries and hostilities have been the prolific source in the modern world of the plans and passions that produce war. It would be an insecure peace that did not exclude them in definite and binding terms.**

Addressing Congress, on February 11, 1918, President Wilson said in words most unjustly forgotten:—

"All parties to this war must join in the settlement of every issue involved in it, because what we are seeking is a peace that we can all unite to guarantee and maintain, and every item of it must be submitted to the common judgment, whether it be right and fair and an act of justice."

The German Government, under Prince Max of Baden, accepted President Wilson's terms of peace in September 1918. On November 6, the Allies accepted the Fourteen Points with qualification as to the Freedom of the Seas. Two days later, Germany sent representatives to Marshal Foch to ask for the terms of Armistice. Those terms included total German disarmament. The new Germany was rendered helpless and relied entirely upon the honourable execution of President Wilson's programme of peace. Her military strength destroyed, for seven months after the Armistice she was starved by the Allied blockade to accept the dictated peace. I ask you to turn to the history of this disgraceful period, in order that you might undo it. On March 4, 1919, you declared in the House of Commons that the Allies were "enforcing the blockade with vigour." You declared that Germany was *"very near starvation,"* and remarked on *"the great privations which the German people are suffering,"* and *"the great danger of a collapse of the entire structure of German social and national life under the pressure of hunger and malnutrition."*

The German delegation at Versailles were not allowed to speak. It yielded to overwhelming force and accepted the infamous war-guilt clause. As late as 1932, six months before Hitler came to power, France refused to withdraw that clause.

After the dictated peace, came the miserable story of reparations and indemnities. The Italian Premier at the time of the peace has told the story well in his book, *Peaceless* Europe, published in 1922. In his work on *The Decadence of Europe,* Nitti also showed how Europe had entered on a new era of violence, cynicism, and international spoilation. Professor Keynes in *The Economic Consequences of The Peace,* protested against the dishonour of what happened. Lord Buckmaster declared that the Treaty of Versailles was *"an act of dishonour which can never be effaced."* Mr. J. L. Garvin, in *The Observer,* for May 11, 1919, subjected the treaty to a remarkable analysis in which he prophesied much that has happened and more that may come. The Labour Party almost had the same vision at its 1920 Scarborough Conference. It is clear that democratic Germany was strangled at birth and Nazism was born at Versailles. Germany was humiliated by the cynicism of her enemies from anti-militarist democracy into a militarist concentration camp of violence and menace. The unthinking House of Commons speeches of 1918 and 1919 sentenced Europe to death and to a second World War.

I canvass this matter no further. The facts, so briefly resumed, can be detailed if required. The full details no longer matter. We must repair the past. We must rebuild the future. To this end, sir, I turn from your past as politician. I do not ask you to unsay the bellicose words you have the tendency to utter. You must recognise the unwisdom of their declamation in 1919 when Germany was crushed. I only ask that you prove yourself to be a stateman by proclaiming your adherence to the Wilson Points and broadcasting them as the conditions and principles of world peace, from which you will not depart.

I have the honour to be,
Your fellow citizen and also
a citizen of the world,
GUY A. ALDRED.

HITLER AND STALIN.

Unlike the Communist Party, we do not have to recall our pamphlets and past writings. They stand in evidence of our consistency. Our issue for October 1940, reproduced Hitler's leaflets, attacking Bolshevism and Stalin, that the German Nazis circulated in England; the Stalin attack on Hitlerism; and Molotov's applause of the Hitler pact. A small quantity of this issue still in stock. Price 2d. Post-free 3d.

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GORDON STOTT.

Gordon Stott's case came before the Edinburgh Local Tribunal on January 22. It was reported fully in the February *Word*. Stott refused to register. He made no application to the Tribunal. The case was referred to the Tribunal by the Ministry of Labour. The hearing occupied 5 minutes. The decision was unanimous. Walter Nellies, M.B.E., J.P., was the Labour Representative on the Tribunal. The order of the Tribunal was that Stott's name be removed from the Register of Conscientious Objectors without qualification. The Tribunal found that Stott's objection was based on politics.

Stott's appeal against this decision was heard by the Appeal Tribunal at Parliament House, Edinburgh, on June 13. Appellant said that war was the greatest evil that men could suffer. He was registered conditionally as a conscientious objector, the condition being that he undertook work in agriculture, forestry, and drainage, or full-time A.R.P. service.

Stott's views are known throughout Scotland. His consistency and tenacity entitled him to be registered unconditionally as a conscientious objector.

WAR, PEACE and FAIR HEARING

Duke of Bedford Interview

Because of his well-known uncompromising Pacifism, the Duke of Bedford has been accused of being a Fascist. He replies to this charge in clear, precise terms, in an exclusive interview that he has granted to the editor. The Duke discussed the problems of war, peace, and fair hearing; the rights of man; and the future of civilisation. This interview (illustrated) will appear in the August *Word*. Order now.

The June *Word* is out of print. Order your August copy now. Help us maintain our increasing circulation.

Dead Cert.

Scene: Club land. Time: The future.

First club man: "No, old boy, I haven't the gambler's itch; I never take chances."

Second club man: "Sound. But a fellow has to make money, hasn't he, and times aren't what they were, are they? I mean to say, don't you find it jolly hard to play safe all the time?"

1st c.m.: "Not a bit of it, old son! There may be a shortage of everything else, but there's never a shortage of mugs. In fact I'm just starting the soundest show of my life."

2nd c.m.: "Umph . . . ?"

1st c.m.: "A new political party, my lad."

2nd c.m.: "Oh! . . . and what, may I ask, are your politics?"

1st c.m. (puzzled): "Eh?"

2nd c.m.: "Sorry! Must be feeling a bit morning-after and all that, don't you know. I mean what's your slogan? How are you going to sell it?"

1st c.m.: "Ah, you'd be surprised, old boy! This is where my real genius for a sound proposition comes to the fore. The public is getting too damned knowing; can't put 'em off any longer with vague phrases, what? Believe me, I'm coming right out into the open; going to offer them straight out what they really want. You listen to my slogan—Poverty, Suffering, Famine and Death. How's that for punch, sir?"

2nd c.m. (showing the first signs of animation): "By Jove, that's rock-bottom! When I think how the beggars lapped up that war of the forties. . . . Couldn't get 'em to stop, eh? I say, can I come in? As a favour, old man? I must say I've always had a pretty picking or two from politics, but this is terrific. I mean to say . . . what?"

OSWELL BLAKESTON.

We have had many enquiries for *The Secret Lore of India*, by the Rev. W. M. Teake, M.A., B.D. Mr. Teake's publishers are W. Heffer & Sons, Ltd., Cambridge. Orders may be placed through this office. A fuller announcement about this work will be made next month.

NEW ZEALAND C. O.'s

Down to Saturday, February 1, 1941, No. 4 Armed Forces Appeal Board, sitting at Wellington, heard 50 appeals on the ground of conscientious objection. Only one complete exemption was allowed—the appellant was a Quaker. Nine others were granted conditional exemption. The remainder were dismissed, only 4 being allowed non-combatant service.

Twenty objectors based their total objection to warfare on political, Socialistic, or pacifist grounds without relation to religion. Thirty were religious objectors, as follows:—Open Brethren, Seventh Day Adventists, Methodists, Quakers, two Apostolic Church, and one each of the following: Jehovah Witness, Christian Scientist, Exclusive Brother, and Assemblies of God.

The Wellington Board comprised: W. F. Sitwell, Stipendiary Magistrate; P. Coyle, and A. Parlane, with D. Roundhill, Secretary. The Crown Representative, who almost assumed the role of prosecutor was Mr. C. O. Bell.

An unusual appeal by a man who had applied for a position as a rigger in the Air Force came before the Wellington Armed Forces Appeal Board on January 31, 1941.

Rangi Norman Jackson, motor-body builder, said he had applied for a position as a rigger in the Royal New Zealand Air Force; he now appealed on the ground of conscientious objection.

Replying to Mr. C. O. Bell, Jackson said that he was prepared to fight if New Zealand was invaded. This would be self-defence. But he was not prepared to kill, or to assist in killing, if asked to go overseas. He would not go overseas. That would be offence and invasion. His conscience would not permit him to kill under such circumstances.

The appeal was dismissed.

Dismissed also was the appeal of Ronald Parks, labourer. His case was heard just after Jackson's. He refused to defend New Zealand if it was invaded, but was anxious to undertake service on an overseas merchant ship. He would not undertake overseas service as a member of the Armed Forces on the ground of conscientious objection to war. When his appeal was dismissed, Parks said to the Board:—

"You will have to take the responsibility of turning a law-abiding citizen into a lawbreaker."

In his statement, Parks said that he had no sympathy with the present Government, many of whose leaders were devoid of political honour or consistency. He also stated:—

"I do not value my life or property, or the lives or property of any man that I would take human life to maintain same. In this respect I acknowledge my Creator."

"I ask that I be acknowledged as a free man in order that I may take my place in the British mercantile marine as cook or deckhand in any Home boat quitting New Zealand shores."

Replying to Mr. C. O. Bell, Parks said that he was born in New Zealand. He had never been to sea. He had a conscientious objection to serving in any branch of the armed forces.

Mr. Bell: If you served on a ship going overseas it would be armed, and carrying produce to assist the war effort. Have you any objection to that?—No.

If New Zealand was attacked would your assist to defend it?—No.

Why?—On conscientious grounds. I acknowledge my life to be the landmark of God, and the same applies to other men. To take another's life would be breaking the law of God.

Mr. Bell: What law?—"Thou shalt not kill."

Appellant said he had held this belief since he was 18 or 19. He belonged to no religion, but was christened in the Church of England. He had not publicly expressed pacifist views, but to his friends. He did not believe in force in any circumstances.

Mr. Bell: What is your political opinion or belief?—My conviction is that a country stands or falls by its Government, and this one has at its head men without honour.

What is your ground for such a statement?—

I have no sympathy with a Government some of the heads of which denied the British flag in the last war and now one of them, as Minister of National Service, tries to dictate to me what I should do.

Mr. Bell: Is not the fact that you are against organised society the reason for your beliefs?—Yes.

William Moffat Law, baker's labourer, cited hardship to his mother and members of his family as the result of the death of his father in the Great War. He was opposed to war, because he was a member of the New Zealand Socialist Party, which had always been opposed to war. He had been born in Scotland while his father was on active service in 1917, and his father had been killed shortly afterward. His mother had been left to support three small children, and overwork and financial worries had hastened her death. He had come to New Zealand with his two brothers.

Law concluded his statement with the declaration:—

"I will not bear arms against my fellow-workers in any country, nor will I assist in any capacity in any army which is engaged in the slaughter of my fellow-men."

Mr. Bell: You are not a conscientious objector on religious grounds?—No.

If a person attacked you, would you defend yourself?—I would call a policeman.

And if there was none available?—I would do my best to defend myself.

You want to put yourself in the position of being the judge when force is necessary?—Every person is entitled to do that.

We require a police force to keep law and order.—Under the present system.

You had an unfortunate experience through the last war?—I might describe it as a typical one.

Your opinion is political?—It is based on conscience and experience.

A letter was produced from the New Zealand Socialist Party certifying that appellant had been four years associated with it.

Appellant handed in some Socialist Party literature.

The chairman quoted a heading from one pamphlet: "Let capitalists fight their own wars." He asked appellant if he subscribed to that.

Appellant: Yes.

Then the only allegiance you bear to New Zealand in its difficulties is the opportunity of earning a livelihood.

The appeal was dismissed.

Appellant: Is there any right of appeal.

The chairman: No.

On Tuesday, February 4, the Board had three interesting cases before it. Two of them were dismissed: Coffey and Saint.

Albert William Coffey, electrical engineer, stated that he belonged to no organised or recognised religious body. He based his appeal on observation and commonsense. His statement explained:—

"To suggest that I should deliberately go and train, or prepare in any way to kill or maim my fellow-man, even assuming he is at fault, is abhorrent and impossible.

"No war or other violence has ever settled any question. This very appeal board is an admission of the futility of blind force. In the last war objectors were taken forcibly and maltreated to such an extent in some cases that they were physically broken, but even this exercise of force did not defeat their convictions. The whole of our domestic living is arranged to prevent strife and I can see no moral grounds for murder of which, to me, war is no more or less than an organised form when peoples have ceased to reason."

Mr. C. O. Bell: Would you do work on electrical apparatus destined for war purposes?

Appellant: Definitely no.

Appellant said that he was one of two engineers in New Zealand for a British Electrical Company. He knew his employers were one of the biggest contractors in England to the British Government, but he was unaware of any military contracts in New Zealand.

After Coffey had stated that he did not believe in military resistance, and did believe that social progress and freedom could be secured with resource to arms or to violence, the following dialogue occurred:

Bell: You do not object to Nazi rule?

Coffey: I would rather be under British rule; I do not agree with the Nazis.

Kinley H. Black, engineer, said Coffey and he and another man had lived together from March, 1939. They held differing views. Coffey had always held any sort of peace preferable to war, and, though he did not agree with him, he felt him quite sincere. There were three young men in the house and their chief pastime was arguing on political, economic and other subjects.

The chairman, W. F. Stilwell: Most arguments between young men in boarding-houses are academic.

William A. Bloodworth, engineer, Public Works Department, said that the discussions were far from academic. He did not agree with Coffey but could confirm that he held the views expressed to the board.

Herbert Henry Saint, carpenter, said that his widowed mother in England received no pension and was dependent entirely on him. She was a semi-invalid. He came to New Zealand to obtain settled work, so as to help her. Those who were dropping bombs near where his mother lived were misled, like those who set out from near where his mother lived to drop bombs near someone else's widowed mother. The people of all countries engaged in war were simple folk, capable of similar kindnesses to each other individually, but all collectively misled. While war was glorified in history books he could not see much change coming. But he must contribute his personal faith and stand to the change that would come. Mankind would discard war. His appeal was—

"based on the indisputable fact that all wars are man-made and fighting in this one will never stop more mass murder.

"It is only the poor people who really suffer so I am quite right in conscientiously objecting to helping in more destruction of life. The last world war was called the 'war to end war.' Since then there have been 40 more wars. The men then in power promised a better world order which, I am sorry to say, we are still waiting for. This is not a statement of fear but one I would stand by in any country."

The appeal of a Christian pacifist, Trevor George Purves, clerk, Petone, was allowed, subject to appellant doing alternative service, under clause 8 of the regulations, at the direction of the Minister of National Service. Under this clause the Ministry may direct members of the reserve to perform services, other than in the armed services, which they are capable of doing.

Purves said that as a Christian pacifist he objected to war. It would be a denial of Jesus Christ to be part of a machine which, to achieve its purpose, must involve misery, suffering and death to thousands.

For 12 years he had belonged to the Methodist Bible class movement and to the Methodist Church of New Zealand, which had publicly stated that war was contrary to the spirit and purpose of Christ. He was prepared to do alternative service not under military control.

The Rev. H. C. Dixon, Methodist minister, Waiwhetu, said that he knew Purves to be a pacifist and sincere in his views. The witness was not minister of the Petone church which appellant attended. He had met appellant in a group at Petone of which appellant was Bible class leader. Methodists as a body were not actually pacifists. The Church did not declare itself either way, *but it had declared itself opposed to war and would support any person conscientiously opposed to war.* A great many Methodist ministers, but unfortunately not the majority, were pacifists and there was a strong pacifist sentiment in the Church. Witness had been a pacifist for many years.

On Thursday, February 6, the Wellington Board rejected the Appeal of Arthur Edward Smuts Kennedy, because it suspected him of being a member of the Communist Party. Kennedy said that the verdicts of both ethical science and religion were identical in that neither could find the slightest moral justification for the terrible loss of life, maiming, misery and mental degradation caused by war.

Appellant produced a 1934 card of membership of the New Zealand Movement Against War and Fascism.

Mr. C. O. Bell said that this was a Communist Party organisation. It was not genuine because it was allied to the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union believed in war and violence. It persecuted conscientious objectors and murdered political objectors. One of the aims set out on the card was *"to assist in the international defence of the Soviet Union and support its policy."* That is, war, invasion, and political murder. Was the appellant once a member of the Communist Party.

Appellant: Never.

Mr. C. O. Bell: Is it not a rule for members of the Communist Party, under certain circumstances, to deny their membership?

Appellant: No.

Mr. Bell stated that there was strong evidence to the contrary. The Movement against War and Fascism was organised in Great Britain and throughout the Empire and the United States. It was organised from the Kremlin. It was part of a world movement organised by the people who had invaded Finland, murdered their political critics and minorities, and signed the German pact which plunged the world into war. The movement was not a genuine movement either against War or Fascism.

Asked what he was prepared to do so serve his fellows, Kennedy said:—

"I am prepared to offer my body to the hospital authorities for living experiment in any problem of disease."

(To be concluded)

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Hope Street, Liverpool.

Minister—Rev. SIDNEY SPENCER, B.A.
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MEMBERS' LIBRARY: Ann. Sub. 2s. 6d. Book charge, 1d. per volume per week. Library additions include Laurence Housman's "The Preparation of Peace," and Arthur Koestler's "Darkness at Noon."

WOMEN'S LEAGUE: Meets Thursdays. See "Monthly Calendar."

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Liberty! Equality!! Fraternity!!!

THE WORD

To Rouse The People, To Combat Fascism, and To Speed Commonweal.

An Organ of the United Socialist Movement, Edited and Published by Guy A. Aldred, at The Strickland Press. 104 George Street, Glasgow, C.1. All unsigned matter is from the pen of the Editor. Annual Subscription, 3s. 0d.

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WORLD ANTI-WAR CONGRESS

GENEVA, JULY 28th, 1932

Office of British Delegation: 53 GRAY'S INN ROAD, LONDON, W.C.1

Provisional Secretary: R. BRIDGEMAN

Provisional Treasurer: JOHN STRACHEY

We learn from Paris that, acting upon the initiative of Romain Rolland and Henri Barbusse, an international committee is being formed to organise and unite all those men and women, groups and organisations, ready to resist the danger of a new war.

Amongst the members of the committee are: Maxim Gorki, Henri Barbusse, Upton Sinclair, Mrs. Sun Yat Sen, Romain Rolland, Theodore Dreiser, Professor Albert Einstein, Professor Paul Langevin, Heinrich Mann and John Dos Passos.

The committee intends to organise a Congress in Geneva on the 28th July, 1932. From the appeal which the Provisional Committee has issued, we quote the following:—

"The money spent on armaments is gradually reaching a fantastic height in all States; the production of armaments is to-day surpassing all previous records.

The undersigned men and women are determined to do everything to hinder the crime of war and, deeply convinced that no right-thinking man or woman can remain passive in face of this new danger of a gigantic world war, desire to take their place with those who have started to organise and lead the struggle against a new war.

We call upon all men and women without distinction and without regard to their religious or political opinions, and especially all organisations, to unite against war at this critical moment. We ask all men and women of goodwill to support this Congress on the 28th July, 1932, and to join in the demonstration against those criminals who wish to provoke a new war.

Do not let us hear the reproach later that we did not understand in time the danger before us.

Let us organise resistance."

We in Britain desire to associate ourselves with the proposed International Congress in order to rouse the determined resistance of the peoples against war, and we invite all men and women of goodwill in Britain to support the International Congress and to organise resistance to war.

Lascelles Abercrombie.
Richard Aldington.
W. Allen.
Alex. Andreae.
Joan Beauchamp.
Ernest N. Bennett, M.P.
Lord Berners.
Sir Lawrence Binyon.
Rutland Boughton.
J. L. Brierly.
A. Fenner Brockway.
John Brotherton.
W. J. Brown
George Buchanan, M.P.
Jack Bucknall.
Chapman Cohen.
G. D. H. Cole.
Percy Collick.
F. M. Cornford.
Maurice Dobb.
F. Lewis Donaldson.
John Downie.
Gladys Driver.
Olive Driver.
M. E. Durham.
A. Eddington.
Havelock Ellis.
Amabel Williams Ellis.
Clough Williams Ellis.
Geo. Gibson.
Alex. Gossip.
G. P. Gooch.
A. Herbert Gray.
Mrs. Haden Guest.
Norman Haire.
Miss Radclyffe Hall.
H. Lyn Harris.
E. Herdman.
J. F. Horrabin.
Bernard Houghton.
Lawrence Housman.
Zeph. Hutchinson.
J. Jagger.
C. E. M. Joad.
P. Kapitza.
J. M. Kenworthy.
David Kirkwood, M.P.
Rupert Kneale.
Emeline Pethick Lawrence.
F. W. Pethick Lawrence.
H. Levy.
Earl of Listowel.
J. E. Littlewood.
George Lumley.
Compton Mackenzie.
Thomas McKenna.
Tom Mann.
Ethel Mannin.
Kingsley Martin.
James Maxton, M.P.
D. S. Mirsky.
P. Chalmers Mitchell.
Abe Moffat.
John Middleton Murry.
Henry W. Nevinson.
Conrad Noel.
F. Norman.
Joseph Nuttall.
H. S. L. Polak.
H. Pollitt.
A. Pugh.
A. Maude Royden.
A. Russell.
Bertrand Russell.
Sh. Saklatvala.
P. Sargant Florence.
Frederick Soddy.
Joseph Southall.
Evelyn Sharp.
Will Sherwood.
Jack Tanner.
Mabel Tylecote.
Marquess of Tavistock.
Hugh Walpole.
Wilfred Wellock.
Ellen Wilkinson.
John Williams.
James Wilson.
Virginia Woolf.
Leonard Woolf.
Barbara Wootton.
J. J. Worley.
Sir George Young.

June, 1932.

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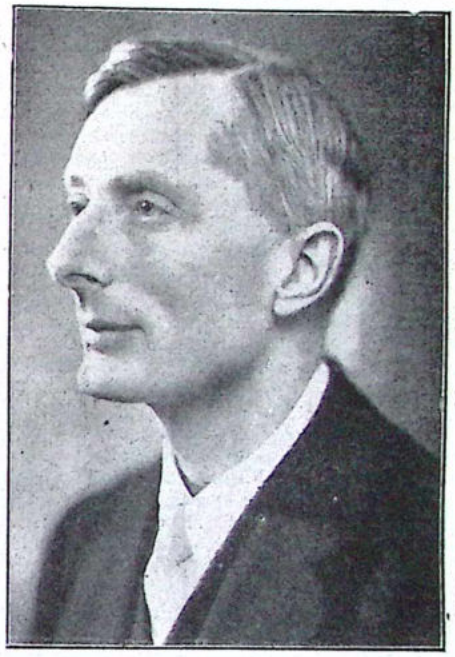
1932 ANTI-WAR MANIFESTO

Above we reproduce a photographic copy, same size, of an Anti-war Manifesto issued in 1932. The reader will see that the Duke of Bedford, then Marquess of Tavistock, name marked by us, is one of the signatories. It will be observed that the other signatories are men and women well-known in the Socialist and Pacifist movements or in the realm of radical literature. None are Fascist. Some have recanted their opposition to war. The Duke of Bedford maintains the position he upheld in 1932, on the ground that war must be opposed not less in war-time than in peace-time.

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD



Exclusive Interview

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD DEFINES HIS POSITION.

Consistently, Uncompromisingly, and Unhesitatingly Opposed to All Hate Campaigns.

SUPPORTS PACIFISM: NOT FASCISM.

Demands Responsible and Drastic Amendments to 18B

UPHOLDS CIVIL LIBERTY IN WAR-TIME.

Has a Low Notion of All Parliamentary Placemen, Irrespective of Label.

When Invited by the Working-Class Movement in Britain, is Prepared to Speak for a United Pacifist-Socialist Opposition to War, in the Country, and in the House of Lords.

"What Will Be—Will Be." This somewhat fatalistic slogan is the motto of several sections of the Russell family, as recorded in the peerage. It is the motto of Betrand, Earl Russell, who is no longer a Pacifist. He has resigned himself to the motto and so accepts the fact of war. During the first Great War, Betrand Russell made a stand for conscience and free Speech. He did not believe in letting "what will be" reflections paralyse his power of protest. The first Earl Russell, born in 1792, was the third son of the then Duke of Bedford. His rebuke to Sir Francis Burdett, quoted in *Why Jesus Wept*, shows that "Finality Jack," as he was nick-named, was not moved by too great a respect for resignation to the fates.

"What Will Be—Will Be," is the motto of Lord Russell of Killowen; of Viscount Ampthill; of Baron de Clifford; and of Sir Alec Charles Russell, Bt. It is the motto of the 12th Duke of Bedford.

Hastings, Duke of Bedford, is B.A. of Balliol College, Oxford. At one time he was a Lieutenant of the Duke of Cambridge's Own (Middlesex Regiment). For over twenty years he has been an ardent Pacifist, because he became convinced that a Christian ought to be a Pacifist. He is not prepared to resign the world to war without a protest, and so does not accept, without challenge or question, the family motto: "What Will Be, Will Be." He thinks that a great deal of what will be, if war continues, ought not to be. He considers the wholesale slaughter that belongs to war is immoral, an offence against God and man.

The Duke of Bedford has been denounced as a Fascist because he opposes war. He deems the charge mildly humorous, because a Fascist is a militarist, and he is a definite Anti-Militarist. As a Pacifist he not only cannot be a Fascist but he is an enemy of Fascism. He is a Pacifist and an enemy of all hate campaigns, no matter in what name they are inaugurated, no matter against whom they are directed. In order that we might make this issue clear, he granted us the exclusive interview which is summarised in this article.

The title, Duke of Bedford, was created in 1694. William, fifth Earl of Bedford, was then made Marquess of Tavistock and Duke of Bedford. The story of his son's execution was related in *The Word* for November, 1940. In that issue we told the story of how the fourth Duke of Bedford, supported by the famous Dr. Watson, Bishop of Llandaff, opposed the French war. On that occasion Dr. Watson added to the speech made by the Duke of Bedford, an excellent one on his own account. We recalled it when considering the views placed before us by the present Duke of Bedford.

Ever ready to turn to good account the opportunities which were offered him, Watson remarked that he was not a republican, and only welcomed the writings of Voltaire, Rosseau, Helvetius, and Diderot, because, by attacking and destroying the lamentable corruptions of Christianity, they were preparing the way for the founding of an higher and truer form of the religion itself. On the other hand, he was amused by those who asserted that our war with Infidel France was both just and necessary, since it showed how great was the presumption of certain miserable mortals, who imagined that the Almighty Creator and Conservator of the Universe needed the arm of flesh to secure the reality of his existence and the honour of his law.

Watson proceeded to warn those who were unwilling to give a seasonable attention to popular requisition, by a relaxation of the reins of despotism, that opinions were not subdued, but confirmed, by persecution; that, if they imagined that war could impede the progress of democratic principles, they were mistaken, since an unsuccessful war only accelerated them, and a successful one did not stop them.

This is very much the attitude adopted by the Duke of Bedford at the present time. Our interview with him was severely practical and the Duke made it clear that he would have preferred to have issued a widespread curt statement of his views, headed "A Personal Statement." We explained that this would not have permitted so many points to be covered as could be done in an interview. It is true that the interviewer makes only a digest of the conversation, but the digest, if properly arranged, can bring home vitally to the reader a clear and snappy understanding of the views held by the interviewed.

"THE 'PRO-FASCIST' DUKE."

The Duke explained his attitude towards hate-campaigns and repudiated the accusation that he is a "pro-Fascist."

"Since the outbreak of war," he declared, "persistent efforts have been made in political circles and in the press, apart from subtly behind the scenes, to represent me as 'pro-Fascist,' or even as a man whose extreme pacifism has betrayed him into being 'pro-Fascist'—rather a curious result, one would have thought, for extreme pacifism to produce. *for Fascism is essentially a militarist philosophy.* I am definitely an Anti-Militarist and am therefore opposed to Fascism.

"Many of my friends and colleagues have been subjected to interference and even persecution on account of their association with the 'pro-Fascist' Duke! A plain statement of my position may be desirable in order to clear the air. Such a statement will make no impression upon those who are so enthused with war that they are not concerned with the justice of the 'pro-Fascist' label. They use it as a slogan of abuse, without regard for sense or truth, as a means of creating prejudice against me for my criticism of, and opposition to, war. As time goes on, the foolish and disastrous consequences of the appeal to arms to settle the disputes of civilisation will become apparent not only to the thinking, but also to the most unthinking of human beings. Not only as a Christian, but also as a man, as a being who ought to be rational, I feel I must stand opposed to the horror and disaster of war. I cannot pay tribute to Mars.

"Apart from the wilful slanderer, there are many who feel that certain principles of liberty and democracy are menaced, and so honestly are puzzled or misled in regard to my opinions. Even after they have read your report of your interview with me, they may find it impossible to endorse my stand for pacifism. But they may, at last, and at least, realise where I stand. That is all I ask.

"I have not accepted, without question, all the denunciations of Fascism published in the newspapers, in Government publications, and in the careerist speeches of interested politicians. I have not done so because I do not believe always publications and because I do not believe always politicians. Long experience in the battle for monetary reform has taught me, I am sorry to say, that the Press is completely unscrupulous and unreliable, and that the great majority of politicians are lacking in intelligence and sometimes, and oftentimes, also in honesty. I am opposed to press and platform campaigns of hate because they are usually at once 'fashionable' and insincere. I am no more in favour of Fascism to-day than I was in favour of Bolshevism, when the entire press was attacking the leaders of Soviet Russia, and I defended the Soviets. I would like this fact to be made known, because it is a complete answer to the accusation that I am a 'pro-Fascist.'"

DEFENDED SOVIET RUSSIA.

The Duke handed over the article that we publish on another page in defence of Soviet Russia. In doing so, he said:—

> "I see from *The Word* that you are rather interested in articles written many years ago. You might perhaps care to have this one of mine which I wrote in 1924, I believe. At that time, the Press and politicians were engaged in running a hate campaign against Soviet Russia, just as they now do it against Fascist Germany. You will notice that the arguments which I then used for sanity and fair play were very like those I have used in my later essays on 'Can we Trust Hitler,' and 'This Concentration Camp' Business."

THE EVILS OF FASCISM.

Returning to the question of Fascism, the Duke said:

> "The objectionable features of Fascism may be summarised as espionage and acts of brutality by police agents; the imposition of vindictive and excessive penalties on those who have incurred the displeasure of the State; imprisonment without fair trial; absence of facilities for the democratic election of a free Parliament and of democratic control of the Government after it has been appointed; and a propensity to militarism. To all these evils of Fascism I am completely opposed."

The Duke pointed out that his Anti-Militarism was definite and well-known and accepted by the Labour and Progressive movement. In support of this statement he produced the leaflet, which we reproduce exactly, by photographic method, in another column. The Duke asked us to consider the signatories to that manifesto. So far as he knew there was not one Fascist signature to it. There were the names of Trades Union leaders, some now very much pro-war; Harry Pollitt, who had withdrawn so many pamphlets and recanted so many statements of policy and fact and called his activity "Marxist realism;" Saklatvala, at one time "Communist" and Labour M.P.; David Kirkwood, Chalmers Mitchell, the distinguished scientist and Anti-Fascist; Chapman Cohen, the Freethinker and Anti-Fascist; and so on. Not one "pro-Fascist" signatory. The Duke at that time was the Marquis of Tavistock and his signature was there. Why, had it been requested? Because he was known to be a pacifist and an Anti-Militarist. This leaflet totally disproved the charge made against him of being "pro-Fascist," which, used as a term of abuse, meant that he was Anti-Labour, Anti-Progressive, and, above all, an enemy of civic liberty and an upholder of militarism.

WORLD ANTI-WAR CONGRESS.

Actually, we had reminded the Duke of the Anti-War Congress. Commenting generally on the Congress, he said:—

> "I had forgotten about the World Anti-War Congress. Looking back, the supporters seem a very mixed collection. A few of those who signed are really fine people, others have since abandoned the pacifist position."

It is interesting to note that the obverse side of this 1932 Congress Manifesto carried the following warning:—

FACTS TO REMEMBER!

World War, 1914-1918.

Killed	**9,743,914**
Wounded	**20,927,914**
Missing	**3,000,000**
Expenditure	**£70,000,000,000**

In 1931 the World was Spending £800,000,000 a Year (£2,000,000 a Day) on Armaments.

The leaflet proceeded to show that out of £1 of the British revenue, 12s. 11d. was spent on war, and only 7s. 1d. on peace, that is, health, education, unemployment, and old age. The leaflet quoted also from *Hansard*, May 30, 1932, Vol. 26b, No. 100, to show what exports permits had been issued by the British Government between February and May, for *war material intended for Japan*, to assist in the campaign of invasion against China.

The Duke defined his attitude towards the denunciations of Hitler; the failure to consider the evils of Versailles, reparations, and indemnities; the post-Armistice starvation blockade which caused such terrible suffering to Austrian women and children; the army of occupation; conditions of ruthlessness out of which Hitler and Nazism arose. He was prepared to consider all this as an explanation of Nazism before committing himself to a further campaign of hate that would but add violence to violence and so aggravate the evil.

The Duke of Bedford has dealt very thoroughly with this matter elsewhere and his plea for sane approach need not be dwelt on at great length in the present report. There is so much ground to cover; for the Duke's statement was exhaustive. One very clear point he made. The evils of Fascism, to which many politicians had paid no attention until to do so sowed the hatred propaganda which belongs to war, are domestic and have no necessary relation to the evils of war, which are the same whether those who fight are Fascists or Democrats, Capitalists or Socialists. *War is a positive evil in itself,*

however generated. Bombed cities belong to war, not to Fascism exclusively. Concentration camps and the destruction of civil liberties belong to Fascism.

"Let us grant Fascism the full reserve of these evils, and do not let us introduce them here," commented the Duke. "Yet this is exactly what has been done. War has reduced Democracy almost to the barbarism of Fascism." The Duke added that he took his stand unashamedly and definitely by the right of full civil and religious liberty, which included the right of conscience, and the right of political liberty, even in war-time.

"Hitler's persecution of religious leaders I understand, but I unreservedly condemn it," said the Duke. "The mistaken idea that religion should have nothing to do with politics, except to uphold the State, exists throughout the world. It is extremely common in Britain. I condemn it as thoroughly wrong. Religion ought to have a great deal to do with politics, and that by way of protest and example. Conscience is not the slave of the State but the great definer of individual right in society; and conscience cannot respect nor mark time at nominal Christianity."

CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS.

This caused the Duke to discuss the question of conscientious objectors. He said:—

"We had a party of C.O.'s over to tea, who are working with a local Forestry unit; quite nice young fellows. Some of them came from Glasgow and knew about you or had seen you. One was a keen member of the I.L.P. and a great admirer of Maxton."

CREECH JONES.

We mentioned Creech Jones, and instanced the splendid stand he took as an absolutist during the last war. We commented on his desire to serve C.O.'s to-day and on his excellent and critical speeches on Colonial questions. But we added that Creech Jones felt that the war was one for justice and that he must support it.

The Duke replied to this statement by saying: "I quite appreciate your defence of Creech Jones since you feel that he was a splendid objector and a loyal comrade during the last war. I quite understand you commending his loyalties to-day and his memory of his past. But if he supports war, and becomes identified with the injustice of war, and cannot recover his stand against the barbarism of war, he must face the censure that one day will fall on all who participate in war. Politicians who urge war are really non-combatants who sacrifice the common people. He cannot escape that censure if he supports unreservedly the war measures entailed by the present conflict."

ALLEGED ASSOCIATION WITH FASCISM.

The Duke denied that he had associated with Fascism in Britain or had sympathies with its propaganda. He said: "If I have ever seemed to my critics to have 'associated' with any form of Fascism in Britain, I can assure them that it was not because I am a Fascist or have approved of the defects of Fascism, but because I desired to inform myself about it. When examined, what has been termed my 'association with Fascism' has been association with people who, after temporary membership of the British Union of Fascists, had left it. To regard this as 'association with Fascism' is just plain silly nonsense, for persons who have left a movement usually have less sympathy with it than those who have never belonged to it; because they know about it, and although they know about it, they have found it wanting."

18B PRISONERS.

This brought the Duke to discuss the case of 18B prisoners. Some of his friends and many ex-members of the British Union had been imprisoned under 18B Regulations. Although so much fuss was made about these regulations in the House of Commons, and although they were withdrawn and altered, the alterations, in practice, made no difference.

"I have always strongly maintained that justice should be done to political prisoners. In the past, Anarchists have been prosecuted in all countries in the world, including the United States. There is the famous case of the Chicago Martyrs. At other times Socialists and Communists have been persecuted. I am opposed to such persecutions. And I am opposed also, even when the victims are ex-members of the British Union, or even members. I hold that neither members of the Left, nor yet members of the Right, ought to be persecuted.

"There can be no good reason, not even in war-time, why persons arrested should not receive a fair trial, at which those who have informed against them have to appear for cross-examination."

The Duke complained that argument against trial, and for Government by decree and prescription, was plausible, but dangerous. He gave the example of the development of the proscription during the struggle and the wars of French Revolution. This proscription, as historians have related, rose naturally out of war conditions. The important and interesting references to this historic analogy will be illustrated and detailed fully in our next issue.

JUSTICE FOR ALL.

Turning to actual Fascists or members of the British Union who are interned under 18B, the Duke said: "In so far as they are victims of injustice, I am out to demand that they receive fair treatment. I would make the same demand for Socialists, Communists, and Anarchists, if they were in a like position. I would even demand it for our ordinary Liberals and Conservatives. Of what value is a sense of justice if it is displayed only towards friends, and only in peace, and not also in war?

SIR OSWALD MOSLEY.

"Sir Oswald Mosley is a militarist and an Imperialist who puts the interests of the British Empire first and those of the rest of the world second. I am a pacifist and I put the interests of the world first and those of the British Empire second because I believe that national selfishness is as fatal to the general welfare of humanity as individual selfishness. His policy is different, therefore, from my own on exceedingly important isues. To my mind that, however, is no reason why he and his followers should not be allowed a fair trial on *defined* charges, nor why they or any other people should be imprisoned as suspects on vague or false charges. In his speeches and writings, Sir Oswald Mosley has directed his followers to defend their country loyally against a foreign invasion. Naturally, if he wished to co-operate with Hitler in promoting an invasion, he would not announce this fact publicly. Neither would he advocate repeatedly armed resistance. Fairness and commonsense compel me to add that it is monstrous that, without proof, a man should be interned as a traitorous suspect, merely because some Minister of State pleases to think that way. I have no use for militarism, whether the militarism of Sir Oswald Mosley, or that of the Government, but I have a deep and genuine respect for justice, and the principles of civil and religious liberty. I do not see how Government can continue unless it respects those principles."

We pointed out to the Duke that the Fascist Movement had opposed the working-class and had organised strike-breaking. He said he was prepared to consider this indictment from the standpoint of the workers and that, in any case, he did not agree with the tone of Fascist propaganda. Strike-breaking was not confined to the Fascists and some members of the present Government, and certainly many members of the present House of Commons had been in favour of Emergency Powers and strike-breaking in 1926. The Duke made a later reference to this subject.

At this stage, the Duke handed to me letters he had received from relatives and friends of victims of 18B all over the country since he became Duke of Bedford. We deal with these letters and complaints in a separate article. The Duke explained why he had done nothing in the way of taking his seat in the House of Lords.

AGAINST "THE UPPER TEN."

"Since I began to reflect on the problem of poverty, I have grown more and more apart from the so-called 'Upper Ten.' I have found more happiness since I broke with them than I knew before. My faith is in democracy and the common people. I did not see how I could reach the common people or make their will known by speeches at the present time in the House of Lords. If ever I can serve peace and justice, conscience in society, and the cause of civil and religious liberty, by taking my seat in the House of Lords, I will do so.

The Duke emphasised his opposition to "high society."

"*For the last 25 years,*" he repeated, "*I have been happier not in the company of the 'upper ten.'*"

LOW NOTION OF PARLIAMENTARY PLACE-MEN

"I have developed a really low notion of parliamentary place-men. I see ex-conscientious objectors speaking of public security and upholding the imprisonment, without trial, of ex-Servicemen, men who are yet suffering from the wounds received in the last war, when they were told they were heroes, and conscientious objectors were threatened with political disfranchisement. What has become of the interested, worked-up political rage against objectors of that time? I was against that rage and hatred. I am even more against the cant that dictated it and then withdrew it and now assaults ex-Servicemen to whom that rage pandered. I believe in the need for honesty and sincerity in public life. I do not believe that the conditions of war are the best conditions for developing that integrity in public men so essential to true social progress and human happiness."

McGOVERN AND OTHERS.

The Duke referred to the Socialists, and to one or two Conservative and Liberal members, who had raised the 18B question in the House of Commons. He commented on the excellent stand made by John McGovern, James Maxton, and Campbell Stephen. He commended the speeches of Rhys Davies. But he complained that they received little notice in the ordinary press. Without press reports, parliamentary speeches were futile, for they never reached the common people. Press censorship and boycott made Parliament useless as a sounding-board. It ought not to be so but it was. Nevertheless, if those who stood for Socialism and Pacifism in the House of Commons, and the section of the working-class movement they represented, desired it, he would take his stand as their spokesman in the House of Lords.

The Duke was somewhat diffident in this matter. He did not wish to impose himself on the people as a leader, but he was willing to lead, if no one else would do so, and if a considered working-class and pacifist opinion, felt that he ought to be the voice of that opinion in the House of Lords. If he could serve the cause of public usefulness, in that capacity, he would do so. He was willing, in fact, to stand completely alone for pacifism, if it would help the cause of peace and liberty, but he did not feel that he could do so usefully at the moment. He would prefer to be part of the great movement of democracy. In the end that movement must turn against both militarism and Fascism and outlaw the terrible appeal to war. He had faith that pacifism could conquer Fascism. He also believed that there must be established, in the interest of every section of the people, even of the soldiers and the war-workers themslves, a united Socialist and Pacifist Opposition to a "War unto Victory" Government in both Houses of Parliament. Either such an opposition must find expression in Parliament or else it would find expression in the country only. The Duke felt that the Government must decide this point soon. In time the people would. The

extension of the suffrage, the right of working men and women to sit in Parliament, the payment of members, all this progress of parliamentary democracy had done nothing to rid the country of the parliamentary place-men. It was as though democratic parliamentarianism had broadened the basis of militarism and corruption.

THE LABOUR PRESS.

The Duke thought that much could be done if the Labour and Socialist press took a vital stand. If it was felt that the stand for pacifism was worth while, and that a United Opposition of critical analysis and peace ought to function in both Lords and Commons, the few papers that expressed that view could say so, and so organise the movement in the country. The *Peace News*, the *New Leader*, and maybe Emrys Hughes in the *Forward*—his stand against war and for peace and his Court-Martials for war resistance in the War of 1914-1918 were well known—could make known his views and desire for coalition in this great struggle for the peace and citizenship of the world. The fact that the Duke had given this interview to *The Word* ought not to militate against a common alliance and approach.

THE RELIGIOUS PRESS.

The Duke said that he was a Christian, or, at least, endeavoured to be one. He felt that the fact that he had granted the interview to one who called himself an Atheist ought not to prove an obstacle to genuine Christian support. The ordinary press did not represent true journalism and evinced no desire to report a man who declined to denounce a strike of the workers, or in time of war, denounced campaigns of hate.

The Duke felt that the religious press could and ought to do something for the cause of permanent world peace. Apart from the Society of Friends, whose record was known to all, there were the Baptists and the Congregationalists. Both had records of steadfast standings for conscience and the rights of civil and religious liberty. If this press would grant some expression to his views, if the Churches would take their stand, at least principles of peace and social justice could be defined. War was not an inspiration in itself. The ideal of civil and religious and social justice was.

We promised to assist the Duke by seeing that this interview reached the leaders of the Pacifist and Socialist movements. We undertook that it should be placed in the hands of the Council Members of the Churches, especially the Baptist and the Congregationalists.

A CHURCHILL OPPOSITION.

The Duke was emphatic that there could be no useful public life until there developed a Churchill opposition.

"I am surprised," exclaimed the Duke, "at the working-class leaders rallying round Mr. Churchill. Like Hitler, he is one of the types that war brings to the front. Churchill was made by the Boer War. He attained eminence during the war of 1914-1918. He retired to obscurity, relieved only by a brief limelight performance to return our currency to the gold standard. Above all, he played his part in the 1926 attack upon the British workers. And now, another war has earned him forgiveness for 1926 and all its sufferings, and he is the idol of the Conservative and Labour Parties. Democracy requires a Churchill Opposition, an Opposition to the 'Victory only' slogan Government. I am prepared to oppose this Government with a demand for justice for Labour and the world, an enduring social peace of principle for Europe and for all mankind."

The Duke discussed the dangers of an unbalanced, unopposed Government. Considered opposition was essential to all sane progress and well-being. It was more imperative in war-time than in peace-time, and that in a thousand and one ways, connected even with the conditions of the war effort, apart from the imperative issues of peace and social development during and after the war. He added: "I am quite prepared to lead opposition to another Versailles; but to be a leader one must have followers."

TOTAL DISARMAMENT.

After discussing the results of Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union, the Duke replied: "Hitler's attack does not alter the fact that the German people are no different from any other people in that most of them are opposed to war and wish to live peaceably with their neighbours. It is very important that the working people of Britain should not allow their Imperialists and non-combatant politicians to stampede them into the idea that all Germans are a peculiarly evil race, differing from all other races or large sections of humanity, needing special treatment, and unresponsive to all suggestions of peace and social justice. The common people everywhere are the same. They are opposed to war, but trapped. The Germans, like all other people, by this time have learned the bitter lessons taught by the destructive power of modern warfare. Whatever its result, the slaughter on the Eastern Front is bound to be so great, that it will leave both the Russian and German peoples heartily sick of war. It will only need an enlightened leader to arise somewhere in the world to suggest total disarmament as one of the conditions of an all-round peace settlement. I think, therefore, that people's minds should be directed to the opportunity for securing support for total disarmament throughout the world which this extension of the war should provide."

. . . . . .

In concluding this statement of the Duke of Bedford's position, it may be fitting that we should define our own position. We believe that the Socialist and Pacifist movement should conclude an alliance to end war and should invite the Duke of Bedford to be the national voice of such an alliance. We would have him the leader of the opposition to the present Government, and so the next Prime Minister.

The Duke is unspoiled by the education he has received, and so endeavours always to get at the truth of things without quibbling. Unlike so many of our public men, he is no hypocrite. His words, and his manner of expression, define a belief in character as distinct from its counterfeit, reputation. He is an indefatigable propagandist and possesses a patient singleness of purpose. This enables him to dispense with his ancestors as with the applause of his contemporaries, and so to address himself straight to the reason or logic of the question without distraction of fear or interest. He has dignity without solemnity. He is a democrat and is handicapped by his own democracy of approach, for he has a sense of retirement, and a modesty that does not belong to the mad world of politics. He believes in Truth and he knows that Truth is unancestried, unprivileged, and alas, as yet, practically unknown.

We would prefer that the Duke of Bedford had been born in the gutter, but we do not hold it against him that he was born in another place. Some have ascended from the gutter to the Lords. He would return to the common people. A law of opposites that distinguishes a revolutionary era from a parliamentary careerist one.

We do not ask too much of any one. We accept the Duke of Bedford as a man, a comrade, and a colleague, so long as his strength permits him to travel the road of anti-militarist heresy in time of war and social crisis. He is prepared not merely to address himself to the common people in the market place if required, but to court martyrdom, if by so doing he can ease the agony now being endured by the workers of the world in this terrible conflict of capitalism. No one can do more than bear such witness.

In his stand against war, militarism, and social confusion, we pledge the Duke of Bedford our loyal support. We believe the end will mean a complete liquidation of his aristocratic rank in the movement of the common people of the world towards a new order of Socialism and peace; a true order of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity.

BLAKER, M.P.!

A STUDY IN TORY MENTALITY!

Sir Reginald Blaker, Bt., M.P., is the Tory member for the Spelthorne division of Middlesex. He is a Barrister-at-Law, so cannot plead illiteracy as an excuse for ignorance.

Sir Reginald was born in 1900 and succeeded to the baronetcy in 1926, the year of the so-called General Strike. We wonder what his attitude was towards the working-class at that time. His father was Mayor of Brighton and received the O.B.E. He was made a baronet in 1919, possibly a war honour. We must enquire.

Blaker's speech to the Annual Meeting of the local Conservative Association was reported in *The Surrey Comet* for June 21. Here is an extract:—

"I am not one of those who believe that when this war terminates it would be our duty to forgive and forget. For me no Versailles. I believe that our war is not against Adolf, that grotesque figure, but against the whole German people, even women and children, and I believe that we shall never have peace in Europe until we have ground them down with a severity which will be 100 per cent. more brutal than the severity they have meted out to the nations they have conquered. If you don't like that you can turn me out. For me no truck, no forgiveness, but a bitter hatred against the whole German people."

"These words," added the *Comet*, "were greeted with enthusiastic applause from the audience."

Neither Blaker nor his admirers seem to have heard of the great Tory lawyer, the late Lord Parmoor; or the "Fight The Famine Council," of which Parmoor became chairman. Obviously, they know nothing about the Versailles Treaty and still less about the principles of humanity to which every person in the world is answerable finally.

RICHARD CARLILE

The following comment on the 1923 edition appeared in the "Workers' Monthly," Guildford, the local organ of the Labour Party, for September-October, 1927:—

"A man is not honest who is not bold enough to be honest, and active enough not to neglect that which he ought to do. Everything in human action may be resolved into right or wrong, and even to **neglect to do right is to do wrong."**

These are words written by Richard Carlile, who during the 19th century played his part in the struggle for the freedom of the individual. Those who are prepared to have their complacency shaken, who admire those who, regardless of cost, are prepared to strive for that which is to them right, will find "Richard Carlile—Agitator," by Guy Aldred, a stimulating book.

They may not agree with all that Carlile wrote or with Aldred's comments thereon, but they cannot fail to benefit by reading the thought-challenging statements and actions of Carlile. The sentences quoted above deserve to be written in letters of gold in every public meeting place and private abode, though we cannot imagine any harder precept to the really thoughtful person.

Chapman Cohen's friendly comments on the 3rd edition, published in *The Freethinker*, will be reproduced later.

EDITOR TO READER

Last month our deficit stood at £1,836 14s. This means that since November, 1940, comrades have contributed less than £150 towards the special appeal we issued then for £1,971 11s. 3d. Every month this paper faces a loss and we are engaged also in pamphlet propaganda. This journal is *not* subsidised and personally we are now without funds. During July we have received only £11 3s. 3d. towards the deficit. This leaves the amount required: £1,825 10s. 9d. If *every* reader makes a *real* effort this deficit can be overcome within a month. If the effort is not made we must stop publishing. This is too great a disaster to contemplate at the present stage of the struggle for social freedom. The workers have to conquer bread, peace and freedom. *The Word* is the voice of their struggle.

THE SCOTTISH SECRETARIAT

THOMAS JOHNSTON'S EVOLUTION

(*Continued from page* 137)

At the trial for swindling of the founder of the Anti-German League in London (13/5/16), it transpired that Mr. Horatio Bottomley, the editor of *John Bull*, had received 50 guineas for a patriotic anti-German speech. The vice-chairman of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Pension Committee (Mr. Cyril Jackson) walked off smiling with an annual salary of £1,750.—(*Glasgow News*, 1/3/16.)

In their spare time they added insult to injury; they preached economy and thrift to the working classes. Mr. Mason, Tory M.P., in the House of Commons (27/6/16) declared that the working classes "are probably eating far more than is good for them." The Lambeth Poor Law Guardians cut off the Christmas egg hitherto supplied to poorhouse children, in order to give them "an opportunity of appreciating the position of national affairs." The Lord Mayor of London initiated a great Food Economy campaign with a banquet (November, 1915) where the cost for food and drink was £850—the champagne cost 12s. per bottle, and the turtle soup 2s. 6d. per plate. In February, 1916, Sir George Paish and Mr. C. J. Stewart did not hesitate to take a special train from Edinburgh to Dundee, to attend an "economy" meeting.

Thus has Capitalism, naked, undisguised, and unashamed, ruled and ravaged us during three years of the great war. May the humiliating experience bring a million recruits to the Socialist Army.

Thus ended the pamphlet. At the end, set out boldly, followed by the imprint, was an advertisement of *Forward*. This read as follows:—

Most of the facts given in this Pamphlet have been already published in "The Forward."

No Democrat in Scotland can afford to be without "THE FORWARD."

ALL NEWSAGENTS IN SCOTLAND EVERY FRIDAY. ONE PENNY.

EDITORIAL AND PUBLISHING OFFICES: 164 HOWARD STREET, GLASGOW.

Printed by the Socialist Labour Press, 50 Senfrew Street, Glasgow.

The facts collected by Johnston were valuable. His pamphlet was a grave indictment of *The Huns at Home*. The facts stand. When he wrote it, he did not expect to be, twenty years later, a member of a War Cabinet.

V.—"ENLIGHTENING THE HOODWINKED."

In *Forward* for September 26, 1914, the main article, on the front page, taking precedence over Thomas Johnston's famous war points that had occupied the front page formerly, was headed as follows:

THE UNDERWORLD OF EUROPEAN DIPLOMACY.

THE REVELATIONS OF DR. GRAVES, THE GERMAN SPY.

By The Editor.

"The Editor" means Thomas Johnston. It was explained that this was a review of a book by Dr. Armgaard Graves, published by McBride, Nash & Co., of New York, at$1.50. The book was entitled *The Secrets of the German War Office*.

Johnstone commences his review:

"Everyone in Scotland will remember the sensation caused by the arrest in the year 1912, at the Central Station Hotel, Glasgow, of a man called Dr. Armgaard Graves."

This man was sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment. His later mysterious release was the subject of a question in the House of Commons by Joseph King, M.P., who made himself famous by his questioning during the first Great War. McKinnon Wood, who was then Secretary of State for Scotland, and never imagined that Johnston would be one of his successors, compelled King to silence by taking refuge behind the Royal Prerogative (11/6/13).

Johnston states that this book was in the hands of the American publishers on June 1, 1914, and "*forecasts the war.*" Johnston continues:

"and gives us some of the missing links in our chain of indictments against Sir Edward Grey and Mr. Winston Churchill as large shareholders in the cause of the current massacres of the working folk of Europe."

One must confess that Johnston cannot be said to have earned promotion by his flair for elegant writing. Perhaps he owes his success to his capacity for political forgetfulness.

Johnston is writing at a time when the alleged violation of Belgium was the pivot of British war propaganda. Johnston extracts from Grave's book evidence that France, Britain, and Russia were preparing war against Germany years before the war actually took place. It does not matter whether Johnston's allegation was correct. It does matter that, to this propaganda he owed his later status in the Labour movement in Scotland, and therefore, his present position in the War Cabinet. Aware of these machinations the Germans convened a secret conference in Germany. This was attended by Churchill and Haldane. It was proposed that Belgium and Holland should become part of a German Federation, and that Britain should control French North Africa and the Dutch East Indies.

Johnston concluded his article as follows:

"I for one, to begin with, hereby declare that I know of no mark in the bodies of Sir Edward Grey, W. C. Goschen, De Bunsen, or any of their understudies or satellites, which entitled them to gamble with the liberties and lives of me or mine."

We do not like this style of writing. It is melodramatic and insincere, the writing of a pretender. But it reads definitely. The declaration still applies for every man and woman who reads it, even though Thomas Johnston dare not make it any more, since he has become one of the satellites.

This article proved so popular among the stupid parliamentary Socialists of the nicknamed "Red Clyde," that it was issued in leaflet form at 1s. 5d. for 100 copies. It was advertised in the columns of *Forward* from October 10, 1914, to February, 1915, under the heading "*Enlighten the Hoodwinked*"

On March 20, 1915, this advertisement gives way to one of his pamphlets, *Secret Diplomacy, Capitalism, and War*. This was announced as ready at the week-end. Obviously, this pamphlet was inspired by the success of Johnston's "Hoodwinking" leaflet.

VI.—"SECRET DIPLOMACY, CAPITALISM, AND WAR."

"*Secret Diplomacy, Capitalism, and War*" by Thomas Johnston, Editor of *Forward*, was published at One Penny by the "Forward Printing and Publishing Coy., Ltd.," 164 Howard Street, Glasgow, in 1915. The pamphlet does not carry the date. It was an excellent propaganda pamphlet, consisting of between 5,000 and 6,000 words. It abounds in quotations. Unfortunately it served to advance the fortunes of its author rather than the emancipation of the working class.

Johnston prefixes five quotations to his pamphlet, one from a speech made by John Bright, at Glasgow, December 1858; another from a speech made by Lord Rosebery, at Glasgow, January 13, 1913; another from *The Times*, November 23, 1912; another from Morley's *Life of Cobden*; and the last from the Report to the Balkan Commission of Enquiry, by Baron D'Estournelles de Constant, Senator of France.

John Bright described how our "armies were perishing in every clime, and the precious blood of our country's children" was "squandered as though it had no price" for "some miserable intrigue" to be found hidden "in the innermost recesses of" the Foreign Office, while we "are recommended not to enquire" into Foreign Policy, because we are too common to understand it.

Lord Rosebery denounced the "vast and unknown liabilities" of Foreign Affairs, upon which "armaments must depend."

The Times wrote well. We reproduce the full quotation:

"Who, then, makes war? The answer is to be found in the Chancelleries of Europe, among the men who have too long played with human lives as pawns in a game of chess, who have become so enmeshed in formulas and the jargon of Diplomacy, that they have ceased to be conscious of the poignant realities with which they trifle. And thus war will continue to be made until the great masses, who are the sport of professional schemers and dreamers, say the word which shall bring, not eternal peace, for that is impossible, but a determination that wars shall be fought only in a just, and righteous, and vital cause."

Morley's *Life of Cobden* makes "a frank exposure of the Anti-Democratic and Cabalistic nature of the way in which British Foreign Affairs are conducted," comments Johnston. He quotes Lord Palmerston's words to Cobden:

"You and your friends complain of a Secret Diplomacy, and that wars are entered into without consulting the people. Now, it is in the Cabinet alone that questions of Foreign policy are settled. We never consult Parliament until after they are settled."

Baron D'Estournelles declares that, according to the War Trade, "the main duty of Diplomacy"

"is the struggle as to who shall carry off from a great rival nation, such and such a contract for guns, cannon, or ironclads, and who shall subordinate political interventions, or loans of money to army contracts."

Johnston then opens his pamphlet. He writes boldly and no one would imagine that the writer was destined twenty-six years later to be a Secretary for State in a War Ministry. He says:

There are those who believe that Secret Diplomacy is one among the prime causes of the present European carnage. . . . There are people who believe that had the foreign affairs of all European countries been conducted openly, and had they been guided and controlled by public opinion, peace would still have reigned in Europe. I believe this to be true. Had the people of Germany and Britain and France and Russia known all—all, mark you!—that was going on in the Chancelleries: had they known that their lives, their liberties, their social aspirations were being gambled with: had they known that treaties with secret clauses were being signed: that rival groups of financiers and concessionaires were quarrelling continually over the spoil of undeveloped lands, and that time and time again the powder magazines were almost exploded and Hell let loose, Europe to-day would not have rocked as with an earthquake, nor would the lurid flames of a million burning homesteads have licked upwards to the heavens, nor death and disease and sorrow have come so unexpectedly and so unbidden into the lives of common men.

Look at Europe to-day! Torn with shell and explosive mine, men, women, aye, and children, dying of wounds and starvation, ships and sailormen blown to atoms without a moment's warning, workshops and machinery wantonly destroyed, stored art treasures burned, Gothic piles become rubbish heaps, human liberty crushed back in some respects to pre-Magna Charta times, frenzied priests spitting upon the teachings of the founder of their Church, the Press (in shackles) vomiting little but hate and mendacity, and the picked strong men whom the working class mothers bore in travail, go off in the prime of life to die!

And how, pray, have these evils and these terrors come? Had some supernatural power, some great dynamic force brought this red ruin to Europe, as those who declare the war to have been "inevitable" would have us believe?

Look over Europe! Twenty nations, half-a-dozen big Powers armed on a colossal scale—armies, navies, armament factories in full blast, borrowing and lending of money for gain, merchants ever on the prowl for trade, financiers looking for cent. per cent.! Profits, profits upon profits, invested abroad wherever there be profusion in minerals or cheap raw material in cotton or labour; the agents of one set of investors running into conflict with the agents of another set of investors; and then "delicate situations," "diplomatic pressure," threats, bluff, movements of gunboats, and, occasionally, war. I do not say that all wars have been or are directly due to the clash of rival financial interests. There have been wars in the past, theological wars and dynastic wars, over Dogmas and Kings, but the day is long gone when nations of men will murder one another for the Love of God or for Bonnie Prince Charlie; nowadays they will organise murder for nothing less than fair interest upon investment and more opportunities for extending that investment, and even so the preliminary stages in the quarrel and its rather squalid and sordid aims must be carefully disguised; we must first be taught that the enemy is a scoundrel bent upon doing us an ill-turn, and that our rulers have exhausted themselves in efforts to avoid strife. Then the flag is waved: the Bible is produced: the band plays. We are off to the war!

SECRET DIPLOMACY IN THE PAST.

Secret Diplomacy, of course, is Secret Diplomacy. The tricks of the trade are hidden from the Uninitiated, but occasionally in historical literature we get a fleeting glimpse of real diplomats at work. Let us take, for example, the description given by Lord Macaulay, the historian, of the Congress of Ryswick, held in 1697, to settle the war between France, on the one side, and Holland, Britain, Germany, Spain, and the remaining members of the League, known as the Grand Alliance, on the other. The war in question had begun in 1688.

Johnston retells the story of "week after week of pompous foolery," quoted and summarised from Macauley. The reader can consult the historian direct or obtain Johnston's pamphlet for himself. Johnston turns to "*Modern Diplomats,*" and says under that sub-heading:

But the real Kings are the great Financiers and Capitalists, and the gentlemen who conduct the delicate financial and concessionary operations for our great Banks or Brokers at foreign headquarters receive salaries which range to £11,500 per annum. We pay the salaries: but we do not select the Ambassadors or the Consuls. The Secretary for Foreign Affairs nominates them; Parliament knows nothing of them or their qualifications. It is public knowledge, of course, that they are always selected from the ruling caste in society, and the recent report of the Royal Commission on the Civil Service (Cd. 7748, 1914) recommends no alteration in that respect, the "Glasgow Herald's" thankful comment being that the Diplomatic Service will rightly remain "the domain of the sons of families of position."

It is only fair to state that Eden has announced in the House of Commons that, henceforth, the posts of Ambassadors and Consuls shall be open to all. We do not believe that this concession alters materially Johnston's main argument. He explains how the modern diplomat engineers war:

"If you will turn to Morley's "Life of Gladstone" (Vol. II. pp. 330-335), you will find the story of how the Franco-Prussian War was diplomatically engineered. Bismarck gets a telegram from the Emperor of Germany—the famous Ems telegram—replying in a pacific manner to certain representations from France. He (Bismarck), is dining at the time with Generals Moltke and Roon, and their dejection is great when they hear read the contents of the telegram. But Bismarck "doctors" the telegram, striking out the pacifist sections: he communicates the abortion to the Press and to the German Embassies: it is to be 'a red rag upon the Gallic bull;' and then, says Bismarck, Roon and Moltke 'recovered their pleasure in eating and drinking, and spoke in a more cheerful vein. Roon said: 'Our God of old lives still, and will not let us perish in disgrace.'

"In Paris, on the other hand, declares Lord Morley: 'A vital document was suppressed, and its purport misrepresented. Thus in point of scruple, the two parties to the transaction were not ill-matched."

But, as a result of their joint endeavours, thousands upon thousands of peaceful working men were imposed upon, and marched off beneath patriotic flags and to martial music, to disease, mutilation, and death!

THE CASE OF EGYPT.

"Turn with me to Egypt in the early seventies of last century. Mr. Brailsford in his "War of Steel and Gold," tells us how the European irrigation contractors overcharged the Khedive's Treasury anything from 80 to 400 per cent. For floating loans to meet his expenses, the Khedive had to pay as much as 25 per cent. in interest. Of the National Debt of 68 millions, Egypt only received 44 millions, and while the nominal interest was 7 per cent., it in reality was 12 or 13 per cent. Of a loan of 32 millions raised in 1873, only 20 millions reached the Exchequer. Finally, the Rothschilds, who were behind the bandholders, foreclosed, a proceeding that Diplomacy obligingly described as Protectorate for the good of Egypt. In 1877, a year of famine, taxes were actually collected in advance from the peasants, to pay the interest on the Rothschild bonds. Sir Lucas Malet, British Ambassador, set out to organise, or at any rate to hasten, "some complication of an acute nature" that would rivet our "protection" more firmly upon the poor Egyptians, and Gladstone's Government proceeded to crush the Nationalist patriot Arabi, who is now known to have been an "honest, popular and tolerant" man, but who was then diplomatically painted as a cross between a mad Dervish and a negro cannibal; our Fleet bombarded Alexandria; we "temporarily" occupied Egypt, and Cecil Rhodes offered to subscribe funds to the Liberal Party on condition that there should be no further nonsense about evacuation. Lord Rosebery, a Liberal Premier, married a Rothschild, and we are—or rather our financiers are—bleeding Egypt still, French Finance, with all its Marchand-Fashoda complications, being bought off the field as a result of the Entente Cordiale."

In a footnote to this reference, Johnston writes:

"How delicately Diplomacy can gloss this Rothschild-Rosebery-Rhodes decision to settle permanently for spoil in Egypt, may be seen in the recently issued historical narrative by Lord Cromer (himself a Financial Diplomatist), entitled Abbas II. Thus:—

"Lord Rosebery had deserved well of his country and of Egypt. . . . He had scattered to the winds the idea that a speedy evacuation, regardless of the consequences was contemplated. He had let all concerned know that a great nation cannot lightly throw off responsibilities which it has solemnly assumed in the face of the world."

The main narrative continues:

This Entente Cordiale, of which our Capitalist Press is so proud, has a little history of its own. It dates from April, 1904, when the Anglo-French Agreement regarding Morocco was signed and published to the world. France was to recognise British predominancy in Egypt and Britain was to recognise French predominancy in Morocco. Germany growled through her Diplomacy because she had not been consulted, and because a German firm, the Mannesmann Brothers, had obtained an exclusive concession to work all the mines in Morocco from a Sultan, to whom it had lent money to suppress a rebellion. But on the face of the Treaty, there was nothing very objectionable to Germany, since all trading rights were to be respected by the French, and the Mannesmann ores would still go from Morocco to the Krupps' works at Essen. Yet, seven years later (see London "Daily News," 27th November, 1911), it was suddenly disclosed by a Parisian Journal, "Le Temps," that there were secret and hitherto unpublished causes in the Anglo-French Agreement. In articles 1, 2, and 3 of the secret Treaty, France and Britain bound themselves, if "force of circumstances" compelled either Government to change its policy with regard to its new protectorate, to support one another; i.e., to get its working class to fight if necessary, and Morocco was definitely partitioned between France and Spain. (See Dr. Holland Rose's "The Origins of the War,' pp. 70, 71, and Mr. Fenner Brockway's Pamphlet "Was Britain Blameless?") This dirty piece of manoeuvring, of course, excited German Capital. . . .

The Germans are Huns to-day. But they were brave and chivalrous Allies only a few years ago, when the Allied German and British fleets were conducting a naval demonstration against President Castro's Government in Venezuela, because bondholders in Britain and Germany were not receiving their dividends regularly. . . .

In the Far East we have Tibetan missions, opium wars, seizures of Wei-Hai-Wei and Kaio Chao seized from China by Germany on the pretext that two German missionaries had been murdered, but in reality because one Skertchley, a mining prospector, had discovered that the district was rich in minerals; and Wei-Hai-Wei, seized by Britain because Germany had seized Kiao-Chao, though, of course, Diplomacy did not state the case so bluntly. ...We saw thousands of poor Japs and Russians murdered, not for any cause of liberty or honour, but in a struggle for the ownership of the valuable Yalu timber forests, between a Japanese Company and a Russian Syndicate in which the Tsar was a large shareholder. We saw Britain "supporting" the "bully wee Japs" because she was weakening Russia at no expense to us in the Far East, and because our financiers had floated a Japanese loan at 9 per cent. interest. Incidentally, we knocked something out of Russia in the process, because "we" sold 300,000 tons of coal at high prices to Rogdestvensky's fleet.

And then, finally, to cap the whole business, we have it on the authority of Mr. Isaac N. Seligmann, the great New York Banker, that:—

"The Russo-Japanese conflict of 1904-05 was halted in a large measure because the bankers refused to float further loans at anything like ordinary terms, after probably 1,500,000,000 dollars had been wasted in the contest.

You will note that Mr. Seligmann says nothing of the lives wasted.

CHINA TO BE PLUNDERED.

See what is happening even now in the Far East. Germany has been smashed at Kaio-Chou, and immediately and secretly Japanese Capitalism tabled its demands, not upon Germany, but upon China. For a month and more Diplomacy keeps the demands secret; not a whisper about them appears in the British Press until 12th February, when the "Times" discloses the fact that there is great commotion in China over the claims made by Japanese Diplomacy on behalf of Japanese Capitalism.

Johnston sets out the demands "*made by our Ally Japan upon a people who have offended them in in no conceivable way*" and continues:

When Germany, last August, took forcible right-of-way through Belgium, our Diplomatists and Capitalist pressmen set up a shrill crescendo of denunciation; we heard daily about Scraps of Paper, International Honour, Viclation of Treaties, Brute Force, the Denial of a Moral Law, and all the rest of it, so that many simple-minded men were deceived into believing that the only lying and unscrupulous Diplomat was he who was born beyond the Rhine, and the only vicious, brute-force Capitalist knave was he who floated his Syndicate in Berlin. But what, pray, are our "Remember Belgium" Press Directors and Diplomats saying about this shameless Japanese piracy?

The London "Times" frankly declares that:

"In view of our relations with Japan, it would be ungracious for Britain to put obstacles in the way of Japan's reasonable enough ambitions."

The London "Daily News," after asserting that British, French, Russian and American Diplomacy knew of these Japanese demands a month ago, goes on to say that "There is no suggestion of provocation on the part of China. . . . The war is Japan's opportunity, and denied expansion in the Pacific, she turns upon China. This is hardly the time for enlarging upon the ethics of such enterprises." The "Scotsman" thinks it is "important" to draw attention to the fact that M. Sazonoff, in the Russian Duma, has announced that the Japanese claims "contained nothing contrary to Russian interests," and "Le Temps" of Paris obligingly vouches for the fact that French interests are not affected and that "the Japanese Government will have need of both the London and Paris Markets in order to profit by the advantages which it will obtain. Bases of agreement wil ltherefore not be lacking. . . . It is only a matter of economic competition."

Johnston tells the story of the Kaiser as a pilgrim:

In 1898, the German Kaiser visited the Holy Land. It was diplomatically given out that he was a Christian Pilgrim. He said so himself. "Not splendour," he declared, "not power, not glory, not honour, no earthly blessing is it that we seek here: we pine, we pray, we strive alone after the sole, the highest blessing, the salvation of our souls." But our Diplomats had been at the same game themselves and they promptly smelled out the fact that this German pilgrim had secured from the Sultan, a verbal promise that German Capitalists would be allowed to build the Baghdad Railway. Then Britain and Russia concluded an agreement to "protect" Persia—Russia collaring control of the northern and Britain of the southern portion of that country.

Look where you will over the surface of the earth, and similar struggles on similar lines will be seen, however skilfully Secret Diplomacy has obscured the issues and suppressed the salient facts. Germans acquire Dynamite and Spirit monopolies for cash bribes in the Transvaal. British Capital organise a Jamieson Raid. It fails. Then comes the Johannesburg plot of May, 1899.

Johnston proceeds to quote Lord Lansdowne's letter to General Wolseley, dated August 27, 1899. He describes the robbing and plundering of Turkey; the reorganisation of Turkish Naval Dockyards by the Armstrong-Vickers group, mentioned in the London *Times*, December 3, 1913; the German loan to Bulgaria and its meaning to the peasants; the conspiracies between Krupps, the armament kings of Germany, and Schneider, the armament kings of France; the false statements made by Sir Edward Grey and Mr. Asquith in the House of Commons, "time and again"; and finally the resignation of Messrs. Morley, Burns, and Trevelyvan "*as a protest against Secret Diplomacy and open deception of the British public.*

Johnston is not likely to follow the excellent example set by Morley, Burns, and Trevelyvan, who became, for five minutes, honest men. Even that is too drastic a sacrifice for our modern Labour placemen to make.

Johnston adds:

Nor can we even place implicit trust in the White Papers which profess to give us the diplomatic pre-war correspondence.

Johnston proceeds to expose certain falsehoods which he alleges are to be found in the British White Paper explaining the outbreak of the first World War.

Johnston concludes his pamphlet with these words of denunciation:

Money kings ever on the prowl—according to Mr. Joseph Burgess, in his "Homeland or Empire," £3,000,000,000 of British owned money invested overseas, raking in an annual tribute of £200,000,000; armament trusts seeking whom they may exploit; money talking loudest in every Parliament; aristocratic bureaucrats operating in secret, pledging your lives and mine as stakes in the game. Whichever party is in power, the doctrine of continuity in Foreign Policy—the doctrine first announced by Lord Rosebery, who married a Rothschild, and whose son is now Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs—is taken for granted. Everywhere, docile and ignorant masses, drilling, toiling, taxed—pawns on the board!

There is no hope, no way out; no remedy possible until Democracy bestirs itself and demands democratic control of every department of social activity. Mere protests against the unscrupulous international operations of the financial sharks are as old as Cobden, who clearly saw the flagrant folly of a nation allowing its financiers to lend Foreign Powers money for armaments—armaments which in turn impose the creation of "counter preparations to meet them,"—the dastardly and often murderous operations of the Colonial expansionist traders, and the knavish and lying system of secret diplomacy which disguise the deceptions and the robberies from the common people. Mere protests are useless; they

are but a beating of the air. What must be if civilisation is to be saved, is complete and open Democratic control of Foreign and Home Affairs, and that complete Democratic control means Socialism.

Will Johnston explain how Socialism is served by his present position in the Churchill Cabinet?

[We have considerable data concerning Johnston's career; but we will publish this, from time to time, in separate essays.—Ed.]

BURNBANK OBJECTORS

ANTI-PARLIAMENTARIANS BEFORE GLASGOW No. 2 TRIBUNAL

Two of our Burnbank Comrades, Leigh Fisher and Robert Lyle, have been rejected as conscientious objectors by the Glasgow, South-West Scotland No. 2 Tribunal. Fisher's appeal to the Edinburgh Appellate Tribunal was rejected, and the decision of the Glasgow Local Tribunal affirmed.

Fisher's case was heard on December 6, 1940, by the Glasgow Tribunal. The Chairman of this Tribunal is Sheriff J. M. Hunter, K.C., and the members are: W. Boyd, M.A., B.Sc., D.Phil.; J. Dougherty; E. Greenhill; and R. C. Reid.

Fisher stated that he objected to all forms of Military Service as well as work of National Importance. His objections were based on ethical grounds. They were also practical and political. He had held the views since 1928, when he first associated with Guy Aldred. He had belonged to the Anti-Parliamentary Communist Federation and, later, passed on to the United Socialist Movement.

The Tribunal recorded their decision in writing, after questioning Comrade Fisher at some length:—

"The Tribunal found that the applicant would be willing to fight if this country had a Social System and Government of which he approved, and a Capitalist nation attempted to subvert it by force of arms. The Tribunal accordingly found that he had no conscientious objections to military service as such but only to fighting for a Government and a cause of which he disapproved."

The Appeal was heard at Edinburgh on May 22, before the Lord Elphinstone, K.T., LL.D. (Chairman); Alexander Maitland, K.C., and Thomas Barrow, J.P., Hon. A.R.I.B.A. The Appellate Tribunal upheld the local decision.

Robert Lyle is a miner and ought not to be appearing before a Conscientious Objectors' Tribunal. He appeared before the Glasgow No. 2 Tribunal on May 30, 1941. The Tribunal summarised his evidence in writing as follows:—

"Objects to all forms of Military Service as well as work in Agriculture, Forestry, or Land Reclamation. Objects because it is in the interests of Capitalism, THAT IS HIS OBJECTION, and also that it is murder. Objections based on Socialist grounds. Views held for 12 years. Views formed by Socialist propaganda. Member of the Anti-Parliamentary Communist Federation. Would protect himself against attack. Would be justifiable to kill in self-defence, if that were the alternative. Would be prepared to defend by force of arms a social system of which he approved, if that system were attacked. A Socialist for 12 years, has held meetings and has been actively engaged in Anti-War propaganda. Would have fought in war against Franco had be been a Spaniard."

As we go to press, Lyle is waiting on his Appeal Tribunal.

Fisher and Lyle both put forward splendid fighting cases. They are entitled to the fellowship and solidarity of the working class movement.

Comrades who wish to join the United Socialist Movement should send penny stamp to *Ethel MacDonald, Secretary, U.S.M.*, 106 *George Street, Glasgow, C.1.*

SOVIET RUSSIA: A SANE OUTLOOK

BY THE DUKE OF BEDFORD

The following article was written by the Duke of Bedford in 1924, when he was Marquis of Tavistock. It was a plea for sanity and answers fully those who consider that the Duke of Bedford is "pro-Fascist" because he pleads for a sane understanding of the German question to-day. The Duke is a pacifist and an enemy of all hate campaigns. When he wrote this essay, a hate campaign was being directed against the Soviet Union. The essay was published in 2 papers at the time. It was entitled: "A Sane Outlook on the Russian Problem." The essay is reproduced from the original MS.—Ed.

The fact that I have never been to Russia and cannot even speak the Russian language might, under ordinary circumstances, cause me to hesitate to write this article. I do so, however, without the slightest hesitation because the voice of those who are in a position to speak with authority about Russia is never being heard in this country; whereas countless people whose ignorance is as great as my own are laying down the law in the most dogmatic fashion and are aspiring to guide public opinion along very dangerous paths.

We are told by people who should be well-informed that one of the two greatest war-dangers in the world at the present time is the widespread belief in Russia and the Near East that England is preparing an attack on the Soviet Republic. From such dark fears, however ill-founded, the spirit of conflict is bred. There are fools enough in both countries to light the fuse if only the powder be dry and, by the hoary lie of national honour at stake and need for self defence, fling the people of the British Empire who desire aggressive war as little as they desire the moon, against another nation whose rank and file, more perhaps than those of any other country in the world, dislike fighting beyond their own boundaries.

Let us examine the sources from which we get the information upon which our opinions are based. More than ninety per cent. of what appears in the Press is not worth the paper it is written on: it is the purest (or impurest) propaganda, often consisting of those half-truths which are the most pernicious form of lying. The only views about Russia that are worth sixpence are those expressed by level-headed people who are recent visitors to the country and have gone there in a friendly spirit and yet with noses free from the incubus of rose-coloured spectacles; people, for choice, who can speak the language and who knew Russia before the Revolution. A man whose experience of Russia is confined to one brief and recent visit is likely to make the mistake of comparing conditions in present-day Russia only with those of present-day England and of failing to understand and rightly interpret much in the character and conduct of the people. The few properly qualified witnesses to whose reports I have had access all agree that the leaders of the Revolution are for the most part sincere men, and the use of the power of office for personal gain is regarded by them as disgraceful. Many in the past have suffered persecution for the sake of their principles, including the terrors of Siberian exile.

While there may be little hope of a return to foreign owners of money or property confiscated during the actual Revolution, the Soviet Government and firms trading under its aegis are in their commercial dealings singularly honest, and bad debts are almost unknown.

Although greatly handicapped by lack of money owing to the war, to internal upheaval and to disastrous seasons in the agricultural districts brought about by abnormal weather, the Soviet Government is attempting to do, and has already done, much for education, for agriculture, and for industry. The virtual transfer of the land to the peasants has been warmly welcomed and has rendered them on the whole willing to submit to a good deal of restraint and control.

Of political and personal liberty, as we understand it, there is very little, and religious bodies are regarded with disfavour and are subject to many restrictions. Finally, the occurrence of serious cruelty during the Revolution is not to be disputed.

Assuming that this summary of the position in Russia is substantially correct, what conclusions should we draw and what should be our line of conduct?

We are told that the Russian leaders are possessed of sincerity and freedom from selfish ambition. Whatever faults may accompany them, these are two great virtues, not over common among the politicians and statesmen of Western Europe. We are also told that the Soviet leaders have in the past suffered for their principles; they are therefore likely to have been rendered harsh, bitter and obstinate, more especially as they have grown up in an environment where liberty was wanting, education was largely unknown, and social injustice was rampant.

The present rulers of Russia are denounced in this country because they were cruel: because they refuse to recognise financial obligations entered into under the Czar's régime, because they have substituted one tyranny for another and failed to secure prosperity for their nation; because they are anti-religious; and because they send foolish and inflammatory propaganda into foreign countries.

These objections might be answered in one brief and homely sentence, "Why the dickens should you expect anything else?" It is the height of unreasonable folly to judge and condemn the Soviet leaders as though they had been brought up with all the advantages of English education and English political liberty. Of course the Soviet leaders were cruel: men brought up as they were brought up, men who have suffered as they have suffered, always are cruel and violent and extreme when at last the tables are turned upon their oppressors. It may be very sad and shocking, but unfortunately it happens that way and always has happened. It is simply cause and effect and human nature.

To expect them to recognise financial obligations entered into under a system they detested and despised is to expect too much. How could one hope for such consideration from ill-educated men sore and angry, embittered by the armed expedition sent against them, and flushed with new power and their heads filled with wild schemes for the social reorganisation of an impoverished country?

That they failed to establish political freedom is again only natural: men who have never known freedom, except in theory, always, when power comes to them, yield to the very strong temptation to assume the role of benevolent autocrats, protecting the rank and file of their fellow-countrymen, so they believe, from subtle hostile influences and from the effects of their own ignorance of what is good for them.

To expect the Soviet Government to create prosperity in Russia in so short a period is to ask more than is reasonable. The reports of distress are often exaggerated or unfair in so far as they represent as universal, troubles which are really local. No allowance is made for the effects of the war; for the phenomenally bad seasons already alluded to; for the rather low intelligence and conservative habits of the Russian peasants; nor for the fact that even under the Czar's rule the standard of living was extremely low and, in spite of the great export trade in grain, the wolf was often at the door.

That the Soviet Government is bitterly anti-religious is again the most natural thing in the world, as some of our worthy clerics might more easily realise if they cultivated a bit more of their Master's generous spirit and balanced outlook. The Orthodox Church in Russia, before the Revolution, was appallingly

corrupt. Religion there was in plenty, Christianity it was hard to find. Mighty churches, richly decorated, towered above the hovels where the people dwelt. The leaders of the Church were on good terms with the ruling class; never a word of protest against Siberia, nor any clear direction that privilege carries with it a duty of service. The Soviet leaders saw in the religion around them a great organised hypocrisy, and it is not unlikely that Christ's judgment may have tallied remarkably with their own. Jesus Himself they regarded as a poor figure; an unpractical visionary, dangerous if He were taken seriously: that, too, was natural: only those who have had close personal experience of really Christian individuals can be expected to understand the truth and power that lie behind the startling paradoxes on which our religion is largely based. I have known many a Communist and Socialist in my own country whose heart is perhaps better than his head; who, coming across, in his rather limited experience, much false religion and hardly any true, has thrown the baby away with the bath water and pronounced all religion "the opium of the people."

Lastly there is the propaganda grevance. Well are not we continually issuing propaganda ourselves when we send Christian missionaries to foreign lands? Do not the Anglo-Israelites and the Mormons and various other earnest but more or less misguided people issue propaganda? Granted that Bolshevist propaganda is often partly mistaken in aim; almost wholly futile in suggested methods; and supremely fatuous in expression, we must remember that it is the religion and honoured gospel of those who send it forth and that there is abundant excuse for their errors of belief.

The Soviet leaders may talk wildly, as it is customary for men in their position to talk, but their bark is likely to prove worse than their bite. Their hands are more than full with the administration of a great but none too wealthy country, whose people are constitutionally averse to war outside their own dominions. The hard discipline of experience in the handling of men has very much to teach them, and we can well afford to wait quietly while their lessons are being learned. When you are dealing with courageous and embittered men the acme of stupidity is to answer threat with threat, or to try and send them to Coventry. The policy of the late Government has been disastrous in its effects and the mischief done will take many years to undo. They acted like a man who, when some powerful and highly strung animal has to be tamed, loses his nerve, hits the creature and bolts out of the cage leaving it ten times more suspicious than before and ten times harder to handle.

When a great country is going through a difficult crisis the last thing to do is to try and make her feel an outcast. It will delay the time when her leaders begin to act more sanely. Without being foolishly confiding you should take every opportunity of establishing contact, partly that there may be an infusion of wiser ideas, partly that it may pay the Government less and less to be on bad terms with England.

The religious situation in Russia is also nothing to get excited over. While we may sympathise with suffering fellow-Christians and pray that, if it be compatible with the advancement of God's Kingdom, their time of trial may speedily be ended, it is well to remember that few things are so good for the quality of a Church as persecution. It was persecution that made the early Church a living power during the first three centuries of its existence, and it has been lack of persecution that in the ensuing 1600 years have done so much to spoil it.

The moon is not disturbed by the dogs that howl at her; indeed, did she possess an aesthetic sense, she might even be grateful to them for removing some of the floating carrion that mars the purity of her reflection in wayside pools. In the same way, God is not likely to be inconvenienced by atheist propaganda, and if a few simple minds are temporarily led astray, they will be brought back when fuller truth is revealed in the Hereafter. Even the prohibition of the teaching of religion to children in classes is far from being an unmixed evil. I have sometimes thought that we might have more true Christianity in England if a similar rule were enforced here. Young people would come to the faith far more freely if their minds had not been poisoned by the lamentable activities of bad teachers utterly unqualified in mind and character.

Reform your casual wards and your treatment of the unemployed: remove your slums and do not be unfair to native races, and propaganda will then only appeal to the selfish and the crafty, who can be ignored, because they do not possess the qualities necessary to secure a following of men sufficiently numerous to constitute a danger to the State. By trying to exclude propaganda you not only encourage the Russian Communist Party to believe that there is something very formidable and very wise about its ideas, but you also produce among discontented minds in your own country that thirst which exists for every kind of literature that is banned, either on moral or on political grounds. If you wish to take the heart out of a propaganda campaign in the shortest possible time there are two sure ways of doing it: the first is ridicule and the second is indifference.

UNITED STATES CITIZENSHIP

The question whether allegiance to conscience, when that conscience dictates war resistance or anti-militarism, is secondary to allegiance to the State, was considered by the United States Circuit Court of Appeals at the end of June, 1930, in connection with two applications for naturalisation.

The Court reversed the decisions of the Connecticut and New York District Courts and ordered that the two persons concerned should be admitted to American citizenship. They were:—

Miss Mari Deverill Bland, of Canadian birth who nursed American soldiers in France during the war. Her father, the Rev. E. M. Bland, was, at the time of application, the Rector of Kirkby Underwood, Bourne, Lincolnshire.

Dr. Clyde Macintosh, a Canadian Professor of Theology at the Yale School of Religion.

The lower courts rejected their applications for naturalisation because of their pacifist views, which prevented them from taking the oath to bear arms against an enemy of the United States.

Dr. MacIntosh, during the Great War was a chaplain with the Canadian troops. He maintained that he could not promise to bear arms unless he felt the cause was just.

Miss Bland said that her conscience as a Christian would not permit her to swear to bear arms. She was willing to go to the front to nurse the wounded.

The Court of Appeals pointed out that Dr. MacIntosh apparently was willing to give the United States all the allegiance **he ever gave or could give to any country;** but "he could not put his allegiance for the government of any country before his allegiance to the Will of God.'

The Court emphasised that there was a distinction between morally justified and unjustifiable war as recognised by international law.

Its decision, which was to its credit as a juridical body, meant the right of the individual to decide the matter for himself, even in war-time.

OUR LETTER-BOX

Dear Mr. Aldred,—I am interested to see that in the June number of "The Word" you have given so much space to some of our Baptist doings.

I am glad you put in the bit about our addition to the five points in our Report, when we insisted on full religious freedom. We felt at our Assembly that it was worth emphasising that, and I was authorised to strengthen that paragraph, which in the final form now reads:—

"The Council accept, as the writers do, the Five Peace Points suggested by the Pope, but would add as in their view essential the right of all men and nations to full religious liberty. The reference to 'the real needs and just demands of nations and populations and racial minorities,' while it may be taken to imply religious freedom and respect for the rights of religious minorities, is not in our opinion sufficiently explicit and we desire to emphasise the need of such liberty as essential for any real and lasting peace."

In view of your own strong line on the subject of civil and religious liberty, I thought that you might like to know of this amendment.

You are certainly making up for any lack of understanding in that first reference to us to which I made a mild demurrer and it is generous of you to do so.

With my good wishes,
Yours very sincerely,
M. E. AUBREY
(General Secretary, The Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland).

The Baptist Church House,
London, W.C.1.

June 19, 1941.

Dear Comrade,—I have just finished reading "Richard Carlile;" and I felt I must write and express my appreciation of this stimulating and vigorously written work; to which I have looked forward for some months. It fully comes up to my expectations, and I must congratulate you on the detailed and factual treatment of the subject.

The chapter "Jail Wisdom," is a veritable treasurehouse of virile and thought-provoking statements. So is the chapter summarising Carlile's speech from the dock. The illustrations, though not always germane to the subject, help to create a period atmosphere.

I was very interested to learn that Carlile and Eliza spent some seven years at Enfield; if possible, should like to make a pilgrimage to the spot; as it is quite near I wonder if you have any further information as to the exact locality as to whether the "fine spreading yew" still survives: as to whether there is any memorial, etc.

One more point, I am well acquainted with the works of Paine, but have not yet come across Palmer's "Principles of Nature." Can you tell me where this is obtainable?

One minor mistake: First Forword, penultimate line. Is it not, "Rationalist Press Association?"

Thanking your once more,
Yours fraternally,
C. C. SIMMONS.

East Barnet, Herts.
July 8, 1941.

GLASGOW ANARCHIST OBJECTOR

Refused A.R.P. Battle Dress.

Because he refused to put on the battle-dress issued to the A.R.P., a Glasgow conscientious objector, Lewis Gordon, 7 Dryburgh Gardens, Glasgow, N., was suspended from A.R.P. duties as a driver.

The local Tribunal removed his name from the roll of conscientious objectors. On July 17, the Edinburgh Appellate Tribunal upheld this decision.

Gordon told the Appellate Tribunal that he was an Anarchist and totally against war, but had joined the A.R.P. to help people hurt in raids. When he was issued with battledress, he refused to wear it. Battledress was a symbol of compulsion and not service.

To our mind the decision against Gordon cannot be defended, and ought to be recalled.

18B. PRISONERS

JOHN BECKETT, Ex-M.P.

Sketch made by a fellow-detainee at Huyton. Beckett is now detained in the Isle of Man.

The question whether, even in time of war, citizens should be imprisoned without charge or trial, is one of supreme constitutional importance. Its urgency is obscured by the fear that is manufactured by war. The fear is a dangerous anti-democratic weapon in the hands of the Executive. It is amazing that persons claiming to be Socialists—even political placemen and parliamentary careerists, who use the term merely as a cover behind which to advance their personal mean and sordid ambitions—should acquiesce tamely in such a state of affairs. For Socialism means justice. Socialism really stands for Liberty, Equality, Fraternity. Socialism does: not the penny-a-line professional journalists and parliamentary self-seekers.

The constitutional question interests us as a Socialist, and concerns us as a citizen. It intrigues us as a student of law and jurisprudence, and as one who loves the study of political struggle. From every angle—law, scholarship, and the moral feeling of the rights of man—we hold such detentions to be wrong and indefensible. As wrong as the persecution of Socialists, Communists, Anarchists. We are opposed as much to the persecution of real or alleged reactionaries as we are to the persecution and oppression of open or avowed revolutionaries. Our study of history, and our years of imprisonment, have taught us that all persecution of man by man is wrong. Some day it must cease.

Within this persecution, called protective custody, is another issue: that of treatment. Our information is not too clear on this matter. Many complaints have reached us concerning the conditions under which the 18B Prisoners are detained. Some of the letters received give appalling and intolerable details. Making every allowance for exaggeration—and we know how to think as a prisoner, how to allow for the exaggeration of the prisoners' approach to conditions—we say that the complaints ought to be examined.

The detainees are not even political prisoners, in the sense of being convicted persons. They are merely suspects, against whom the Home Secretary seems to feel he could not maintain a charge. Their detention means the acceptance by the Executive, in the name of democracy, of the principle of preventive arrest and custody. This is an odious idea. Since it is in operation, the question of how the prisoners are treated arises.

In 1872, an International Prison Conference was held in the Hall of the Middle Temple, London. At that Conference, the representative of the Italian Government, Count A. de Foresta, proposed that persons guilty of political offences not implying great moral perversity, should be kept in simple detention, apart from common criminals. It was stated that Germany had already recognised this principal of *Custodia Honesta*. The resolution was carried unanimously.

It should be added that this principle was maintained by the Kaiser and honoured by the German Republic. Hitler and his colleagues benefitted under this principle, and then abolished it the moment they came to power. Their conduct, in this respect, prepared the way for the inconsiderate detention of 18B prisoners in Britain.

In a letter to Professor George Sigerson, M.D., Member of the Royal Commission of Prisons, 1887, and referred to by Professor Sigerson, Mr. James Bryce, Professor of Civil Law at Oxford, then Ambassador at Washington, says:

"We all feel the difference between the ordinary criminal and those whose treatment you describe . . . ordinary prison discipline is incomparably more severe and painful to the persons sentenced for offences of this nature than it is to the ordinary thief or forger."

Speaking in the House of Commons on March 1st, 1889, Mr. Gladstone said:

"I know very well you cannot attempt to frame a legislative definition of political offences; but what you can do and what always has been done is this: You can say that in certain classes of the imprisoned, a person ought not to be treated as if he has been guilty of base and degrading crime . . . Though sensitiveness to indignities of this kind may be a matter on which men will differ according to their temperament and their ideas, yet such sensitiveness is rather to be encouraged than to be repressed, for it appertains to that lofty sentiment, that spirit which was described by Burke in animated language when he said: 'The spirit which feels a stain like a wound.'"

We now pass to

PRISON REGULATIONS NUMBER 243A.

"In the case of any offender of the Second or Third Division, whose previous character is good, and who has been convicted of, or committed to prison for, an offence not involving dishonesty, cruelty, indecency, or serious violence, the Prison Commissioners may allow such amelioration of the conditions prescribed in the foregoing rules as the Secretary of State may approve in respect of the wearing of prison clothing, bathing, hair-cutting, cleaning of cells, employment, exercise, books, and otherwise. Provided that no such amelioration shall be greater than that granted under the rules for offenders of the First Division."

The effect of this clause was explained by Mr. Churchill, the present Prime Minister, in the House of Commons, on July 20, 1910. As Home Secretary, he informed the House:—

"That rule enables the Home Secretary, in virtue of the various Acts which he has to administer, to relieve certain prisoners not guilty of any acts involving moral turpitude. I propose to relieve them of the necessity of wearing prison clothing, of being specially searched, and of being compelled to take the regulation prison bath. I also propose to enable the offenders in the Second Division to be permitted, under certain circumstances, to obtain food from outside, to exercise freely, both in the morning and in the afternoon, to converse with other prisoners when taking exercise, and to have at their own expense, such books, not dealing with current events, and such literature as are in accordance with the public interests."

Replying to a supplementary question, he added:—

"By moral tuptitude, I mean offences involving dishonesty, indecency, gross violations of morality, or cruelty."

The Prison Act, 1877, Section 40, provided that a person convicted of seditions, libel or sedition may not be treated as a misdemeanant of the First Division. This was amended by the Prison Act of 1898, 61 & 62 Vict. C.41, S.6(5). In Scotland the political offender of this category became a Civil Prisoner, and in England he became a prisoner of the 1st Division. Later Acts varied this, in event of the prosecution being made under Emergency Powers Acts.

If considered treatment, and honourable imprisonment, applies to the convicted political prisoner, surely it ought to be secured, by right, to the unconvicted political prisoner.

When the Duke of Bedford succeeded to his title it was expected that he would proceed immediately to take his seat in the House of Lords. At that time, he did not see what useful purpose he could serve by so doing. But the friends of a number of 18B detainees wrote to him and asked him to raise the question of their detention in the House of Lords. He communicated details of most of the cases to various members of the House of Commons, and some questions were asked, with little useful result. At the interview reported in another column, the Duke passed the correspondence over to us and requested that we make the facts known to our readers. As a disciple of Richard Carlile, and a believer in Freedom of Speech and of the Press, we cannot see what else there is to do.

None of the Duke's correspondents, that is, the closest friends of the persons interned, or persons who had been interned, or released, denied the need for 18B legislation. This fact impressed us, because we do not believe in the necessity for such legislation. The Duke of Bedford seems to think that, even if persons were arrested without charge, the detention ought not to be indefinite, and some charges ought to be made at a later date.

The complaint of his correspondents may be set out as follows:—

1. Questionable mode of application.
2. Questionable Police methods, in some instances.
3. Punitive Treatment in Detention or Prison.
4. Delay in Formulating Charges.
5. Inequality of Treatment.

A number of the correspondents stated that the application of 18B Powers was left to the discretion of local Police Authorities for selection in too many instances, regardless of their qualification to judge political subjects. It was felt that this was contrary to the history, the traditions, and the experience of the first principles of law and justice.

The correspondence showed that there were many instances of courteous and considerate treatment by the police. But there were also numerous cases of lack of consideration.

The complaints may be summarised as follows:—

1. Arrested men and women given no opportunity to collect clothes or to inform relatives. Several days elapsed after arrest before most were able to inform their relatives of their whereabouts. Wives, children and other dependents were left destitute.

2. Handcuffed on arrest or when moved from one place to another.

3. Finger prints and photographs taken as in the case of convicted prisoners. Confined in Police Cells with only one blanket for several nights.

The complaints about the police methods was illustrated in the treatment of Lieutenant Evans and Captain Budd. Lack of consideration is alleged:—

(1) Lieut. Evans, taken from his regiment, put in local police cell in uniform; from thence transferred to prison in handcuffs.

(2) Bentinck-Budd. Captain and Adjutant, arrested at his military station. A private of the same unit was also arrested at the same time, and these two in uniform were taken to prison handcuffed to each other.

We do not follow entirely these complaints. The handcuffs could have been omitted. Whether the uniforms ought to have been exchanged for civvies we cannot say. This

complaint depends on the angle of approach and we do not think it matters. We have worn handcuffs on railway stations and been part of a chain-gang and so write from experience. This complaint does not move us unduly.

It is stated that in two cases, that of Foden of Manchester, and Rose of Norwich, faked evidence was produced. These charges call for investigation.

The conditions of correspondence mean that the detainees are treated worse than political prisoners of the First Division. Two letters per week, of one page, limited to 24 lines, with instructions to write large, under penalty of losing letter without notification, constitute an outrageous condition of uncharged detention. Visits are limited strictly to one per week. All this, added to the vague nature of the charges, means prevention of opportunity to obtain evidence in support of one's defence against charges.

Whether these conditions still obtain we cannot say. One correspondent described the daily routine of the detainee at Liverpool Prison and asked if it were not punitive.

6.0 a.m.—Bell rings to waken men.

7.0—Doors opened. Slop out basins, etc., at lavatory. (N.B.—one lavatory to each floor 36 cells.)

7.30—Breakfast. Tea and 2 slices of bread and margarine and a little porridge. Cells locked.

9.0—Walking exercise in prison yard. In pairs.

10.0—Sewing mail bags. Talking permitted but not too loudly.

Noon—Locked in cells.

12.30—Lunch. 1 dish of skilly or something similar, one slice of dry bread and water. Cells locked.

2.0—Walking exercise again.

3.0—Sewing bags again.

4.0—Back in cells and locked in.

5.0—Supper. Tea, bread and cubic inch of cheese.

From now till 6.30 a.m. locked up in cells alone.

Cells remained locked during air-raids.

Many of the complaints about prison conditions do not impress us. We have experienced prison conditions and understood this phase of the complaint. Actually, the complaints on this score were directed against the fact of imprisonment itself. Hardships belong to prison life that ought not to be tolerated in a decent society. Yet many of the folk imprisoned would have consented to their continuance without demur, had they not experienced them. Once released, what protest will they severally and collectively make against prison life? As we read this correspondence, we felt that many of the internees ought to have attacked imprisonment and the prison system in happier days, when the notion of suffering imprisonment personally was foreign to their thoughts.

This reflection does not apply to the letter that informed the Duke that no consideration was given to the ill-health of detainees. An aged man of 74 years, it is said, died in Liverpool Prison after 12 days of detention. One other over 70 was released because he was dying. **Cases of claustrophobia contracted through shell-shock in the last war were refused the relief of having a cell door unlocked in spite of constant appeals even during air raids.**

One detainee gave a "remand" prisoner a a cigarette. **Punishment** awarded was: 1 day bread and water and 7 days "loss of privileges," which amounts to solitary confinement.

Nevertheless, this correspondent insisted that the conditions at Liverpool were a considerable improvement over those that obtained at Wandsworth Prison. The conditions here were more punitive than those accorded to sentenced prisoners.

Another detainee talked to his fellows, while sewing mail-bags; and a third, while looking out of a cell window, saw his mother in the prison yard. He called out to her and waved. Punishment in each case was 2 days' bread and water, and 14 days' loss of privileges, which amounts to 14 days' solitary confinement. Sitting behind the Treasury Benches in the House of Commons are a number of men who complained about such conditions in 1916-1918. If they like, we are prepared to name every such member and to challenge each on his prison-punishment record. Inhumanity remains inhumanity, no matter what may be the religion or the politics of the victim.

As to the cruelty of excessive solitary confinement, that was exposed in the Labour-Co-operative paper, *Reynold's Illustrated News*, on Sunday, January 1, 1933. We draw attention to the *Reynold's* article because, when these conditions are mentioned in Court, the judges sometimes dismiss them with a shrug and a sarcastic comment. From this valuable exposure published by our contemporary, we make these excerpts:—

"Startling disclosures of a serious state of unrest in many local prisons, particularly in the London district, have come to light as the result of a special

"Not only is ugly bad temper spreading among the inmates—at some gaols it is stated to be at breaking point—but discontent is said to be sapping the morale of the prison officers themselves, whose duties under the best of conditions are often extremely trying and an acute strain. . . .

"Reports of hunger-striking are frequent. Three men are said to be following this extreme line of protest at Wandsworth Gaol, one of them having been forcibly fed during the last three weeks. . . .

"Conditions vary in different prisons, but in some districts the wretched men are spending, on the average, nearly 19 hours out of the 24 in the torture and misery of solitary confinement.

"Prison reformers, such as members of the Howard League, and the Commissioners themselves, are thoroughly disheartened at the turn of affairs. After years of steady progress from the cold inhumanity of Victorian days, the clock has been put right back. . . .

"In some prisons locking-up time is from 4.30 p.m. to 6.30 a.m., 14 hours at a stretch, with another two hours in the cell from 6.30 a.m. to 8.30 a.m. for cleaning-up and breakfast. Dinner means a further hour.

"Then there are the dreary week-ends. The warders must get their half-days off, and so, therefore, must the prisoners, which to them means more weary hours pacing up and down the narrow and bare little room.

"And, of course, our being a Christian community, Sunday is a day of "rest!"

Apart from the brief spells for exercise and for the service, the prisoners have the whole of their time to meditate on the thrilling events of the week—pacing up and down! . . . Suffering is being inflicted on those who have broken the law, to a degree which a civilised State has no right to exert."

It is obvious that, since the 18B prisoners are only political suspects, the same suffering is being inflicted on those who are not accused of breaking the law, but are suspected of maybe inclining to do so under certain futuristic conditions that may never operate. Such prisoners, if such prisoners must be, are entitled to honourable political detention.

The Isle of Man Internment may remove some of the grievances on the score of health and close confinement. Much depends on the conditions. The best conditions are no reply to the sense of injustice.

Mr. Claude Hawks, M.Inst.R.A., Registered Architect, served as Sapper, Royal Engineer, 82036, France and Belgium, 1915-1919. His daughter, Mrs. Burdett, otherwise known as Olive Hawks, was arrested on May 23, 1940. She was accused of having spoken strongly in favour of a negotiated peace. When her father wrote the Duke of Bedford on December 27, 1940, she was interned still.

It is impossible to list all the cases. There is also the difficulty that some of the complainers may be released. One of the released is a man named Raymond Merriman. He was released in March, 1941, after seven months' incarceration, without explanation.

Frederick Bowman, of Liverpool, lived with his mother. She died whilst he was in prison. During her last illness he was refused permission to attend her, either on parole or with escort, and he was denied permission to attend her funeral. This consideration has been shown to convicted prisoners.

J. Thompson, of London, was not allowed to attend the funeral of his wife and child, who were killed in an air-raid.

Among the persons now interned in the Isle of Man is Albert Eugene Turner. He was arrested on June 17, 1940. He was kept at Bow Street Police Station, London, for 8 days. He was then removed to Brixton Prison. His wife was allowed to see him there for ten minutes after she had waited one-and-three-quarters' hours for the interview. That same week he was taken to Liverpool Prison. His wife was without word for fourteen days. Later he was removed to Ascot and then to Huyton Camp, near Liverpool.

In August, 1940, Turner appeared before a Tribunal in London. He was accused, according to his wife's statement, of being involved in an incident at the State Cinema, Croydon, when he is supposed to have said he was a Fascist. He denied this and offered to produce evidence to establish, beyond question, the fact that he had not entered that cinema since war began. He knew it was hard to prove a negative, but he offered to do so.

In a letter to the Duke of Bedford, Mrs. Martha Turner writes:

"There is no more loyal Englishman than my husband. He was a soldier in the 1914-1918 war. If he were an enemy of the country, would he have allowed our daughter to join the army? She has been in the A.T.S. since the day war commenced."

John Beckett is well known as the I.L.P. member who ran away with the mace. On another occasion, he shocked the House of Commons during an unemployment debate, by throwing down an ex-serviceman's medals. Labour M.P.'s complain that he is unstable politically. This hardly justifies internment. Some men have attained Cabinet rank through instability. At one time Beckett was a member of the Hackney Borough Council with Herbert Morrison. Both figure in *Who's Who*.

Beckett is interned now at the Isle of Man. Previously he was at Huyton, Liverpool. Here another internee sketched him. We reproduce the picture.

At Stafford Prison, Beckett made a strenuous fight for the application of 18B regulations. For this offence he was given three days bread and water and solitary confinement. He protested against this, and was sentenced to a further seven days' punishment. This punishment was inflicted, although he was sick.

During this period, his wife had travelled from London to see him, with a special permit. She was refused admission and had to return to London without seeing him.

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(1790-1843).
HIS LIFE AND TIMES,
By
GUY A. ALDRED.

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CONSCIENCE AT THE BAR

NEWCASTLE SOCIALIST CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR FAMILY

FATHER AND TWO SONS-ATHEIST-SOCIALIST-ABSOLUTE RESISTERS

John Morley, his wife, and their Son, Robert. The dog is named "Ginger."

Our Comrade, John Morley, was arrested on Tuesday, July 1, 1941. He is at present in Durham Jail serving the sentence of 3 months' imprisonment imposed upon him on May 30 last.

In his statement, published below, Comrade Morley described the farcical attempt made to distrain on his home in June. A second attempt was made, prior to his arrest. The last word sent by him to his family is that he was able "to take it."

In the February "Word" we mentioned the case of Robert Morley, John Morley's son, who was arrested in December, 1940, for refusing to register, and also for refusing to attend Medical examination. Like his father, Robert Morley is an Atheist and a Socialist. So also is Robert's brother, Alan, who has been called up for medical examination. He also refused to register and is waiting arrest. Meantime, Robert has served his sentence and is now home, waiting further developments.

John Morley published a short letter in the January, 1931 issue describing the strong anti-war attitude of himself and his family. They are Socialists and Atheists, and they hold that Socialism and Atheism should mean humanism, pacifism, resistance to war, and social revolution, not through war, but through the destruction of war.

Following is the statement of the absolute and uncompromising stand John Morley wishes to have made known to readers of this journal.

OPPOSING WAR ABSOLUTELY

BY JOHN MORLEY

I have no paper cuttings of my experiences as a C.O. during the last war because I made no public appearances, apart from the formal Police Court proceedings, when after arrest by the police, I was charged and remanded to await a Military escort.

I adopted the same attitude myself, as I have since argued is the only logical attitude a C.O. can take in regard to any Conscription Acts, that is, to ignore them entirely.

War is the greatest immorality that man has ever perpetrated on the world, and Conscription being the necessary means for procuring sufficient support of man-power possible it follows that a moral person must refuse to assist in any way in perpetuating this immorality.

War is immoral, not only from a strictly religious point of view, because it violates some sacred doctrine of religion, or even because it violates the sanctity of human life and robs man of his liberty and personality.

War is immoral because it violates the purely commonsense and realist view of morality as that which is good for society as a whole.

Modern war cannot possibly be good for society because it destroys all that should make for the benefit of humanity, both morally and materially, and it is utterly incapable of achieving any of the good that some of its supporters may desire to achieve. It follows, therefore, that a person with any real sense of morality must oppose war and all its instruments, such as Conscription, A.R.P., A.F.S., fire-watching, etc.

Neither can one logically avail onself of any privilege allowed under the National Service Acts, because of one's favourable environment or heritage, enabling one not only to acquire a conscientious objection to war (this must be inherent in most conscript soldiers, otherwise Conscription would not be needed), but also a faculty of self-expression capable of persuading a Tribunal that one is entitled under the Act to absolute exemption.

I therefore refused to appeal to a Tribunal for exemption, in spite of the fact that all the rest of Newcastle Branch of the N.C.F. agreed to do so.

(A) Because the Military Service Act was to my mind, immoral.

(B) Because it is immoral to ask for permission to be free when one is already free, and to ask for permission of any Tribunal to preserve that freedom is to surrender freedom itself in favour of a licensed liberty.

(C) Because to ask for a privilege for oneself which is denied to one's fellows is also immoral. (All men who are compelled by Conscription to join the Forces are *ipso facto* Conscientious Objectors, because they do not think it right that they should join the Army.)

(D) Because all Conscription Acts must be abolished before any liberty and freedom can be established, therefore, we must resist them for ourselves and attempt to make the Act unworkable for others.

Acting thus on the dictates of morality I found, as many others have found before and since, that the highest morality is also, in the long run, the greatest expediency.

I was not arrested until January, 1918, after most of my comrades had done long prison sentences already.

I refused to be medically examined and my papers were marked, "Refuses examination. Fit for General Service." Was taken to Barracks, refused all orders, was ultimately Court-Martialled, sentenced to 112 days' imprisonment, and sent to Wormwood Scrubbs. After a few days there I decided that the prison system was almost as immoral as the army and found that prisoners (C.O.'s in the majority) were carrying on the system themselves, so refused to participate even in prison tasks and spent remainder of sentence in solitary confinemnt for 14 day at a time with one day interval between. Unfortunately I received no support from my fellow C.O.s. After being escorted back to Newcastle on completion of sentence and taken back to Barracks, as there was no one attempting to prevent me I walked out and went to visit my wife and son (Robert). After a few days' liberty I was recognised by my Sergeant escort from London within a few yards of Depot from which I had walked away. He invited (?) me to accompany him back to depot. This invitation being refused, another Sergeant was called upon to add his weight to the invitation. Even then it was refused. So a dozen "liberty" men were called up to fall in behind me and the Sergeants. Then on the invitation being further pressed I fell in with their suggestion and marched under escort of Press Gang to Barracks and left my wife to push my infant son home up the hill.

Again at Barracks I refused to obey orders, was Court-Martialled again, and sent to N.C. Prison for 12 months' imprisonment.

Here, while still refusing to carry out any regulation I decided not to inform the Governor of this determination and found great support among my comrades in Newcastle Prison for such an attitude and suffered only rare periods of punishment during the following 12 months.

At the expiration of this sentence, February, 1919, I was again returned to Newcastle Barracks and left in charge of a sergeant, and was escorted to dining-hall for dinner (?). Sitting at the far end of the table from the server, I found there was nothing left for *my* dinner, so while they were busy eating theirs I came away and found some dinner elsewhere. After that I continued to find my necessary nourishment without applying further to Army authorities. They never invited me back again.

When my first son, Robert, was born, I was away from home in a Convalescent Home. The telegram announcing his birth was delivered by the matron when I was at dinner in the dining-hall. She interrupted a discussion on the war to present me with the telegram, and being a woman, prompted the tactful question of "No bad news, I hope?" To which I replied, "That is a matter of opinion, a son is born to me." "A son, good," she replied, "another little soldier." To which I replied, "Matron, if I thought my son had no future but to grow up to be a soldier, much as we are both delighted at his arrival, I think I would go home and strangle him with my own two hands." Thank God neither of these desperate alternatives have been adopted, either with him or my second son, who will take practically the same stand as his brother shortly.

* * *

I was summoned to the City Police Court on the 30th of May, 1941, for that I "unlawfully did fail to comply with the Fire Prevention (Business Premises) Order, 1941, made under Regulation 27A and 38 of the Defence (General) Regulations 1939."

I duly presented myself at Court and when my case was called, Mr. Barry Jones prosecuting

said I was charged with not notifying the authorities of fire-watching duties and for not making arrangements for fire-watching. He also went out of his way to attempt to prejudice the case by remarking that "here was a man who was living in this country and enjoying all the advantages won by the war, but was not willing to lift a finger to help in anyway, leaving it to others to protect his premises while he sleeps idly by."

"Oh no," said the Chairman of the Bench, "He would be safe at home, sleeping in his bed."

When the prosecutor finished, I asked if I could question him, but this was refused.

Police evidence was that I said, "I will have nothing to do with the war and its prosecution, and I will not employ a fire-watcher."

I was allowed to make a statement and expressed regret that I was not allowed to ask the prosecutor a question.

"What question did you wish to ask?" said the Magistrate's clerk.

"Just this," said I, "Can he tell me one advantage that I or anyone enjoys as a result of the war?"

"He cannot answer that," said the clerk.

"I know he cannot," said I, "neither can you."

I first explained that strange though it might seem my appearance there was due to my strong regard for law and order. "This regulation" said I, "was a war measure, and therefore must be resisted by one having any regard for law and order. For war, by its resort to the arbitrament of brute force, was the negation of law, and by spreading disorder over the whole world could not be said to support order."

"Hitler's law and order," interjected the chairman.

I was then told that I could not proceed on that line as my statement had nothing to do with the law. I claimed that if the prosecutor could make attacks on my personal character, I had an equal right to answer these charges, and if the chairman was at liberty to sneer at my selfishness, I claimed the same liberty to reply.

"I did not sneer," said the chairman.

"If your remark about me sleeping safely at home in my bed was not a sneer, it sounded very much like one to me," said I.

I then proceeded to point out amid unseemly interruption from the clerk and police that I had two supreme loyalties, Sanity and Humanity, and as these war regulations violated both I had no intention of assisting them in any way.

The Bench then asked the formal question of the Police: "Any record."

The Police replied: "There is no record, nothing is known of him."

I then made a statement that I had a record. "A record of which I am proud. During the last war I served two long years of imprisonment rather than assist in that war, and I am prepared to serve as many as you gentlemen may consider necessary, rather than assist in this war."

The Bench then announced that I would be fined £50 and £5 5s. costs.

To this I made no reply, and turned to go out when the Police asked, "Are you going to pay it now?" "No," said I. "Do you want time to pay?" "No," I replied. "Then what are you going to do," said he. "I do not intend to pay it at all," I said.

This information was passed on to the Bench, who had already heard my statement.

"Then," said the chairman, after a brief consultation, "You will go to prison for three months." "Very good," I replied, "if that is your pleasure." "It is not our pleasure," said the clerk, "it is the law." "But you seem to enjoy it," said I.

I was then escorted down the Court and as I passed my friends and family in the public gallery I called out: "Good-bye, lads, keep the red flag flying."

I was then hustled into the "dock" and as I passed through I looked over the top and waving, said, "Good-bye, gentlemen, I hope you will sleep as sweetly as I do." I was then pushed down below, searched, and locked up in the cells.

After about two hours they came and told me I was to go home as they were going to issue a distress warrant to collect the fine. I protested against this as being illegal, but did not object to go home.

I have since written the Magistrate's Clerk to the effect that while the alternative to the fine is at the discretion of the magistrates, yet having publicly declared in Court for the alternative of imprisonment and put it into operation by arresting me, they could not at a later time vary this. Therefore, if they attempt to execute a distress warrant, I should treat it as an illegal distraint.

I have had one visit already from an officer of the police, who said he had come to distrain on the building.

I read a copy of my letter to him and said that I could only act on that declaration.

He then said: "May I ask you two questions?" "As many as you please," I said. "I only reserve the right to answer them as seems most suitable to me."

"First," said he, "does the building belong to you?" "In view of my letter," said I, "there is no answer to that one." "Second, "Are all these cars yours or your customers?" "The same applies to that," said I. At which protesting that he was wasting his time, he departed. And there the matter rests at the moment. I shall do my utmost to prevent the collection of the fine and imagine they will ultimately issue a warrant to collect me. In which case, I suppose, I will have to submit to brute force.

They sent an A.F.S. man yesterday to interview my employees and get their names and ages for fire-watching, but I said that as they were holding me responsible I could not see why the men should be troubled and refused permission for him to interview them and also to tell him how many there are.

They are also after my second son, Alan, who is also a War-Resister, and he refuses to give any information to the authorities in spite of their repeated requests, so I suppose they will soon be hauling him before the Bench.

I am not a much photographed man, but I send a photograph for *The Word*, since the editor asks for one. In it I was "taken" building my rock garden in 1940. With me is my son, Robert, and my wife.

This year the rocks are more beautiful, for I thought if I have to be "on the rocks," they will be pleasanter with a few flowers. So I shall always look for the flowers among the "rocks" of life, and will mostly be able to find some.

JOHN MORLEY PROTEST.

"John Morley, whom we know as a remarkable chairman and as a fearless speaker of truth, regardless of consequences, is in Durham Gaol," writes Douglas G. Maitland, acting Secretary of the Newcastle War Resisters Group of the P.P.U.

On behalf of this Group, Comrade Maitland addressed a letter to Herbert Morrison on July 10 last, in which he expresses the hope that the Home Secretary, as "*a man who has some respect for individual conscience, will see to it that this injustice is ended.*"

Describing the circumstances of Comrade Morley's arrest and imprisonment, this letter asks Morrison to face the logic of his position:—

"I write you on a matter which seems to us, and may, on reflection, seem to you a serious one. . . . Can you, as a former conscientious objector, and as a present-day minister responsible for the carrying out of the penalties under this order, lend your support to the persecution of a man who, for conscientious reasons, cannot take part in war activities? John Morley's sincerity of objection is well proved by the fact of his having served two prison sentences during the last war and by his untiring activities in the pacifist movement as a public speaker."

Comrades who wish to swell the protest against John Morley's imprisonment should write to D. G. MAITLAND, 15 Beech Grove, Longbenton, Northumberland.

BOOK LIST

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THE WORD

To Rouse The People, To Combat Fascism, and To Speed Commonweal.

An Organ of the United Socialist Movement, Edited and Published by Guy A. Aldred, at The Strickland Press, **104 George Street, Glasgow, C.1.** All unsigned matter is from the pen of the Editor. Annual Subscription, 3s. 0d.

Vol. III, No. 2. SEPTEMBER, 1941. Price: TWOPENCE

FROM WAR TO PEACE—HOW?

DUKE OF BEDFORD CORRESPONDENCE

Last month we published, in the form of an interview, a full statement of the Duke of Bedford's position on Pacifism, Civil Liberty, Conscientious Objectors, Total Disarmament, and the need for a United Pacifist-Socialist Movement of Opposition to the Churchill Government.

The Duke explained that he would take his seat in the House of Lords only with the support of the working class and the avowed pacifist elements in society, as an enemy of war and poverty.

The interview, and the Duke's article, *Soviet Russia: A Sane View*, caused great interest. The issue had a very big circulation, and despite several reprintings, is out of print. Many orders could not be executed. Readers have inundated us with letters. These have come from all classes and types. We have deemed it our duty to publish some of these letters, even though the fact of so doing compels us to hold over interesting and important essays. The fate of civilisation is in the balance and the opinion of every citizen who thinks at this time of crisis is precious and ought to be known. *Your* opinion and *your* counsel are invited. From war to peace—and to *real* Social Peace throughout the world—how? To each reader we say: Comrade, think, speak, act! Let your voice be heard! What must be done? Say.

Dear Aldred,—This is splendid, the August, 1941, *Word*.

The Duke and you are starting out strongly and clearly on your *Great Campaign*. I would like *definitely* to join you and am drawing up a proposal to send to you shortly for consideration.

In our Great and Desperately Immediate Cause of Socialism and Peace.

Yours Sincerely,

W. M. TEAPE.

Bournemouth, August 7.

[The Rev. W. M. Teape's career was outlined in June "Word." Scholarship and the study of "The Secret Lore of India" brought him to Socialism and Anti-Militarism.—Ed.]

Dear Sir,—I have great sympathy with most of the views expressed by both the Duke and yourself in the interview which you publish in the August issue of *The Word*. Particularly important, as it seems to me, is the advocacy of a United Opposition of critical analysis and peace, comprising all the truly Socialist and the pacifist movements; but such an Opposition would ideally be international in scope, and it is in this regard that the Duke's reading of the situation arising from the fighting in Russia becomes especially significant. I have always held that man is not so inhuman that, if sufficiently stirred, his humanitarian feelings will not come uppermost; and we should be foolish

THE ARMISTICE PEACE, 1919

IS THE COMING PEACE TO BE THE SAME

Reproduced from *The Spur*, June 1919.

The above prophetic cartoon was not appreciated when it appeared in "The Spur" in June 1919. It was drawn by our then C.O. comrade, Henry Bernard, and has proven to be a correct prophetic comment on the Versailles Treaty. Many persons were horrified at our suggestion that that Peace was no peace. Time has vindicated the cartoonist and condemned his complacent Imperialist critics. We reproduce it to-day as a challenge and a question. Is the 1919 Peace to be repeated? Are we to be thrilled by more mockery? Or are we to end war and violence for all time? The question is one calling for the wise and determined decision of every good citizen of the world. YOU must decide as well as YOUR neighbour, who is your mere enemy of the moment, but your neighbour for all time.

indeed not to take the opportunity offered by the prospect of a more general disillusionment among the peoples to drive home the lesson that V may stand for Vanity rather than true Victory, which is not the offspring of physical violence at all, but rather of a right sense of moral values resulting in the victory of man's higher over his lower self and a willingness to subordinate selfish interests to the common good round a conference table.

Yours sincerely,
C. GASKELL.

Littleborough, August 13.

P.S.—I enclose a donation towards the cost of producing and publishing *The Word* in recognition of its value to the cause of peace.

[We are grateful to the Rev. C. Gaskell for his consistent support and words of cheer in the struggle to end the crime of militarism and violence. He has been a subscriber to "The Word" almost from the beginning, and he has waved aside theological differences, to concentrate on the critical need of loyalty to pacifism and humanity. He identifies Christianity with tolerance as a human need and right, and the redemption of humanity from the reign of violence and destruction.—Ed.]

Dear Mr. Aldred,—Thanks so much for the letter and for the literature you so kindly sent. The Duke of Bedford is a personal friend of mine. We who want to save humanity before it is too late must be held together in comradeship.

Yours fraternally,
W. ROWLAND JONES.

St. Hilda's Vicarage,
Denton, August 18.

[The Rev. W. Rowland Jones has written a challenging work, "Let's Try Reality." This is published by Allen and Unwin. A review will be published of it in an early issue.—Ed.]

Thanks for paper. I have had correspondence at times with the Duke of Bedford. He must be urged to leadership. I am writing him myself and hope others will also.

I am recommending your paper as I think you recognise that Church *could* do a good work if it were not subservient to the State and vested interests. Some of us are trying to help from within and at any rate refuse to be identified with the present negation of Christianity—principle without practice.

A. K. SHREWSBURY.

Bury St. Edmunds, August 20, 1941.

The Rev. A. K. Shrewsbury is rector of Chevington. We endorse his comments. The Church ought NOT to be subservient to vested interests. In the past teachers of Christianity were opposed to usury, war, and exploitation. Christianity had a definite message of emancipation and social justice for all mankind and did not believe in national frontiers. The Church has sold its birthright. This cannot be tolerated. The pulpit should become the centre of culture and brotherhood, of integrity and democratic social service. Its canons must denounce cannons.—Ed.

Sir,—I was greatly interested in the interview with the Duke of Bedford which you published in the August issue of *The Word*. I would like to say as a Christian minister how immensely I appreciate the stand which the Duke has taken so consistently on behalf of Christian principle. I am aware that many sincere Christians differ from me, but personally I cannot see how it is possible to combine a devotion to the spirit and teaching of the Nazarene with a pursuit of the way of war. The incompatibility becomes increasingly evident as the war becomes more bitter and more ruthless. The Prime Minister's speech of July 14th with its quite open and flagrant appeal to the spirit of vindictiveness, should cause all sincere Christians who have supported the war to re-consider their position. I am quite sure that the Duke is right when he says that "as time goes on, the disastrous consequences of the appeal to arms will become apparent . . . to the most unthinking of human beings."

I believe the Duke's attitude to the question of Fascism is perfectly clear and consistent. What is happening to-day is that under the stress of war the Fascist spirit and Fascist methods are becoming more and more acclimatised in this country. I have no great belief in the possibilities of political action until there is a radical change in the common attitude, and I believe that what is wanted essentially is a living Christianity. At the same time a man like the Duke of Bedford can, I am sure, play an effective part in giving a lead to public opinion. Pacifist opinion in Parliament seems an entirely negligible force at the moment: I can only hope that the Duke will increase its strength by taking his stand as a spokesman on its behalf in the House of Lords.

Yours faithfully,
SIDNEY SPENCER
(Minister, Hope Street (Unitarian) Church, Liverpool).

Liverpool, August 24.

Dear Mr. Aldred,—Ignoring all the accusations made by irresponsible persons against the Duke of Bedford, I would like to comment upon your interesting and revealing interview with him. In these times it is not easy even for the professional philosopher fully to define his political and intellectual position. Obviously, the Duke of Bedford has thought out a policy based upon reason, and has, through stress and strife, consistently striven to maintain it. The fact that he was one of the signatories to an anti-war manifesto as far back as 1932 proves this.

It is probably true to say that the Duke's Pacifism is no more than an outgrowth of his Christianity; it is a necessary, but subsidiary thing. The main object of the Duke's intellectual quest has been to discover how, in society, he can implement his spiritual findings. The Duke is a progressive Christian, a reformer rather than a moralist. He believes (and no modern thinker worthy of the name could conclude otherwise) that ethics, religion, cannot be separated from the political and social life of Man. This fact is an integral one. People who have in the past failed to apprehend where in fact the Duke of Bedford does stand, should reflect upon his statement concerning the relation of religion to society. The Duke, quite logically, has attempted to bring his religion into the social-economic sphere to purify and re-invigorate that sphere. Probably, like many Socialists, he cannot envisage any other positive urge which will effectively resist the Fascist challenge. Christianity as seen by such progressives must cease to be the blind instrument of privilege and become creative of Goodness, Truth and Beauty. Here is the core of this man's faith, and let him who will condemn it.

In respect of the suggested opposition to the Churchill group it is necessary to exercise care in defining what shape that opposition shall take. Personally I cannot actively and directly oppose Churchill *now*, although I am not in agreement with his policy. The Duke of Bedford treads as warily as I do myself. He would lead opposition to another Versailles. Most philosophers and intellectuals would be ready to join in such a crusade. I would place what literary and intellectual ability I may possess, at the disposal of such a cause working for the redemption of man.

Yours ever,
E. W. MARTIN.

Beaworthy, Devon, August 21.

Dear Mr. Aldred,—After reading *The Word's* interview with the Duke of Bedford, I would like to remark that those who accuse the Duke of being pro-Fascist have found a very good way of playing Hitler's game. Let them read any brand of paper to discover what Hitler thinks of gentlemen in public positions who hold pacifist views. It won't take them long to discover—if they don't know it already—that the attempt to discredit such a man as the Duke of Bedford is an attempt to rid Hitler of one more opponent. And anyway, my dear Blimp, is not the persecution of those who disagree with us mere Hitlerism?

Good Heavens! there is no possible excuse for confusing pacifism with fascism. There is literature enough. The fact that Hitlerism includes some of the essential changes—matters of social justice—is very unpleasant for the conservative; but this does not mean that others who believe in the essential changes have any affinity with those who use bad means to achieve only a small portion of the good ends.

Yes, unless we are to regard words as just emotional noise, to call a distinguished gentleman who is a pacifist (in the true and full meaning of that word) a pro-Fascist is a fine contribution to the campaign for bigger and better truncheons.

To my mind the Duke answers all critics by proving whole-hearted pacifism with his generous offer to be the voice of a minority in the House of Lords. Even the Blimps should be grateful to the Duke for this reminder that an Englishman can undertake the responsibilities of his belief and position without thought or hope of personal aggrandisement.

Sincerely,
OSWALD BLAKESTON.

Ashburton, August 22.

Dear Sir,—In the statement of your interview with the Duke of Bedford on the subject of the present War and the need for its speedy termination, and for a bold drive for a better understanding among the Nations of the Earth, reference is made to the Duke being a Christian, and it is suggested that he should therefore receive the support of Christian Bodies, especially that of the Religious press. But we all know how in these days of war the Religious press has surrendered the first principles of true Christianity, and that largely our Churches of all denominations have allied themselves with the war-mongers. Of course, there are exceptions, but these exceptions are too few to wield any substantial influence with the masses of Religionists in the country.

The minds of the People to-day are far removed from things Religious except when the hand of death comes near. The War is the first concern of our fellow-citizens, be they Religionists or Secularists. I think, therefore, that the Duke could reach the People more effectively and with speed were he first of all to take his Seat in the House of Lords. I feel sure that the press would give him due publicity. This first step would, to my mind, reveal to the People that here was one man courageous and firm enough to voice the mind of hundreds of thousands of others. One does not knew how long this War is to last. None but the most foolish will say that Germany will collapse as she collapsed at the last War. And as there is absolutely no comparison between the last War and this War, only a bold stroke by a man of position and standing can possibly save the situation and lead to the avoidance of a prolonged War with its futile run of disaster and death.

You suggest that the Socialist and Pacifist Movement should conclude an alliance to end the War. But where are the Socialists? You must know that true and honest Socialists to-day are as scarce as eggs. The Socialists, so-called, who control the body of workers in the country, are now in the pay of the war-mongers, and it is in their interests that the Duke of Bedford be kept down. Hence I feel that the Duke will require to act on his own, knowing that he has the moral and all other kind of support which thousands of the meantime silent citizens can give him.

The urgency of the matter demands that Action take place at once. With the Duke of Bedford before the public eye and ear, and with *The Word* and such organs driving ahead the Cause for which the Duke speaks, the People are bound in time to make hearty response. For the present Administration at Westminster, especially now that it has proved its incompetence and impotence by the publication of the Churchill-Roosevelt "Scrap of Paper," seems to be on the point of committing suicide. The only way to avoid this is for it to die a natural death. The Duke can effect this in the Lords.

Yours fraternally,
ALEXANDER RATCLIFFE.

Bearsden, August 19, 1941.

[Mr. A. Ratcliffe is the well-known editor of the

Protestant "Vanguard. Since the outbreak of war he has been consistently anti-war and anti-militarist. He holds that a Christian ought not to uphold war and all its horrors and crimes.—Ed.]

Dear Mr. Aldred,—I simply had to write and tell you how enjoyed I am to find the Duke of Bedford's interview with you, in *The Word*, and his splendid suggestion that he should lead a genuine peace movement. I can think of no more suitable man to do so. He seems to possess every qualification needed. The great thing will be to gather together all the true peace-seekers to support him through thick and thin.

The present apology for freedom of speech and thought hampers one considerably, but I do hope the Duke will really get started soon. I only wish that I may be able to do something tangible to help.

I thoroughly appreciate your paper and work. I feel it is so remarkable that, holding your own religious views as you do, you are broad-minded enough to appreciate the Christian point of view so fully.

With all good wishes, your sincerely,

OLGA PIKE.

Llandudno, August 13, 1941.

Dear Comrade,—What can we say but "thanks and thanks"! A very active Wallasey worker for various social causes said last night that she had been puzzling and puzzling who could be got. Others must have been thinking strenuously too as you will of course know. It seemed to me that at last you had got the driver at the wheel, tooted the horn and gently moved the bus on a bit to waken the would be passengers or make them would be passengers. One can work on that. I was very much perturbed to read that the paper may have to be discontinued for want of funds. We owe so much to *The Word* and yet somehow do not come to its aid when it is required. The enclosed is a mere nothing, but perhaps every nothing helps!

With regard to an Opposition, I wonder why so many speak of things being impossible, when all one needs to know beforehand is if the thing is right and needed. It seems impossible to come across one person who has courage and faith to say, "It is needed, and *therefore*, we shall undoubtedly find the ways and means to get it."

With congratulations and best wishes.

Yours sincerely,

AGNES W. MACKAY.

Liverpool, August 14.

Dear Friend,—The August *Word* was magnificent. I felt happy for the first time for many months. I hope the Labour and Socialist movements will respond to the Duke's splendid declaration of his willingness to lead us. *May that day soon dawn.*

It is wonderful to hear the circulation of *The Word* is rising, but I wish you had a big up-to-date machine and stacks of paper. But your work will prosper, all the same. I will just thank you again for your humane and enlightened work.

Yours fraternally,

DOROTHY HOLMS,

(Widow of Captain John F. Holms, M.C., of the Regular Army).

Bath, August 19.

Dear Mr. Aldred,—Please find enclosed my annual subscription to *The Word*.

We in our home are very interested regarding the interview given by the Duke of Bedford for this month's issue. It would indeed be a splendid thing if he took his stand in the House of Lords as the spokesman of the Socialist Pacifists, whose greatest desire is to see a better order of things in this and every land. Having known many kinds of sorrow myself, I can reach out to all my fellow-creatures with an understanding mind and heart, for whatever country we belong we are all the same. I do hope you will have many more subscribers to you journal, it is so refreshing to read.

When my husband and I were travelling in a railway-carriage one day last week, we were glad to hear remarks regarding the national press, such as: "Does the Press think that 'the man in the street' is an idiot, taking in the change of front regarding Russia?" "The whiteness of all we do and the blackness of the enemy," etc., etc.

As for the Prime Minister's speech last Sunday evening, I wept in agony that the Christian Faith should be brought into this orgy of slaughter which is sweeping the world.

Yours faithfully,

(Mrs.) ALICE GOODRICK.

Manchester, August 28, 1941.

Dear Mr. Aldred,—Many thanks for *The Word* for August. I do congratulate you upon the fine magazine (or periodical?) you turn out, both as regards the matter, and the satisfying quantity of it as compared with the rather scrappy sheets so common at present—also the good print and general form.

I also have no interest in theology, sectarianism or orthodox religion, which is so largely a sham and convention, with little true belief. I don't believe in an anthropomorphic God.

I sincerely hope that pacifist, socialist, and other likely bodies or movements will continue and request the Duke of Bedford to become leader of a movement towards Peace and *sanity*. It seems time that some definite move and useful action was put into operation to offset the demoniac character of official activities and motives, especially as the "war" situation may soon develop into a deadlock. Please record my agreement with that cause, if that is any help.

Yours sincerely,

J. C. PAGE.

Winchcombe, August 19.

Dear Comrade,—I would like to express, as a reader of *The Word*, and a member of the P.P.U. and the I.L.P., my approval of your proposal that the Duke of Bedford should be the National Voice of an allied Socialist and Pacifist Movement, and would give all the support I could.

Yours fraternally,

CUTHBERT LEIGH.

Keswick, August 15.

Dear Sir,—We have been told by the M.O.I. that we are fighting to bring into the world a new policy of social justice. We are told also that such a policy must come from the people as part of this war effort. Because of these statements I welcome the interview you publish with the Duke of Bedford.

Those who lead nations in wars and the campaigns of hate that belong to war are not suited to prepare the way for peace. We have no Minister of Peace existing in War Cabinets side by side with the Ministers for War. That is because it is considered impossible to explore the paths of peace whilst pursuing the course of war. Hence those who are prominent in war are, with rare exception, not the best type to promote peace. War blunts their understanding for the tasks of peace establishment. There is a need for someone opposed to war, and outstanding as a champion for peace, to arise, and to take the lead. We need such a representative exponent to define his position now.

Such a man must be outside of all existing parties or groupings. He must possess the spirit of statesmanship so as to be able to effect unity of working between the groups. He must be able to challenge the suggestion of sordid careerism. He must be above the suspicion of political interest.

Your interview with the Duke of Bedford makes me ask: Is he the man? He has certainly opposed his own class for many years and championed the cause of social justice. When the pre-war champions of peace became silent in the dangerous days of War, he asserted his faith in peace and the need to establish peace by negotiation and round-table discussion.

The interview may cause many people to write to the editor stating that they are prepared to support the Duke of Bedford if he gives practical expression of his belief in uniting all the Pacifist and Socialist elements in a common peace cause. They must say what they are prepared to do. They must stand to the position they define. Otherwise they will but condemn anotherman to martyrdom in the struggle against war and social wrong.

Yours faithfully,

R. J. SCRUTTON.

(Editor, *Parliament Christian*).

Kensington, London, W.8, August 25.

Dear Sir,—Please send me some more copies of the August issue of *The Word*. Some of my friends are interested and would like to know more of the Duke of Bedford's views, and had not seen *The Word* before.

DOROTHY F. MARTIN.

Weybridge, 13/8/41.

Dear Mr. Aldred,—I want to suggest that you have a magnificent gathering ground for the forces of pacifism and sanity in *The Word*. You might insert a statement of what we are after, and say, that the response to the current issue of *The Word* makes you believe that those who stand for peace and those who stand for Socialism, in opposition to war and militarism, could agree probably on common action against the criminal futility of all this bloodshed; that world peace and reason wants the biggest army in the world to witness for it, an army of thought, vision, and understanding; an army moving towards the establishment of peace and justice; and that all who realise this need should send their names to *The Word*, and so make, and keep in, contact.

More and *More*, I feel it is needed to get all these different movements of peace and Socialism together at this time of crisis. I believe that is where the Duke of Bedford could play an important part. He could be a reconciler of the forces that must make a coalition for peace, just as other forces have made a coalition for war. I am very keen to gather all the separate movements of peace that would save the world but for their divisions and watertight compartments, into one powerful movement. *So May It Grow.*

Yours Sincerely,

A. RUTH FRY.

Thorpeness, August 13.

[Miss Fry has sent us her important work, "*Everyman's Affair*, A Plea for a Sane Peace," published at 1s. 0d., by Andrew Dakers, Ltd., London. We propose to review this work at length in next issue. Meantime comrades can order it direct, 1s. 3d., post free, from the publishers, or through this office.—Ed.]

Dear Comrade Aldred,—I attach great importance to your interview with the Duke of Bedford, and heartily endorse all you say of him. There can be absolutely no doubt about the necessity of a Churchill opposition, and if the Duke is prepared to be the voice of this opposition in the House of Lords then we should rally all the support for him that is possible.

The Duke, unfettered by party platform, free from the bureaucracy of parliamentary party executives and possessed of a mind unimpaired by the cancerous growth of careerism, is well worthy of the support of all those who love Democracy, and who believe in the ultimate triumph of Truth and Freedom.

Perhaps it will be possible to arrange for a meeting, at which the Duke would speak?

With best wishes, yours fraternally,

KEN BRYAN.

Caldecote, 15/8/41.

Dear Comrades,—The August issue of *The Word* is the most inspiring issue of any Socialist paper that I have come across in war-time. I want to support the Duke of Bedford's plea for a combination of Socialists and Pacifists in a Churchill Opposition and Peace campaign.

I was until recently Secretary of the Brighton I.L.P. I have now become an Anarchist and have left the Party (which, however, I still regard with great admiration, but feel that party and parliamentary politics are out of date). As a C.O. given N.C.C. by the Appelate Tribunal, I have refused to attend medical, and await arrest. These personal details are

included as *bona fides* of my sympathies.

We need something new, and any new movement must be ambitious. In no way must it be narrow. (I mean that emphatically: I find so many so-called revolutionaries—C.P.'ers in particular—who are utterly narrow, conventional and reactionary in their outlook on life). Its propaganda methods must be original, within the limits of its funds. Unlike the C.P. it would not be financed by Russian roubles disguised as American dollars. Guy Aldred already does a good job of work through his postal mission, a very good job of educational work. But we must not stop at the press, unless we can capture public imagination and sympathy to such a degree as to compel the support of some great national daily or weekly. We must not employ falsehood or exaggeration, after the manner of the Communist Party, but we must have initiative and life, which is lacking in the Labour Party, Trade Unions and Co-operative movement. In selling out to the cause of death, these movements, built up by the workers, as expressions of workers' progress, have destroyed themselves. Radio is a news medium that cannot be captured until we have secured a powerful minority-influence. Our message must strike home, until then, from every other possible angle. It must be on everyone's tongue, from breakfast time until nightfall, and after. It must be honest, clear, fearless, optimistic. No tricks! No C.P. tactics this time. We do not want another People's Convention farce, another shadow organisation for a political party.

A mere Churchill opposition is not enough. Churchill might be opposed yet not merely by a pacifist and a Socialist movement seeking the peace of the world, but by a new patriotic nationalist movement, ostensibly Socialist, almost aggressively reformist, that will reveal itself later as a British form of Fascism. We must not oppose Churchill only unwittingly to help the rival leaders of some such movement to power. I do not mean that the British Union of Fascists will recover from being outlawed. I think that autocracy may be ushered in by some purblind, careerist trade union leaders. Unless we preserve fiercely civil rights, as the Duke of Bedford says, serious dangers confront us and the whole of the world's workers. Because of these dangers, I find Guy Aldred's interview with the Duke of Bedford, and his comments, of vital importance. Now is the time to act. Each of us must be willing to play his part, to accomplish teamwork for the salvation of mankind from utter misery and desolation.

There are many people in this country who could come together for such a purpose—Lord Ponsonby, James Maxton, John McGovern, Fenner Brockway, Rhys Davies, Middleton Murray, Stuart Morris, Sir Hugh Roberton, Hugh McDiarmid, Emrys Hughes, Dr. Salter, Ethel Mannin, etc.

As a final suggestion, I would like to ask the editor to reserve one or more pages as a forum for the urgent discussion of the important issues raised by the Duke of Bedford. I would ask him to reprint from other journals of progress, pacifism, and socialism, comments and contributions. Let us bring together, rapidly and usefully, with a view to definite conclusion, all the ideas and proposals that we can collect. Let us build a volunteer army of thought, struggle, and emancipation. Let us have light and understanding.

I would close with a tribute to John Morley and his family. We need more like you and your sons, John.

Fraternally in The Struggle,
F. W. JEFKINS.

Brighton, August 10.

THE CHRISTIAN PACIFIST
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MmilitarismandWoodland

[On August 20, 1918, we completed the third sentence of imprisonment imposed upon us by District Court Martial, for resisting military service, and were returned, under escort, from Wandsworth Prison to the Detention Room at Deepcut Camp. Here, on August 29, 1918, we received our fourth Court Martial, and were returned to Wandsworth Prison, sentenced to two years' hard labour. Between the dates mentioned—August 20 and August 29—we wrote a number of essays on our experiences. The one bearing the title, "Militarism and Woodland," was published in "The Spur," (Vol. V., No. 5, page 103) for October 1918. No apology is required for its reproduction to-day—Ed.]

Since my release from prison I have been mentally and morally barren. The emptiness of life has weighed heavily upon me in this Deepcut detention room, and if I can succeed only in conveying to my readers some understanding of the soul crushing monotony which now oppresses me, I shall be rendering a service not only to my fellow C.O.'s, but also to the soldiers, who, in one way or another, and to only a little less extent, travail through the same slough of despond.

I have normally small taste for the countryside. Still I know, somewhat, the joy of roaming through the woodlands. From the detention room window I can vision the despoilation which has been made of the country by militarism. Woodland has been turned not into useful residential district but into dreary gravelled sanded stony waste: the trees have given place to dull and ugly huts: and the vision which woodland might have rendered poetical and have matured, the barrenness of soulless hut life has destroyed. Where birds should sing, only guns boom. Where men should love, males only lust. Where the mystery of sex should be wonderfully understood, only the sensualism is apprehended. Men understand the fact of sex in a brutal animal way. But the delicacy of sex, all the subtle tenderness which belongs to it, its tender charm, and the growing innocence which comes with deeper knowledge: all this wondrous realm of real comradeship is beyond the ken of those who dwell in a desert which was once happy woodland. From this window I watch the soldiers and the girls go by. Sex attraction parades its vitality with impudence rather than with dignity. And though with some cases, there may be real tender feeling between the parties, in many, if not most, a conscious vulgarity obtrudes itself. Militarism destroys the woodland and degrades the mystery of life. It vulgarises and prostitutes all that it touches.

Thus in the guard room, men on guard idle round the hours of the clock. In the huts, the men, off parade, are appalled by the barrenness of life. All comfort has vanished from it: and with that loss of comfort departs the sense of delicacy, that loving touch of home, which makes angels out of outcasts, and saints out of loafers. Reduced to its barest need life becomes abnormally brutal: and so the soldier, with his simple life, so far as comfort is concerned, and his regulated burden of duty and obligation, so far as military necessity demands, becomes something less than a man for all normal purposes. The craving of sex is fostered by his barrack-enforced asceticism. The comradeship of human difference is lost sight of, because the vision of it never penetrates the gloom of dull despair and hopeless discipline the war has developed. So the soldier expresses the barrenness of life.

Yet the sons of men, degraded and depressed by "Christian" institutions and capitalist newspapers, are not bad fellows. I have heard the stories of expeditionary men, received their hand clasps, acknowledged their comradeship, and realised the wonderful drawing together which is taking place between us socialist C.O.'s and the soldiers who have fought in Flanders. Stay-at-home civilians and some Red Caps may hate us, but the genuine soldier who has fought and suffered knows no such hatred. He is one of us, and we are all the boys.

But militarism has destroyed the woodland, the woodland which hallows life, which evidences its mystery, which makes us feel so marvellously at one with all nature. It has seized on our poor human nature, which has been dwarfed by the slum and arrested by gold, and denied us the right to know and to grow. Militarism has discovered woman in slavery and added to her chains. It has found her ignorant and outraged her in addition. It has seized her son and conscripted her womb. Herself, intended by nature to be the channel of progressive revolution throughout the ages, she is but deemed the gutter pipe of venereal disease.

So the war goes on. So woman is deemed a hanger-on of man, an instrument to satisfy his lusts, and perpetuate his ambitions. Good Christian divines, labour leaders, newspaper men, exfeminists, all encourage this loathsome conception of woman's function in life.

Yes, I honour woman. I reverence mother, sister, and sweetheart, because I realise how much we have in common as human beings, how small is the difference between us as sexes, and yet how uniting and vitally harmonious are the consequences, of these subtle differences. Understanding this, I oppose the militarism which is corrupting youth of both sexes. As I look out upon the desert which has supplanted woodland in this district, I vision how militarism thrives in the desert; the desert of barren love, of barren knowledge, of barren comradeship. I turn from the window and hear the sounds that come from the guard room. I hear the cry of human nature going up against this barren life of militarism. Fellowship, knowledge, true holy love are demanding to have their place in life: and so, once again there is the writing on the wall to be read and understood by all who will read and understand. Militarism is doomed. One day the woodland will take us children of the earth into her haunts and glades, and recall us to the romance of love and peace. She will demand that we shall eat of the fruit of reverence and peace, the fruit of the *tree of knowledge* of good and evil.

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Situated in Grey Street—West, East Melbourne (opposite St. Patrick's Cathedral), the Unitarian Church is reached by all trams to and from Collins Street. It is within one minute's walk from Parliament House. The Rev. W. Bottomley preaches regularly on Sunday evenings at the services, beginning at 7. Readers of *The Word* resident in Melbourne are invited to attend. Rationalists, Pacifists, Socialists, as well as Unitarians, welcomed.

During the greater part of the year, the Melbourne Forum meets in the Church on Sunday afternoon at 3-30, when addressed are delivered by well-known men and women on matters of public interest. These are followed by questions and discussion.

The Crisis of Modern Civilisation, a sermon delivered by the Rev. W. Bottomley against war, is now issued in Britain by *The Strickland Press*, Price 2d. Delivered in April, 1939, and broadcast at the time, it represents views still maintained by its author.

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HERBERT MORRISON

In *The Word* for April, 1941, our colleague, C. H. Norman, reproduced extracts from a war-resisters' speech made by Herbert Morrison at the Albert Hall, London, on December 5, 1926. To that speech Herbert Morrison owes part of that public status which now permits him to function as Home Secretary and Minister for Home Security in a War administration.

At the Tribunals, conscientious objectors are asked to pledge themselves that, *at no time and under no circumstances* will they support war. If they hesitate to do this, because they feel that they cannot pledge the future, which is correct ethics, they are turned down as not being genuine. On this reasoning, Herbert Morrison and Sir Patrick Dollan could never have been genuine, for they were yesterday anti-war and are, to-day, very much pro-war, urging others to fight and to face the perils of war. Our view is that men who change their views under such circumstances, such changes tending to their political and social advancement, ought to retire from public life. This is the only ethical view to take.

The *Manchester Guardian* for Thursday, June 13, 1940, published a two-column report, headed:

"MR. MORRISON CALLS FOR STILL GREATER EFFORT"

The opening sentences of the report read:—

"Mr. Herbert Morrison, Minister of Supply, speaking for the National Defence Public Interest Committee at a luncheon in London yesterday, referred to the increase in the war effort already achieved and to the need for making it greater still."

In the speech that followed, Morrison referred to Britain, France, and the United States, as though there were no divisions of classes in these countries, and as though each country was represented by a single unit of thought and interest. He concluded with a tribute to Mr. Churchill as "our Prime Minister."

We would take no exception to this but for the fact that Morrison owes his position in public life to the fact that he had pretended that class divisions existed in society and that he represented the working class, in opposition to Churchill and his class. He has climbed to the position of being a war-time Cabinet Minister by his past affectation of anti-militarism and Socialist exposition. To our minds, let apologists of various kinds say what they will, such proceedings must rank as expressions of undiluted hypocrisy. Our readers must feel the same when they consider what Morrison wrote in 1914.

The following article is extracted from *The Labour Leader*, for September 3, 1914, page 2, col. 1:—

KING AND COUNTRY NEED YOU!

By Herbert Morrison.

Your King and Country Need You!

Ah! Men of the Country, you are remembered. Neither the King, nor the Country, nor the picture papers had really forgotten you. When your master tried to cut your wages down, did you think he knew nothing of your beautiful brave heart? When you were unemployed, did you think your Country had forgotten you? When the military were used against you in the strikes, did you wonder if your King was quite in love with you? Ah! foolish one.

Your King and Country Need You!

Need hundreds and thousands of you to go to hell and to do the work of hell. The Commandment says: "Thou shalt not kill." Pooh! What does it matter? Commandments, like treaties, were made to be broken. Ask your parson, he will explain.

Your King and Country Need You!

Go forth, little soldier! Though you know not what you fight for, go forth. Though you have no grievance against your German brother—go forth and kill him! Though you may know he has a wife and family dependent upon him—go forth and slay him, he is only a German dog. Will he not kill you if he gets a chance? Of course he will.

He is being told the same story!

His King and Country Needs Him!

How can the man who penned this extreme Socialist anti-war and anti-militarist declaration be allowed to remain in public office, in a War Cabinet, as Minister of Home Security?

LABOUR MILITARISTS—NOW!

HOW DO THEY MANAGE TO BE SO?

A Letter of Enquiry from The Duke of Bedford.

Dear Aldred,—When I was a very little boy, there was a rhyme that my father used sometimes to repeat to me.

"Poor old Robinson Crusoe,
He made him a coat
Of an old nanny-goat,
How the deuce did he manage to do so?"

When I read the startling records that appear from time to time in *The Word* of the past sayings of ex-pacifist members of the Labour Party who are now members of the War Government or ardent supporters of the war, I ask myself again and again, in respect of their present policy and actions, "How the deuce do they manage to do so?" If they had always been fools on the war issue, or even if their attitude towards war had been a negative one, their conduct would be understandable. But the extraordinary thing is that, in the past, they seem to have been really well-informed and enlightened men. They said many shrewd and even courageous things. They used weighty arguments which I myself have been glad to borrow. They even, by investigation, gained a thorough knowledge of the welter of selfish and disgraceful intrigue which lies behind all great European wars and spreads the guilt of responsibility so widely. If they had ever been led to change their attitude one would have thought that it could only have been if a war situation had arisen in which responsibility rested to a quite abnormal extent on the enemies of Britain. Nevertheless, they have been bowled over and induced to abandon their principles over quite the most obviously foolish and unnecessary war which it is possible to imagine. No British interest was at stake, if we decide not to consider the financial commitments in Poland of a great insurance Company a "British interest." No enlightened democracy was being attacked, for the Polish Government was most undemocratic and it, or its predecessors, had a bad record for tyranny or even aggression. It was not even the case that Germany attacked Poland without any excuse; even Mr. Lloyd George has in the past declared in the strongest language that the arrangements made in Poland by the Treaty of Versailles would prove intolerable to the Germans and the democratic German statesman, Herr Streseman, said the same thing. The proposals made by Hitler for remedying these grievances which our alliance encouraged the Poles to reject, were, moreover, most reasonable, and the objection that he is untrustworthy is irrelevant for wise men agree to the *reasonable* demands of untrustworthy people with especial readiness, since thereby they strengthen enormously their position if later they should have to oppose them over demands which are *not* just.

The volte-face of the Labour pacifists really strikes me as rather terrifying. It reminds me of certain events which happened when I was a member of the Prisoners' Aid Committee at Portsmouth. At the time which I have in mind, a neighbouring prison, by reason of the excellent and enlightened policy of its governor, was famed for its prisoners' aid work and for the high percentage of men who were brought back permanently to the paths of virtue. In another prison, there was a prison visitor, respected for his experience and general helpfulness; while in London we had got in touch with a retired Army Officer who proved most valuable to us in the important and difficult work of securing employment for the discharged men.

Alas, however, there came a dreadful day when we heard that the Governor of the modern prison had himself got into trouble through misappropriating the funds of the Prisoners' Aid Society! Within a few days one of the members of our P.A.S., on going to Brighton, discovered that the respected member of the Brighton P.A.S. was also enjoying His Majesty's hospitality. Close upon the heels of this came the final blow when the police told us not to have anything more to do with our officer friend, who was about to be arrested for an exceedingly unpleasant crime. Poor old human nature! How were the mighty fallen! In another twenty years (I shall be just the right age for a War Minister then!) I, too, may be demanding the slaughter of some aggressor, or rather of some aggressor's people. So perhaps, when I feel moved to indignation and even a little contempt for the ex-pacifist Labour men, I ought rather to say, "There, but for the grace of God, goes Bedford!"

Yours very truly,

BEDFORD.

Newton Stewart, August 8.

18B. PRISONERS

DUKE OF BEDFORD'S PROTEST.

We have received a large number of papers, local, national, or devoted to some special interest, containing letters "to the Editor" from the Duke of Bedford on the subject of war, conscience, and civic rights.

In this issue we reproduce one, from the columns of the *Catholic Herald*, London, for August 8 last. This reads as follows:—

Sir,—I have read with interest your comments on the arrest of Mr. Cahir Healy and on the working of Regulation 18B.

The worst and most dangerous feature of this Regulation as an attack on the liberty of the subject, unnecessary even under the abnormal conditions of war, is the failure to secure proper examination by a competent authority of the informants who have made charges against the persons detained. It is fairly obvious that real justice cannot be secured unless these informants are forced to submit to the procedure of a Court of Law.

In the recent Debate on the Regulation the Home Secretary maintained that there were difficulties in the way of allowing proper legal investigation, partly by reason of the length of time which would be involved and partly because Courts of Law are accustomed to deal with questions of fact and not to adjudicate on matters where action is taken on mere suspicion. Even, however, if we accept this view, it remains the duty of the Home Office to see that all informants are personally examined by the Advisory Committee which hears the appeals of detained persons under conditions where the prisoners themselves are available to the Committee and in those all too numerous cases where the Home Secretary decides to disregard a recommendation for the prisoner's release made by the Advisory Committee which he has appointed, he should himself undertake the task of making a proper enquiry, in the manner already specified.

Anyone who has had practical experience in getting to the bottom of a matter where some person, or persons, make a charge against an individual, must be aware that it is impossible for the wisest man alive to reach a just and final judgment merely on the evidence of written statements. This is particularly true where the persons concerned are strangers to him and where, in addition, there is likely to be an abnormal amount of prejudice and even downright falsehood.

Information against detained persons often comes from those whose capacity for forming accurate opinions has been seriously affected by war emotionalism. It may also come from persons animated by jealousy or ill-will; and it may come from official agents. With regard to these latter, it is not at all uncommon for them to seek to prove something against the person whose actions and outlook they have been directed to investigate. Seeing that they will be more likely to gain the approval of their superiors in their department if their enquiries seem to have had positive results, it is only human nature that this should be so: reports of the innocence of the suspected persons, if frequent, are not so likely to win approval and enhance the chances of an increase in salary. For this reason, if justice is to be secured, agents, in place of being regarded as persons of unusual reliability, should be subjected to very strict examination.

BEDFORD

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THE EDITOR'S TRIALS

IN THE DOCK

In *The Word* for September, 1940 (Vol. II., No. 2, pages 13-16), we commenced a record of our various trials. In that issue was published both the legal and ordinary press reports of the 1909 London Trial for Indian Sedition. Mr. Justice Coleridge's definition of sedition in his summing up became an important legal ruling. It was quoted considerably in "the trial of the twelve," which opened at the No. 1 Court, in the Central Criminal Court, Old Bailey, on Monday, November 16, 1925. Harry Pollitt, J. R. Campbell, and William Gallacher defended themselves. Sir Henry Slesser, since elevated to the Bench, and the late W. R. Pringle, M.P., defended the other defendants between them. Slesser founded the legal case for the defence on the rulings in cases of John Burns, Guy Aldred, and Sullivan. Sir Douglas Hogg, as Attorney-General, prosecuted, and the late Mr. Justice Rigby Swift presided.

The Workers' Weekly, the C. P. organ, for November 27, 1925, carried very full reports of the trials. "Court Impressions" were contributed by T. A. Jackson, who wrote:—

"The counsel work in relays. Sometimes the Attorney-General is replaced by Sir Travers Humphreys, and he in turn by Mr. Percival Clarke. Sometimes Sir Henry Slesser is deputised for by Mr. Arthur Henderson, junior. Pollitt, Campbell and Gallacher each in turn takes a hand. Slowly the work goes on. . . .

"Law cases are cited, whole libraries grow on the shelf behind counsel and on the judge's table. Famous cases bringing in a savour of stirring historical episodes—Tom Paine's case, with its memory of the French Revolution and the 'Rights of Man'; Sir Francis Burdett's case, a memory of Radical excitements with the Life Guards clearing Piccadilly with their pistols; Thomas Cooper's case, an echo of the Chartist days and the 'Sacred Month'; T. D. Sullivan's case from the Fenian days; John Burns' case from the early days of the S.D.F. and the unemployed riots; Aldred's case and Indian Nationalism; Bowman's case and Syndicalist anti-militarism. Echoes of the past waft from the pages of the soberly-bound volumes, quoted in almost casual tones by the bewigged and begowned men of the law.

Do the jury know the history drama indicated in the legal title 'Rex v. Paine' or 'Rex v. Sullivan'?

From *The Workers' Weekly* summary of Douglas Hogg's speech, we make this excerpt:—

"The test cases which Sir Henry Slesser had referred to were those of Burns, Aldred and Sullivan. He would take a test from the judgment in each case and use them to show that these were as he had claimed. . . .

"From the judgment in Aldred's case the Attorney-General quoted the test 'was the language used calculated to advocate the use of violence and its justification.' He claimed that passages which he read showed that the ends of the Communists could be attained only by armed revolt and the forcible overthrow of bourgeois society."

If this argument meant anything at all, it implied that all Communist propaganda was outlawed.

We pass to our second trial for sedition. This took place in Glasgow in 1921. So far as we know, no legal report exists of this trial. It was reported well in the local press; in the *Daily Herald*, by the present Lord Provost, who approved and applauded our defence; discussed in *The Worker* by William Gallacher, now M.P., and John S. Clarke, who wrote well on the matter of prosecution; and in *The Socialist*, the organ of the Socialist Labour Party, by Harry McShane, at that time associated with John MacLean, but later a member of the Communist Party and National Unemployed Workers' Movement. The bringing together of these various reports is a service to the history of the movement.

After these reports have been published, we shall collect our following trials: Court-Martials, for resisting military service in time of war; irregular marriage; birth-control propaganda, with which we were casually and accidentally and not actively associated, for we object to birth-control propaganda being conducted as a money-making racket; and Free Speech Trials, which we won on law, only for the Glasgow Labour Town Council to fail to implement the law. This censure applies to the I.L.P. as well as to the Labour Party members. In due course we will deal with this matter thoroughly.

Below are the reports of the 1921 Glasgow Sedition Trial.

I. THE BRITISH WHITE TERROR

BY W. GALLACHER, M.P.

[Gallacher (not then M.P.) wrote a very human and very feeling account in "The Worker," Glasgow, July 30, 1921, under the title, "The British White Terror." He gave a lengthy and powerful description of how Scotland Yard runs the country, rather than the Cabinet. Then followed an exposition of the class struggle. He proceeded to detail the trial. —Ed.]

Imprisonment of Communists is now a matter of daily occurrence, and is generally being accepted as such.

The workers look dully on while Freedom is being slowly strangled in the interests of a decaying capitalism, as though it was something of no importance to them. But dull and apathetic as they may be, there surely is not one of them who makes any claim to manhood or womanhood, but must feel the spirit of protest arise within him or her at the unspeakable savage treatment that has been meted out to our comrade, Guy Aldred. Think of it! Kept in prison in solitary confinement for over three months while his enemies were plotting and planning to get up a case against him. . . .

Three months to prepare their case, and Aldred a prisoner all that time, and then—what a wretched show they made.

Aldred was accused of advocating violence, yet it was not he but his accusers who had the court and its environs packed with police and plain clothes men, all of them armed and ready to use their weapons in the most violent manner at the slightest provocation.

See the Lord Advocate's deputy standing there mouthing empty platitudes about peace and religion, the while he is surrounded by hired gunmen whose principal duty is to retain for capitalism the wealth that has been stolen from the worker. See in the dock, supported only by his loyal comrades, McLeish and Jenny Patrick, our comrade Aldred fighting the age-long battle of the slave class against those who would keep them in subjection. No one could sit in the court without recognising the debasing meanness of the accusers and the intellectual superiority of the accused.

In the midst of all this humbug and sham that pervaded the court, Aldred stood out clear and distinct, a *man* among *mannikins*.

No one can have more cause to hate the thought of prison than the present writer, yet in spite of all the suffering that it entails I'd rather a thousand times be Aldred with his twelve months imprisonment than the Lord Advocate's deputy with the price of his hire.

In attacking Aldred or any other advocate of working-class emancipation, they are attacking not only the individual but the Class the individual represents. The response to the Capitalist "White Terror" is organisation that will put Capitalism out of business.

Aldred and the others are in gaol, because the class they represent is weak. We are weak because we lack organisation. . . .

Our spokesmen are in gaol, and we are in chains.

We must break the chains and open the prison doors.

II. GUY ALDRED'S TRIAL

By H. McSHANE

[Reprinted from the "Socialist," June 30, 1921. The heading is the one used by McShane.—Ed.]

The trial of Guy Aldred, Miss Patrick, D. McLeish, and A. Fleming took place at the High Court, held in Glasgow on the 20th June. The charge was one of sedition.

The local members of the Anti-Parliamentary Communist Party, on the advice of Guy Aldred, had issued a paper of their own entitled the *Red Commune*. Only one number of the paper appeared. The articles were mostly taken from other papers. Extracts here and there formed the indictment.

The judge was Lord Skerrington. Out of a jury of fifteen, eight were women.

Mr. Morton appeared for A. Fleming. Fleming is the printer, and has no connection with the Party.

At the outset, Mr. Morton raised the question of relevancy, but his objections were overruled by the judge.

Among the articles complained of was one entitled "Our Word to You." Another was an article, "Boycott Parliament," by Col. Malone, M.P.

Guy Aldred also raised objection to the proceedings. He quoted Lord Justice Coleridge, who stated that a man is entitled to express his opinion on any subject, and that courts and juries were not judges in such matters. He pointed out that a revolution by a majority was constitutional. He said further that sedition changed its meaning from age to age. What was considered sedition at one period becomes part of the constitution at another period. He said that despite these things, the law still remained the same.

The judge overruled all the objections.

Detective-Lieutenant McGimpsey was the first witness. He started off by relating the history of the Glasgow Communist Group. After he had spoken for some time, Guy Aldred wanted to know what all this had to do with the charge. McGimpsey also gave evidence regarding a visit paid to Miss Patrick's house.

He was followed by Superintendent Keith and a few other police witnesses.

Evidence was given about a visit to Burnbank Gardens.

Further evidence was given regarding the arrest of Aldred.

Accounts were produced in court to show that there were transactions between the G.C.G. and Fleming.

Aldred questioned the witnesses frequently and effectively.

One of the police witnesses was questioned closely regarding Aldred's arrest. Aldred asked at what time the warrant was issued for his arrest. The reply was, four o'clock on the afternoon of March the 2nd. The witness did not know that Aldred was in London. A visit was paid the same night, at eight o'clock, to Bakunin House in Glasgow.

Aldred then wanted to know how it was that he was arrested in London the same day at four o'clock. Aldred said that according to law before a man can be arrested in London the warrant must be endorsed by a London Magistrate. The witness said that his warrant was endorsed by a London Magistrate, but Aldred said that was on the 5th March, but he had been in prison from the 2nd.

All the witnesses for the prosecution were police except one young lady who had been a former minute secretary of the Group. She was called and questioned regarding whether or not Aldred was present on the night on which the Group had decided to issue the paper. She could not say.

Witnesses were then called to testify to the character of A. Fleming. Among the witnesses there appeared a schoolmaster, a clergyman, a doctor, and a Quaker. They all stated that Fleming had done good work among children, and that so far as they knew he would not in any way help in the spreading of sedition! The Advocate Depute questioned them pretty closely regarding the cartoon in the *Red Commune*.

In the cartoon a worker is portrayed as stamping out crowns, eagles, and several other things representing militarism, and various forms of authority. Among these things is a Bible. The Advocate Depute made the most of that, but Aldred put another interpretation on it which entirely altered the complexion of things.

No witnesses were called for Aldred, McLeish or Miss Patrick.

The Advocate Depute spoke for the prosecution. He went over all the sections of the

indictment, making the most of every point.

He was followed by counsel for Fleming, who contended that Fleming was not responsible. He held that there was no sedition in the paper. He quoted some parts which he said he could not understand, and which could only be described as "a mouthful of words." If there was sedition then Fleming could not be blamed as he was very busy at the time the paper was printed.

He was followed by Guy Aldred.

Aldred at the outset stated that he was defending McLeish and Miss Patrick. The judge said that since he was not a member of the Faculty he could not do so, but, he said, that his statement had no meaning because the other accused could adopt Aldred's defence as their own. Aldred was allowed to leave the dock and face the jury.

He was easily the smartest man in the court. He stood upright and his voice was clear. Nothing short of a verbatim report would do justice to his speech. He charged the other side with conspiracy and sedition. He quoted legal authorities freely. He pointed out that sedition was not an ordinary offence like murder or theft. It all depended on what interpretation one put on your statements, and it changed with circumstances. He mentioned the fact that some time ago the Liberals raised the cry of "Abolish the House of Lords," and that was not sedition. "If the Lords why not the Commons." He characterised the prosecution as dishonest, and said that honesty was often on the side of defence. He didn't think it criminal to express his opinion, but it would be criminal to surrender his right to do so. His method was to start a campaign to convert the people by reason. He mentioned that some of the articles in connection with which he was charged had been published previously by the *Forward* and the *Worker*. He asked if the authorities had been sleeping when these articles first appeared. He spoke about the fact that the indictment was composed of extracts from the articles. He said, "When you read a paper, one or two words don't come out and hit you on the eye." Much fuss had been made of the statement in the paper, about making war on the Parliamentary Communists. On this matter Aldred quoted the fact that Bunyan always spoke in military terms. He also quoted the hymn, "Onward Christian Soldiers." It simply meant "'fight the good fight with all your might,' that's what I'm doing at the present time." At one stage he described the prosecution as "futile, stupid and imbecile." His speech finished nicely. He had stated openly where he stood, and left it to the jury to decide. He didn't ask for "not proven" but "not guilty."

The judge summed up in the usual way. He said that a cartoon is never sedition. He also said that to demand a change of Government by "Act of Parliament" ws all right, but any other method was sedition. He ended by telling the jury that they had first to decide whether or not the articles complained of were seditious and if so were the accused responsible. After an absence of a few minutes the jury returned a verdict of "guilty." The jury were unanimous with one exception.

Mr. Morton asked for leniency for Fleming.

Aldred took full responsibility, and suggested that he should get the heavier sentence.

Miss Patrick said that she was prepared to take her share of the responsibility, and did not desire Guy Aldred to take her share of the punishment.

D. McLeish said that he took his share of the responsibility, and had no desire to shelter behind "Comrade Aldred."

Lord Skerrington then passed sentence on all accused. Guy Aldred, one year; D. McLeish, 3 months; Miss Patrick, 3 months; A. Fleming, 3 months, and £50 fine, failing payment of which another three months' imprisonment.

(To be concluded.)

RICHARD LEE'S ANTI-WAR HERESY

UNITARIAN WAR DISCOURTESY CONSIDERED

We are somewhat surprised at our Unitarian contemporary, *The Inquirer*.

In its issue for June 14, 1941 (page 200, No. 5163) it published the following editorial attack on *The Word*, and on the Rev. Richard Lee, M.A., of Coventry, for writing in our columns:

"UNITARIANS AND THE HOLY WAR"

The Inquirer receives—as probably a number of Unitarian ministers receive—a contemporary, which, although unconnected with any particular movement, prints in the current number what it calls Unitarian notes. It also contains an article by the Rev. Richard Lee, of Coventry, entitled "Unitarians and the Holy War." The article purports to be an account of certain phases of the last annual meeting of the General Assembly. Mr. Lee writes of the resolution on Peace Aims, moved from the chair by Mr. P. M. Oliver, and seconded by the Rev. Lawrence Redfern, as follows.—

"The mover of the resolution in his address from the chair and the seconder acted far otherwise. One speaker spoke of the war as having its cause in a beer-cellar at Munich. The other questioned whether the Treaty of Versailles was not too lenient for the guilt of the Germans who made the last war.

"As a considerable proportion of the audience resented this war manufactured history these garbled versions were not allowed to pass without protest. One speaker of the pacifist group, among other arguments aroused a violent storm by pointing out that we were doing the same things as the Nazis in Bremen., Hamburg and Berlin and boasting about it.

"We were not such Holy Innocents as the war-supporters pictured us. When another speaker got up to show how the post-war treament of Germany had created Hitlerism, the British Nazis cried "Vote, Vote, Vote," and the closure was applied."

Mr. Lee's special interpretation of the first two speeches was made by him also, soon after the meeting, in the correspondence columns of "The Inquirer." Since it was ignored there it can be ignored here. As to the implications of the second paragraph only those present at the meeting can judge, and Mr. Lee can be left with his own particular dramatisation of what took place. But the third paragraph does not need comment. Perhaps it was not possible for Mr. Lee to indicate that the speaker referred to was himself, neither may it have been possible for him to say that the billed end of the meeting had arrived when he got up to speak, neither, perhaps, was it possible for him to appreciate that the discussion into which he desired to intervene had little to do with the resolution, and the extraneous matters with which the discussion dealt had been most ably put from different sides; but common courtesy might have suggested to him that at that late hour, most delegates wanted the meeting to end. Instead he chooses to assume an air of pugnacious persecution and to call his fellow Unitarians "British Nazis."

Mr. Lee chooses his own violence of language, and makes his own dramatisation of events—and in spite of that will be understood by many who disagree with him. But to traduce a meeting conducted with scrupulous fairness (the closure was put to the meeting and carried by a large majority), in an outside paper that is willing to take his account, is hardly a promising introduction into the peaceful world brotherhood in which, apparently, he believes.

The tone of this article shows how thoroughly the spirit of war has conquered the spirit of love and understanding which is supposed to be the inspiration of all Christians. Such understanding is alleged to find full expression in the lives and conduct of Unitarians because of the persecution they have experienced for their heresies. Yet our friend, the editor of *The Inquirer*, casts aside all pretence of charity and even ordinary secular courtesy. He states that *The Word*—which he does not name but mentioned in a roundabout way as a certain type of contemporary—is unconnected with any particular movement. The writer of this nonsense has followed our career as well as any man in the kingdom and knows that we have been connected with the Socialist, Anarchist, and Freethought movements for over thirty-five years. This sneer is untrue in substance and in form. It only means that at the beginning of our rebel thinking days we stepped outside the popular carerist alleged expressions of the Labour movements. We have stood for the spirit of progress and not relied on the machinery of power and corruption. Is this an offence in the eyes of our Unitarian editor? With what particular movement was Jesus connected? If we remember our reading rightly, no particular movement sorrowed for him at his execution. Did the Unitarians, either in England or the United States in their best days, form an actual organised movement. We gathered that they existed rather in spirit, yet very definitely, than in organisational form.

Failure to name *The Word* is cowardice. If he wanted to attack *The Word*, the editor of *The Inquirer* ought to have attacked honourably and openly.

What connection has the reference to "any particular movement" to the fact that we printed "Unitarian Notes." They *were* Unitarian Notes. We have published in our columns articles by, and appreciations of, the Rev. H. J. Adlard, of Bath, with records of his great United States activity, for which our contemporary had no room. Was that wrong? Or does our contemporary wish excellent work to be buried in oblivion unless its editor pleases to take official notice? So would the Pharisees have silenced Jesus, and the Trinitarian Churches have rendered futile the work of the Unitarian pioneers.

Our contemporary sneers at the thought that a number of Unitarian ministers receive *The Word*. Is it afraid? Of course we conduct a postal mission, as means permit. Of course we sometimes send copies to the Unitarian ministers. We pay them the undeserved compliment of believing that they are free spirits and willing participators in any feast of Truth and of reason to which they may be invited. We did not realise that they were so busy over secular affairs and careerism that Truth meant nothing to them. We believed them guilty of so much promising spirituality. Unfortunately, it was promising only, but not vital. Too many Unitarian speakers are incapable of maturity.

Our contemporary passes to the real complaint. The Rev. Richard Lee, M.A., well-known in the Labour movement of Great Britain, a personal friend and a doughty opponent of the present writer, a fearless Anti-Militarist speaker and a pioneer enemy of Fascism, wrote an article in our columns attacking Unitarians for being pro-war! What unforgiveable heresy!

The Inquirer complains that Richard Lee wrote for *"an outside paper that is willing to take his account."* This slurs not only Richard Lee, but also ourself. It implies that, *knowing the account to be false*, we were willing to publish such an account. This is libellous.

We are not willing to publish false accounts. We are anxious to publish the truth. We were willing to publish Richard Lee's account because we know him to be a fearless propagandist of the Truth as he sees it. He was victimised in Glasgow for serving the Truth and he has sacrificed careerism in the Labour movement for the sake of Truth. Further, our contemporary does not deny the truth of his writings. It only seeks to explain the circumstances. *He who excuses himself, accuses himself.*

There was indignation and not violence in Richard Lee's writing.

Richard Lee is sneered at for not mentioning that the speaker who did not receive a fair hearing was himself. Was that necessary? Is it not enough that, at the Unitarian Assembly, the Anti-War speaker, in war time, was greeted with cries of "Vote," "Vote?" Does the fact need specious explanation? Is the name of the speaker relevant?

Richard Lee refers to himself in an anonymous third person from modesty. *The Inquirer* resents such anonymity and demands that he name himself in an article which attacks, under anonymous description, *The Word*.

Had we attacked *The Inquirer* by innuendo it would have been from cowardice allied to discourtesy. We conclude that editorial rules are the same, no matter who the editor may be, or what the alleged status of the paper.

The Inquirer, for July 26, published the following reply by Richard Lee to its unworthy editorial:—

Sir,—Your article of June 14 has only reached me to-day. Though my comment is belated I hope you may be able to publish it. Your anonymous contributor asserts that my proposed contribution at the Assembly and the discussion were irrelevant and had nothing to do with the resolution.

Our attitude to our own past and to our own wrongdoing in 1919 has everything to do with the possibility of that happy future pictured in the resolution. It is entirely relevant to the resurrection of the better German mind without which Europe will be a desolation of the ages.

"Our deeds still travel with us from afar
And what we have been makes us what we are."

As to the other point raised. The Nazi spirit is to suppress all opinions except the one official view which is divinely right.

I do not blame the chairman or those responsible for keeping to time but the noisy minority who interrupted Mr. Spencer and were unwilling to stay five minutes to hear the other side did manifest that intolerance which is very contagious in war-times.—Yours,

RICHARD LEE.

Coventry.

The Rev. Sidney Spencer, B.A., of Liverpool, and the Rev. Richard Lee, M.A., of Coventry, adopted the correct Christian and Unitarian position. They are uncompromising Anti-Militarists, but with charity of mind towards the rank-and-file victims of militarism. The official Unitarian position is neither Christian nor Unitarian. It is simply a chaos of statist war theology, paganism labelled Christian; a diabolical riot of murderous mock respectability, utterly unforgiveable when engaged in by alleged heretics and the children of heretics. Statism knows nothing about heresy. The spirit of war is the spirit of thoughtless violence and orthodoxy. No genuine Unitarian can uphold it, express it, or compromise with it.

WAR AND CHRISTIANITY

IS THERE A FUNDAMENTAL CONTRADICTION?

REV. SIDNEY SPENCER'S POSITION

The discussion between Richard Lee and the editor of *The Inquirer*, considered in another column, directs attention to the anti-war position adopted by the Rev. Sidney Spencer, B.A., of Liverpool. Sidney Spencer is a vigorous and consistent anti-militarist and we are tempted to recall a sermon he delivered over a year ago to the congregation of Hope Street Church, Liverpool.

Preaching on the evening of Sunday, July 14, 1940, Mr. Spencer asked if the recent outer change in events called for a corresponding revision of their inner attitude. Since the outbreak of war, the proportion of men taking the stand for conscience sake had fallen very considerably. Well-known people like Mr. C. E. M. Joad, Bertrand Russell, and Miss Maud Royden, felt, under the circumstances, they could no longer maintain a rooted opposition to all war. Were they right?

We spoke sometimes of "the Christian conscience," but the conscience of Christian people was not something fixed and final. A Christian leader like Martin Luther declared that war was an essential element in God's scheme for the world. But Erasmus taught that war was completely wrong, and the early Unitarians—the "Socinians"—and the Anabaptists followed the same rule.

Luther and Erasmus both sincerely tried to do what was right. One believed in war; the other rejected it. Could we decide between them?

Erasmus was not entirely alone, and behind him there was a certain tradition. To-day it was widely recognised that there was a common standard, a Christian spirit. By that test Erasmus, not Luther, was the true exponent of the law of Christ.

Even those who considered war was necessary were prepared to admit that war was anti-Christ! He had never been able to understand how it was possible to hold that position, and still to believe in Christianity. To him it seemed to involve a fundamental contradiction. The churches had advanced to the recognition of the fact of the essentially un-Christian character of war, and yet they could pray for the divine blessing and help on a method that in principle they condemned! The position was utterly lacking in moral consistency. If the Christian witness against war had any reality in it at all, it surely involved a renunciation of war.

The Christian position of opposition to war was not easy to maintain in war-time. It was so eminently contrary to the traditional national outlook and practice. But Christianity was essentially revolutionary. The only position that could be harmonised with the life and spirit of Christ was that which took its stand on the law of love, and rejected the way of war.

IS THE WAR A CHRISTIAN CRUSADE?

By The Rev. RICHARD LEE, M.A.

(Minister, New Street Meeting House, Coventry)

I have been handed a leaflet published by F. C. B., St. Stephen's Church, London, E.C.2. It states boldly and unashamedly what many Christian folk believe in a furtive, shamefaced sort of way that the war is being fought for the holy cause of Christianity. The leaflet ends thus:—

IN THE NAME OF CHRIST
We can win this war,
We must win this war, and
We WILL win this war.

The clergyman who writes the leaflet holds among others things,

That killing others in war is taking up the Cross of Jesus.

That war is the only way to subdue evil.

That Pacifists are disloyal not only to the State but to Christ.

That Jesus counselled his disciples to buy swords and use them.

These are the easy assumptions of F.C.B., and of millions of others, which I want to examine.

There is one thing in the leaflet with which one may be in agreement—"Nazism is an evil thing and must be destroyed." There are, however, some glaring errors as to the causes of Nazism, the methods of its destruction and the attitude of Christ to modern war.

Let us begin with the practical situation. This leaflet is blind to the facts as to what Nazism is and its causes.

(1) Nazism is a disease. It is an aggravated form of Nationalism and Imperialism. It is caused by other Imperialisms, including our own. The deeper causes of the war will not be touched by killing millions of Germans.

(2) We helped to create Nazism by joining with France to make the League of Nations a farce and a hypocrisy. We refused to fulfil our pledge to secure all-round disarmament and revise the Treaties. Had we done this there would have been no Hitler and no war.

(3) The only people who can destroy Hitlerism are the German people themselves. A minority would be against him now if they thought Britain would make a just peace. But they were tricked before, and have no reason to think that they will be any better treated this time.

(4) A moral and spiritual disease can only be destroyed by moral and spiritual remedies. It is nonsense, wicked nonsense, to think that cowardly bombing, poison gas, food destruction, brothels and all the other beastly methods of modern war can overcome evil.

(5) To quote the example of Christ in favour of modern war is the most blasphemous part of the leaflet. The Spirit of Christ is utterly opposed to casting out evil by means of doing evil. Paul summed up the whole attitude of Christ's life and death in the words—"Be not overcome of evil but overcome evil with good." The Sermon on the Mount is a dead letter if we are permitted to destroy our enemies by mangling little children and defenceless old men and women.

(6) The two passages used to support modern war have nothing to do with it directly, but indirectly may support the peace position.

Jesus did not drive out the money-changers by violence; He used his moral power to compel them to leave the temple. The money changers with their friends could have beaten down Jesus in a few moments by force.

When Jesus advised his disciples to buy a sword and they brought two swords, he replied: "It is enough" (Luke 22, v. 36). It is quite clear all that Jesus meant was that his disciples would have to withstand evil forces. The sword was symbolical, as when it was said that a sword would pierce the heart of Mary. The reply, "It is enough," showed how Jesus was grieved at the dense minds of his disciples.

(7) The leaflet ignores the example of Paul and the Christian Church in the first three centuries. Paul was a fighter and had to meet with physical violence, but he never used violence. He believed supremely in the power of the Spirit and not in carnal weapons. For three centuries Christians took no part in war, they condemned it both in word and deed. They followed their Master's example.

(8) The alternative policy is to confess our own wrong and be willing to turn away from it into the way of mutual aid and brotherhood.

The longer the war the worse the peace. Even while the war is waging the terms of peace should be discussed and the peoples should know how they could end the war.

What Lloyd George said before the war is true now even, if only some leader had the courage to act on it and guide this people out of darkness, the cruelty and the cowardly falsehood of war into the light, the love and the truth of a real peace.

"The only chance of a world peace is an assembly of nations to discuss without reference to past experiments or present ideologies the best means of a just and desirable world peace." Where is the statesman who will take this project in hand and will press it through? His name will endure forever as one of the greatest benefactors of mankind.

"Victory" is a mirage unworthy of the minds of sensible folk.

"Victory" can never bring peace.

To get peace we must seek it earnestly and seek it now.

EDITOR'S APOLOGY

Our circulation last month was very big. We reprinted several times, yet the August issue is completely out of print, and many orders could not be executed. We have done our best but we could not overcome the paper difficulty. Last month we far exceeded our February printing when we also went right out of print, after a very big circulation. A similar fate befel our June issue.

In November, 1940, we issued a special appeal for £1,971 11s. 3d. Last month that deficit stood at £1,825 10s. 9d. The August response has been the best response so far. The matter is urgent and we do not want to stop printing. We also want to list the donations received and end this appeal. Unless the sum requested is received our work must stop. At present we are staggering along. A Birmingham working man comrade sent £3, almost anonymously, and very simply. Lady Clare Annesley sent £10, because she felt how urgent is the struggle towards pacifism and reason. Other comrades sent donations with splendid letters. A few visited the George Street shop. Many who could give little, and some who could give nothing, either wrote or came in person to thank us for our work. The total return last month was £45 16s. 4d. This leaves the deficit at £1,780 14s. 5d. As stated last month, this is to make up the loss as it stood in November, 1940. Since then there has been a steady monthly loss. If we can obtain the sum mentioned we can carry on for a long time without making further appeals. We hate to beg but comrades we must. The work is urgent. Without your immediate response we must close down. We apologise, but—!

ON THE ROCKS AND WHY

By C. H. NORMAN

[This essay was written for publication in the June 1941 issue. The Soviet situation changed as we went to press and we held the essay over. The author wishes to be judged by the fundamental principle he expounds and is unwilling to change his writing to suit altered circumstances. Comrade Norman writes with some authority on diplomacy and international relations, and his approach merits thoughtful study. We publish it as a contribution to the understanding of the present sorry political situation.—Ed.]

The writer of this article is a survivor of the small minority of English people who were opposed to the Lansdowne-King Edward VII-Sir Edward Grey policy of the Anglo-French *Entente* not because of any hostility to France, but because, on a long view, that policy was certain to produce the calamities which have befallen Europe since its initiation. It is also worth remembering that the latent hostility between France and Germany (which was deliberately kept alive by French gangsters like Clemenceau, Poincare and Co., and fostered by Englishmen like Winston Churchill, Leo Maxse, and others in the period from 1908 till 1914), was not the only element contributing to the inflaming of European political society in that period. The Imperialism which has brought the British Empire to its present grave state of peril began its acute development with the bombardment of Alexandria, the suppression of Arabi Pasha, the bleeding of Egypt at the instance of the European and British bondholders, ending with the catastrophe of the piratical war, conducted by "methods of barbarism," as Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman described it, against the Transvaal and Orange Free State Republics. As the United States is proclaiming its humanitarian interest in the second European War it may be worth noting that Dollar Diplomacy, as instanced by the use made of the sinking of "The Maine" in Havana Harbour in justifying the predatory war against Spain by the United States in 1898, and the seizure of the Panama Province of the Colombian Republic in 1904, was a main principle of the Anglo-American Imperialism which has so largely led to the existing catastrophic position*.

It is fashionable for writers like Sir Robert Vansittart, by distorting some matters and ignoring others, to throw the whole blame on the German race; but the above brief recital of undoubted historical facts, well within the memory of millions of people living, will demonstrate how unfounded and ridiculous such a view is.

Passing to more recent events, the terrible error committed by the Allies in 1919-1920 was in ignoring the advice given by the Duke of Wellington at the conclusion of the Napoleonic Wars that not a foot of French territory was to be taken from France. The partitions of Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey, which were imposed on the defeated in 1919, had no moral, economic or political justification. Accompanied as they were by the partition of Russian territories and a campaign, engineered and carried on without the consent of the House of Commons by Mr. Winston Churchill against the Bolshevik Revolution, they were the height of insanity, for it was certain as anything could be that, unless those partitions were revoked by agreement, the enemy of 1914, Germany, and the friend of 1914, Russia, would unite against Britain and France to shatter those partitions and repudiate the documents which were their sanction. Germany and Russia waited from 1919 till 1933, but neither England, France, nor the League of Nations attempted to put into force the clauses in the Treaties providing for their revision, should a demand for revision be made. The partitioned countries (a fact carefully concealed from the English people), began asking for revision in 1923.

It is complained against the Vichy Government that their acts have been in betrayal of the "Cause of democracy," whatever that phrase may mean, as the three protagonists of democracy were the caste-ridden society of England, the corrupt plutocracy of the United States, and the rogue-banker bureaucracy of France. But the collapse of France was inevitable in 1940 with Russia abstaining from participation in the war. What happened in France in 1940 would have happened in France in 1914-1915 had it not been for the enormous pressure put upon Germany and Austria by the Russian Armies until the Battle of the Marshes. All the thanks that Russia received was to see her territories partitioned and her revolution blockaded and sabotaged by her allies, France and England, in 1918-1920. It was natural for Stalin to decline to pull the chestnuts out of the fire which was lit in Europe by the mad act of guaranteeing the Polish frontiers as defined in 1919, a guarantee which was valueless without Russian military support. Those who prate about the voice of the people controlling English policy might tell us when the British people authorised Mr. Chamberlain to enter upon such a suicidal pact as the one with Poland. The House of Commons may have sanctioned or confirmed his act when it could do nothing else: but the House of Commons was certainly never elected on such an issue. The House of Commons has far exceeded any mandate granted by the people, and most of its proceedings since 1938 have been proceedings against the interests and welfare of those who in good faith elected it on quite other issues. Moreover, those who had travelled in France in 1937, possessed of any kind of insight and feeling for atmosphere, knew well that the clique of politicians, financiers and Left Wing Jingoes who were clamouring for war against the Nazi system were totally un-representative of French opinion; just as are General de Gaulle and his farcical "Free French" movement to-day. The French women were wholly against any adventure of the kind. France in 1914-1918 had lost 1,900,000 dead out of an effective male military age population of about 10,000,000. No country could be expected to face such a bloodletting a second time in 20 years. Not the least of the many dis-services Mr. Winston Churchill, in a somewhat maleficent career, has committed against his country, was the way he misled Mr. Chamberlain and the Cabinet of that day on the true attitude of France on the German question.

Another example of the incapacity of the present Prime Minister and his colleagues was shown during the Russo-Finnish conflict. At that period Great Britain was being pushed by these men into war in aid of Finland. But for the impossibility of rendering effective aid to Finland except with the assistance of the Swedish State, Great Britain and France would long ago have been involved by their respective governments in war with Russia over Finland. One has only to examine the existing military position to reflect how much graver it would have been had the Germans been backed since 1940 by the active strength of Russia. It is not going too far to assume that the British Empire by now would have been close on destruction. Had Russia chosen to regard the actions of Britain and France in the Finnish War as a *casus belli*, no one could have been surprised at that result of the misplaced belligerency shown by the British and French Parliaments during that time.

A further disastrous error of judgment may be seen in the policy of the blockade adopted by Churchill & Co. In the nineties an American naval captain, Captain Mahan, obtained some reputation by the production of several pseudo-historical works beloved by a certain type of American mind, the most renowned of which was called "The Influence of Sea Power upon History." The book is filled with the most absurd fallacies in reasoning and has been heavily criticised on the technical side by some Japanese naval writers; but it must be confessed the book has kept its hold in U.S.A. and British naval circles, with the melancholy results which are before the watching world. The book strengthened its reputation by the apparent justification of its argument in the effectiveness of the blockade of Germany in 1914-1918. But the deductions drawn from the Napoleonic War are quite unsound so far as the blockade of England is concerned, as at that time the blockade was only a trade blockade, because England was self-supporting then in the matter of food, only having a population of about eleven millions. The contentions of Captain Mahan are only sound if the blockading power has overwhelming naval strength at its command, and if the blockaded power is exceptionally dependent on other states for various articles of necessity in war time. The position in the War of 1939—is quite different in that respect to the position in the War of 1914-1918 when the blockade was utilised to enforce the Peace Terms on Germany, Austria, and other states. Then the blockade was conducted by the joint efforts of the British, French, Italian, Russian, Japanese, United States and other fleets, which were able to operate with much more elasticity than is possible to-day. Also those fleets were not subject to air attack to anything like the extent that the fleets of to-day are. What is the comparative situation now? The British Fleet has had the partial assistance of the French and the United States Fleets for a short period. The Italian, French, and Japanese Fleets are to-day not available at all but contain within them the possibilities of use against Britain should the United States become a full belligerent. The British Fleet also has been helped by the Dutch Fleet and several smaller naval units. Germany started the war in 1939 at a relative naval disadvantage as compared with her strength in 1914, as, owing to loyal adherence to the Anglo-German Naval Treaty of 1935, the German Fleet had not maintained its proportionate power in effective naval units. Against that, however, there is the curious fact that every merchant ship over 3000 tons sailing the seas in peace time is carrying as part of its cargo goods destined directly or indirectly for England. In the war of 1914-1918, the small maritime nations, Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Holland and Greece were neutral. Four of these countries have been involved in the present war, with the result that there has been a tremendous lay-up of merchant shipping which did not occur in the last war. Then there has been the policy of scuttling ships which is a new factor in reducing available tonnage, combined with the circumstance that the British naval authorities have embarked on the destruction of hostile shipping by submarine and other methods not adopted in the last war. So the wastage of merchant shipping tonnage, for many reasons, has been so far proportionately on a greater scale in this war than in 1914-1918. Should Russia and Japan, both of which have powerful submarine fleets, enter the war on the German side, all the theories of Captain Mahan, which are the governing factor in the naval strategy of Mr. Churchill and his advisers, will collapse completely in their application, as they have shown every sign of doing since the withdrawal of the French Navy from active operations.

Incidentally, one may observe that Professor Beesly, in his essay on the growth and use of British Sea Power, in the series of essays on International Politics, issued by the Positivist Society in the eighties, is very cutting and sarcastic about the English attitude on the alleged beneficial results of the English mastery of the sea. A powerful naval ship capturing a merchant vessel on its noble avocation of transporting merchandise and food from one part of the world to another is doing nothing more than acting as the armed highwayman who held up the citizen on Hounslow Heath and robbed him of all he possessed. The merchant ship is helpless under the guns of the battleship or cruiser which may be its captor and has no option but to follow the directions of the naval commander. It is a little strong for a country which has specialised in that kind of warfare to pride itself, as England always does, upon its meritorious conduct in international policy; in fact it is humbug from beginning to end. In that particular essay, Professor Beesly quoted the words under the portrait of Pitt hanging in the Guildhall: "Presented by the merchants of the City of London in recognition of Mr. Pitt's policy in advancing the trade and commerce of London by war." Perhaps there is a certain Nemesis in what has befallen the Guildhall and that portrait in recent times.

*[The Imperialism of the United States was well analysed by an admirable article by the editor of *The Word* in an early number.—C. H. N.]

Though to the casual looker-on, the events of the day would suggest that the power of the State over the individual has increased to such an extent that the English and European peoples have practically reverted to a state of slavery, the development of air warfare is really evidence of the breakdown of the State in its primary justification of protecting the individual citizen in time of war. Notwithstanding the sacrifice of half his income, notwithstanding military and industrial conscription, notwithstanding the destruction of every kind of guarantee from the Great Charter, the Petition of Right and Habeas Corpus, the individual citizen must look after himself, his family and his property in air warfare. All the power of the State has not prevented the Temple and many parts of the City of London being reduced to ruins, while the casualties among the civil population have reached a figure never touched in modern warfare. Mr. Churchill and Sir Archibald Sinclair may tell us, with glib assurance, that "the R.A.F. has command of the air," just as the same gentlemen and others tell us that "the British Navy has command of the seas," but one can only wonder at the surprising results to the British people of these boasts and vauntings. Mr. Churchill told the people when he was First Lord of the Admiralty in the autumn of 1939 that the U-boat menace was under control; but in 1941 the losses by U-boat activity remain as great as ever. It may be unkind to recall these statements to memory, but the fact that they can be made, so recklessly and wantonly, is the best evidence of the defective judgment of those in command of high matters at the present time. It was Mr. Churchill's Government which instituted the campaign of night-bombing against Germany after the Dunkirk evacuation. Then the people were told that the German Air Force could not engage in night bombing with any efficiency, as they had not been trained in that regard. It was an insane policy to begin, considering how inferior in numbers the British Air Force was to the German Air Force. The fact that the German Air Force, with its overwhelming superiority in numbers, was practically inactive in air attacks on England (except on naval and military stations) from September 1939 to September 1940 was evidence that the German Government had no desire to engage upon unrestricted air warfare till challenged by the English campaign of night bombing. It is absurd to excuse the English night bombing on the principle that the English bombs are only directed against military objectives. Night bombing on either side is subject to the handicap that the objective cannot be seen with any accuracy whether the objective be on German or British soil, as the shades of darkness are as neutral as the moonlight in both countries.

It is, apparently, admitted by Mr. Churchill in recent speeches that the British people have been led by him and his colleagues into such a sad plight that the only hope of survival or success is through the active intervention of the United States, which is still a little coy at being invited into the slaughter-house. It must be pointed out that this calculation is as defective as the rest of Mr. Churchill's estimates have been. It is true that the intervention of the United States in the war of 1914-1918 was as decisive as the blockade in defeating the Germans then. But there was no possibility in 1917 of any countermove by Germany to American intervention. That is not the position on this occasion. The victory of Pitt and the Holy Alliance against Napoleon and the principles of the French Revolution established reaction in Europe for over half-a-century. That will not be allowed to happen in 1941 or 1942 or 1952, or whenever the decision may take place in a collapsed Europe and America, as it is plain that Russia, Japan, Spain, France, Italy and Germany, plus a number of lesser States, are determined on seeing that the Anglo-American-Dutch plutocracy will not retain the hold which it has exercised over the world for the past seventy years. That is why the state of affairs is so serious. Europe may not like the Nazi system but they are not prepared to face again a domination such as occurred after 1918 of Europe by the Anglo-American plutocracy, which reduced the Central European peasantry to a lower standard of life than that obtaining in the Middle Ages. The control of agriculture by industry, the control of trade by gold, the control of the seas by the blockade are the three things which the British Empire, the United States and Holland (through the Dutch Indies) stand for in the eyes of Europe and all those three things are anathema to the citizens of Europe, who believe they represent reaction and degradation.

It is well therefore that the British people should understand clearly what a catastrophe may be lying ahead of them should this war continue on the present lines of policy, which is based upon some fantastic idea of imposing upon Europe some system of government which is wholly discredited in the countries of origin judging by the refusal of over 50 per cent. of the population to exercise the franchise. All attempts in the past to impose systems of government on powerful States by means of war have failed completely and there is certainly no sign that the present crusade against what is called National Socialism is likely to have any greater success.

The madness of warfare as a method of achieving any result when powerful combinations are engaged on both sides cannot better be demonstrated than by the following quotation of the lines put on the graveside of Rupert Brooke, the young English poet, who died in the Greek island of Scyros while on service with the Navy during the last war, 1914-1918. This is a translation of the Greek inscription written by the Greek interpreter with the British forces and placed on the cross of the grave:—

"Here lies the servant of God, Sub-Lieutenant in the British Navy, who died for the deliverance of Constantinople from the Turks."

Constantinople is still in the hands of the Turks who are much-courted as a possible ally by the British Combination in the present war!

OUR LETTER-BOX

Dear Sir,—Will you please be good enough to send me the August *Word* and the Duke of Bedford's *Parliament and Peace*. Seeing the name, Guy A. Aldred, seems like old times when I used to listen to him in Brockwell Park, London.

Yours for a bit of sanity.

W. A. GREATWOOD.

Stonehouse, Glos., August 7.

Dear Aldred,—Please forward to an old comrade a copy of *The Word*. You may not remember my name but we were faithful comrades in resisting militarism during the 1914-18 war.

Your comrade in the struggle.

F. W. CARTER.

Hillingdon, August 7.

Dear Comrade,—I want to say that I appreciate your work for pacifism and socialism, and regret that my measure of assistance is so little. With the most fraternal of good wishes,

Yours fraternally,

GEORGE WILLIAMS.

Manchester, August 5.

Dear Comrade Aldred,—As you are undoubtedly aware, the *New Leader* "once again" has been making some "amazing predictions." The Prince Paul Government of Jugoslavia contained Dr. Matcheck as Vice-Premier. When this Government was overthrown by Limovitch, Dr. Matcheck remained Vice-Premier. This was heralded by the *New Leader* as the beginning of workers' revolts across Europe. You know, the little groups here and there stunts.

A week before Russia was invaded, the editorial column of the *New Leader* prophesied this as most unlikely and declared that it was capitalist wishful thinking.

All this irrelevance may be added to Brockway's prediction, made in 1932, that within four years, there would be a bloodless revolution in Britain. This was reproduced in *The Word* for September, 1940.

Yours fraternally,

GEORGE PLUME.

Edmonton, N.9, July 26.

Rash prophecy is an unfortunate tendency of I.L.P. leaders. James Maxton has spoken boldly against the war, and on behalf of conscientious objectors and IBB prisoners in the House of Commons. We record these facts gladly. Nevertheless, he also had the tendency to play the foolish *rôle* of prophet.

On August 21, 1931, James Maxton made a speech in which he forecast the collapse of capitalism not later than February, 1931. He said:—

I am perfectly satisfied that the great capitalist system . . . is now at the stage of final collapse . . . They may postpone the collapse for a month, two months, three months, six months, but collapse is sure and certain.

(*Daily Record*, Glasgow, Aug. 22nd, 1931.)

Six months later, namely, February, 1932, the I.L.P. was planning to bring out the *New Leader* in a new and improved form!

This is very much like the prophet Baxter, who used to run *The Christian Herald*. Everyone knows how he made investments that contradicted his prophecies as to the end of the world, and from time to time, advanced the date of his prophecies, when their fulfilment failed. Speaking in the House of Commons, on April 8, 1932, Maxton made another try. He said:—

I believe it will crash within measurable time, because I do not think that anything that we are doing now will do more than postpone the inevitable act.

(*Hansard*, April 8, Col. 476.)

The "*two, three or six months*" of August, 1931, gave place to the wise vagueness of "*within measurable time*" of April, 1932.

This is not an attack on Maxton. It is an interesting, illuminating and quaintly amusing record of fact. And it has a factual moral.—Ed.

Dear Sir,—I was sent two copies of the June issue of your admirable paper, *The Word*, some little time back. I had not heard of *The Word* till then. Thank you for it. I suppose your open letter to Winston Churchill is not printed as a leaflet.

Yours faithfully,

DOROTHY HOLMS.

Bath, August 6.

Dear Comrade Editor,—A.B.C. I have read many alphabets, political, religious, militarist, anti-militarist. But I think we might have a "Communist" one. A.B.C.—A Burlesque Communist. Just now we are enjoying the tragedy of the burlesque.

I listened to a "Communist" meeting recently. I was amused at the cross-examination of the C.P. speaker by a poorly-clad passer-by. He put three series of questions:—

(1) How could the victory of Russia and Britain secure a lasting peace, if Russia really stood for Socialism, and Britain remained capitalistic. Was not Communism diametrically opposed to Capitalism? Had the speaker forgotten about Archangel, Koltchak, etc.?

(2) Why had the Moscow broadcasts dropped playing the Internationale? Why did these broadcasts no longer mention the need for the triumph of "Communism" throughout the world?

(3) The *Daily Worker* was suspended for criticising the Government. The C.P. no longer wishes to criticise the war or the pursuit of war. It is now in with the Government and is prepared to dubb all genuine critics of the Government and the war, Fift-Columnists. Is it necessary, in the interests of truth, to withdraw the suspension?

I do not believe in any paper being suppressed and I am not defending the suppression of the *Daily Worker* in repeating those questions. Nor does the C.P. suffer much from the suppression, for it has other publications which circulate quite widely and serve as a substitute for the *Worker*. I repeat the questions because they raise points of interest.

Yours in Socialist Unity,

G. CALDWELL.

Glasgow, August 11.

Dear Guy,—Funny, but I don't seem to be disturbed at the thought of being shut up for a year, to cure me of conscience! I know that it is for the cause of pacifism. I am innocent of any crime against the moral and natural law. If refusal to be medically examined for purpose either of becoming cannon fodder, or reducing another man to such, merits imprisonment, then democracy does not exist for me. I could weep at times when I think of the Church upholding militarism, and of our apathetic churchmen who pay lip service to the name of Jesus.

Temptations against religion are, thank God, rare with me; but one thought bothers me a great deal. That is, why be attached to an organised body that promotes mass murder, or does not oppose it, but, ironically, shudders at abortion!

In the struggle, sincerely yours, a Catholic comrade,

PATRICK SCANLAN.

Dumfries, August 14.

Dear Comrade Aldred,—Please accept this small gift of 10/- as a token of goodwill towards your movement and paper, *The Word*.

We think the title of the paper is very apt and choice, as it cuts out all the superficial, therefore seeking to give to the people *The Word*, the "TRUTH."

Your Comrades, of the Ashton Pacifist Group,

WILLIAM JOHNSON (Secretary).

Ashton-in-Makerfield, 19-8-41.

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SUNDAY: - - Lecture

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JUDGE BURGIS

On Wednesday, July 1, Frank Metcalfe, poultry farmer, Bradshaw Street, Nelson, a member of the I.L.P., and an Atheist, was registered by the Preston Tribunal as a conscientious objector, on condition that he did whole-time land or civil defence work. Metcalfe said that he opposed war and military service on rational, humanitarian, and social grounds.

The chairman, Judge Burgis, said that Metcalfe had a depraved type of conscience.

On Thursday, June 9, the Manchester Tribunal registered for combatant military service, Philip Shelmerdine, of Wilmslow. Shelmerdine was converted to Catholicism in 1934 and is also a member of the British Union of Fascists. Shelmerdine opposed war until the collapse of France. He then became willing to soldier to defend the country. But he was interned under 18B. Recently he was released. He was unwilling to soldier now because of the invasion of Russia. He said that, as a Catholic, according to the latest Papal encyclical, a Catholic could not collaborate with Communists or Communism in any way, which makes nonsense to our mind. Shemerdine was bitter about his 18B internment. Here is the discussion between appellant and chairman on this point:—

Shelmerdine: Do you not think that in a democratic country a man should have the opportunity to answer the charges brought against him?

Judge Burgis: Not if it is against the safety of the State.

We think Judge Burgis's remarks in Metcalfe's case argues a bias against Atheism, though he granted exemption. We do not think Shelmerdine is a real conscientious objector, but we consider that Judge Burgis made an injudicial and illegal reply to his question. Shelmerdine was right and Burgis was wrong, utterly and unforgiveably wrong. His was the reply of inquisitors, tyrants, and persecutors down the ages. A man with the mind of Burgis ought not to seek a place in such ranks; for he has recorded remarkably just and painstaking decisions. His reply disgraced his better, juridical self.

The same day as the Shelmerdine lapse, Burgis made comment on the case of Arnold Baker, clerk, of Rosamond Street, Bolton, who was granted exemption by the tribunal on December 20, 1939. In January, 1941, when the Battle of the Atlantic was at its height, Arnold voluntarily joined the Liverpool steamer, Eurglochus, as a writer. Fourteen days later, on its first trip out, the ship was shelled off the Azores by a German surface raider. Of the 80 men in the steamer, more than 50 died. Young Arnold was on the bridge when the attack was made, voluntarily keeping look-out with the chief officer, Mr. John MacGregor.

When Chairman Burgis obtained news of the event he sought information from the chief officer, and received a long reply, which he read at the public sitting of the Manchester Tribunal on July 9. We quote part of Mr. John MacGregor's letter:—

Dear Sir,—I am in receipt of your letter in which you ask me to tell you of Arnold Baker's closing part in life. This I am honoured to do, although he bore such a wonderful Christian character that my words will never express the feeling I have in my heart for the youth who showed such wonderful courage and bravery in face of death without a single thought for himself. I knew that this young man was given unconditional exemption. . . .

When our ship was attacked with unbelievable brutality, Baker, who soon after leaving home had expressed his willingness to keep a look-out, was on the bridge with me but on the opposite side. Salvoes and guns of heavy calibre were firing from very close range. The bridge was struck and Baker noticed that the wheel had been left unattended. He immediately informed me of the fact and said, "I shall take it if you show me what to do." I went into the wheelhouse and explained to him and he stayed at the wheel until our steering-gear was wrecked. He then asked if there was anything else he could do. So I told him to make for his boat as the bridge was being shelled. At this point I was wounded, and I learned on inquiry that Baker was killed soon after he left the bridge. He certainly fulfilled his promise to pull his weight and died a wonderful example of courage and bravery.

Judge Burgis commented:—

"No words of mine are adequate to describe the grandeur of this young man's courage or the magnificence of his devotion to duty. One can only contemplate his conduct with silent reverence. His life and his death are the clearest justification of the privilege which Parliament has granted to conscience."

In this case, Judge Burgis, by insisting on full publicity of the facts, and the terms and tones of his comment, did justice to himself and to his office.

C.O. MICE, 1941

Section 13 of the National Service (Armed Forces) Act, 1939, contains a provision designed to prevent any repetition of the "cat-and-mouse" treatment of conscientious objectors which disgraced the administration of the British Military Service Acts during 1916-1919. This provision gives to any man who through failure to establish his objection before a tribunal finds himself in the position of a disobedient soldier, and is sentenced by court-martial to three months' or more imprisonment, the right to have his case reheard by the Appellate Tribunal with a view to his discharge from the Army if he succeeds in establishing his case.

The War Office has sent round to all commands for the information of presidents of courts martial several documents which make this position clear. Several courts martial ignore these instructions, and make a practice of giving either long sentences of detention or sentences of imprisonment less than three months, the latter even for second and third offences. Either deprives the C.O. of the right of appeal, since "detention," even two years in duration, does not in law count as imprisonment.

In justification of a short sentence it is argued that the award is such as would have been given to any soldier committing a similar offence. The argument is unconvincing, because in 1916, when no right of appeal depended on the length of sentence awarded, conscientious objectors were regularly charged not with simple disobedience but with "disobedience in such a manner as to show wilful defiance of authority." Courts martial experienced, at that time, no compunction in awarding up to two years' imprisonment in such cases.

Fenner Brockway has directed the attention of the Secretary of State for War to the cases of more than seventy men who have failed to obtain a qualifying sentence at their first court martial, of whom fifteen failed similarly at their second court martial. As Principal G. H. Sutherland, of Dalton Hall, Manchester, remarks, either presidents of courts martial do not read the War Office documents sent to them for their information or they deliberately ignore them.

ROBERT TAYLOR

This is an appeal to Freethought readers. We wish to issue our "life" of Robert Taylor, better known as "The Devil's Chaplain," as No. 4 of *The Word Library*, Second Series. But our MS. is incomplete.

In *The Freethinker* for July 8, 1923, we commenced the biography of Robert Taylor that we wish to publish now in pamphlet form. Of the July 8 instalment, we have the first page (426), but we want the following page, 427.

The biography was continued in the columns of *The Freethinker* for July 29, August 26, and September 2, 1933. We have copies of these issues but would like duplicates. But the biography concluded in some later issue—maybe September 9, 1923, but we are not sure. Anyway, we have not got the issue containing the conclusion. Could any comrade lend it to us? It will be returned. Please write if able to assist.

We would like also to obtain copies of the *Agnostic Journal*, containing our serial "life" of Carlile, as it contained many references to Robert Taylor omitted from the book version. We have lost our copies.

UNITARIANISM AND WAR

"CHRISTIANITY AND COMPROMISE."

"We share to-day the life of a world at war. Our personal life is so bound up with the life of society as a whole that there is nothing that we can do to isolate ourselves from it. . . . We are all of us involved in the guilt and the responsibility which rest upon the world for the evil and devastation from which men are suffering. . . .

"What, then, can we do? People say sometimes that because we are involved to a greater or less extent in the war-effort (if only through our contribution to the revenue), therefore we should not attempt in any measure to stand aside. . . . Is that so? Are we of necessity involved, not merely in the partial compromise which is forced upon us by our membership of a community at war, but in an inner compromise of idea and principle, and in the active support of war which that entails?

"It does not follow in the slightest degree. The first necessity which arises from the acceptance of common guilt is the necessity of repentance. If we feel in our very souls 'the measureless shame and humiliation of our race' involved in the wrong and inhumanity of war, we must first of all repent of that wrong and inhumanity. 'We must save the world's honour (Bernard Shaw once said, speaking of social wrong), if we are to save our own.' How can we 'save the world's honour' to-day? Not, surely, by giving our free and willing consent to the desolation which defiles it. To save the world's honour, we must erect the standard of a higher conscience. We must erect the standard of the Law of Christ, which bids us overcome evil with good."

—Rev. Sidney Spencer at Hope Street Church, Liverpool, Sunday evening, June 15th.

"V" FOR VICTORY.

A great deal of childish nonsense is being talked, and written, just now, about a "V" sign. The underlying idea is ancient, ancient as the race. It belongs to the darkest of the dark ages, when ignorance bred fear, and fear evolved superstition, and superstition evolved the mascot for protection—as inevitably as a tight shoe will induce the callosity on the foot familiarly known as a corn! There are plenty of empty-headed people to-day who fill the vacuum abhorred by nature with a stock of preposterous notions, such as touching wood to avoid ill luck, throwing spilt salt over the shoulder to neutralise misfortune, and inducing another person to pick up some article one has dropped, so that one's good luck may not fail! There is some danger alleged in regard to looking at the new moon through glass, faithfully observed by a short-sighted friend of my own, till one night, after removing his glasses to view the crescent-orb according to the ritual, he was disastrously immobilised by a lamppost! So with the "V" sign. The horror of the times is such that our statesmen know the people must enjoy some kind of light diversion, and catering for the superstitious appetite involves no inconvenience of rationing. The crop is rank and rife, and, particularly in war time, there is no question of "control." I wonder what our soldiers, sailors, and airmen think of this perfectly safe, and perfectly silly, proposal to help on the day of victory. "Mr. Punch," who has just attained his hundredth year, produced a stinging commentary on this type of thing when he pictured two soldiers, during the Crimean war, in rags, thanks to the efficiency of the contemporary commissariat. One soldier, with a newspaper in his hand, informs his comrade that they are to have medals for their services. "Aye," said the comrade, "and perhaps we'll get coats to put them on!" The soldier is ever a realist, and if his commentary on the "V" sign were uttered in soldier-like language, I do not think it would be printable in the "Calendar!"

But after all there is reason for gratitude. The mascoteers are welcome to their "V" sign. They might have annexed the Sign of the Cross.

—D. Paterson, in August Monthly Calendar of Hope Street (Unitarian) Church, Liverpool.

By The DUKE OF BEDFORD.

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CHURCHILL'S 1925 QUESTION

"SHALL WE ALL COMMIT SUICIDE?"

Mr. Winston Churchill, the present Prime Minister, wrote an article under this heading, "*Shall We All Commit Suicide?*" in 1925. It is published in his volume entitled *Thoughts and Adventures*.

In his essay, Mr. Churchill tells us what he thinks would have happened if the war had continued for another year. This is the forecast:

"The campaign of the year 1919 would have witnessed an immense accession to the power of destruction.

"Had the Germans retained the morale to make good their retreat to the Rhine, they would have been assaulted in the summer of 1919 with forces and by methods incomparably more prodigious than any yet employed.

"Thousands of aeroplanes would have shattered their cities. Scores of thousands of cannon would have blasted their front.

"Poison gases of incredible malignity, against which only a secret mask (which the Germans could not obtain in time) was proof, would have stifled all resistance and paralysed all life on the hostile front subjected to attack. No doubt the Germans, too, had their plans. But the hour of wrath had passed. The signal of relief was given, and the horrors of 1919 remained buried in the archives of the great antagonists."

Churchill felt that a second European war must come out of the Versailles peace. He says:

"The causes of war have been in no way removed; indeed they are in some aspects aggravated by the so-called Peace Treaties and the reactions following thereupon.

"Two mighty branches of the European family will never rest content with their existing situation.

"Russia, stripped of her Baltic power, will, as the years pass by, brood incessantly upon the wars of Peter the Great.

"From one end of Germany to the other an intense hatred of France unites the whole population. The enormous contingents of German youth growing to military manhood year by year are inspired by the fiercest sentiments and the soul of Germany smoulders with dreams of a war of liberation or revenge."

"These ideas are restrained at the present moment only by physical impotence.

"France is armed to the teeth.

"Germany has been to a great extent disarmed and her military system broken up.

"The French hope to preserve this situation by their technical, military apparatus, by their shield of fortresses, by their black troops and by a system of alliances with the smaller States of Europe; and for the present at any rate overwhelming force is on their side.

"But physical force alone, unsustained by world opinion, affords no durable foundation for security.

"Germany is a far stronger entity than France and cannot be kept in permanent subjugation."

Churchill addressed these clear thoughts to all those, who—

"wish to spare their children torments and disasters compared with which those we have suffered will be a pale preliminary."

NEW ZEALAND CONCHIES

The New Zealand Congregational Union discussed, in Committee, on Thursday, March 13, the question of conscientious objectors. It adopted the following statement, which was accepted by the Assembly, as the official pronouncement of the Congregational Church in New Zealand on the subject of conscience:—

"The assembly affirms the right of the sincere objector to combatant or other military service to sympathetic hearing by an appeal board, upon which should sit at least one person competent to understand the religious or other scruples of the objectors.

"Further, the assembly urges that ministers and other leaders of its churches, should do all in their power to assist sincere conscientious objectors among their people when called upon both by advice and testimony at the hearing before the board. In the event of an appeal being dismissed after due hearing, further dealings with such objector shall be in the hands of the civil and not military authorities.

"The assembly supports the right of the Government to demand alternative service at a rate of pay not higher than that of men in the forces from men whose religious scruples are regarded as valid by an appeal board."

THE PEACE CHARTER

The Duke of Bedford's Views

To the Editor.

Sir,—Mr. Churchill and President Roosevelt have made a statement of their peace aims in very general terms, but if their words are not accompanied by deeds, the value of the statement will, I fear, be small.

Who will trust the sincerity of our claim to "respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live" as long as thousands of Indian Nationalist leaders are kept in prison?

Who will have confidence in President Roosevelt's power to increase the economic properity of Europe unless he has first shown himself willing and able to offend Wall Street by instituting those reforms of the monetary system which can remove poverty from the U.S.A.—that country of vast potential wealth?

What is the use of saying that we will endeavour "with due respect to our existing obligations to further the enjoyment of all states of access on equal terms to the trade and raw materials of the world"? Our "existing obligations" must presumably include the Ottawa agreements which render impossible for countries outside the Empire fair trade and fair economic opportunity.

Was it sensible and was it good tactics to suggest that negotiation could not take place until the Nazi Government had been overthrown by war and also to threaten one-sided disarmament of enemy nations, as in 1918?

Apart from wishful thinking and a very unexpected change in the Eastern war in favour of Russia, is there now any reasonable chance of overthrowing the Nazi Government by direct military defeat? If there is not, what sense is there in irritating the German people and consolidating them behind Hitler by assuming such a defeat?

If we desire to promote revolution in Germany, is not the only way to try and trap the Nazi leaders into some grave blunder of which the rejection of reasonable peace terms would be by far the most fatal?

Is it not worse than foolish to try and dictate to the undefeated Germans the kind of Government they shall have, when conditions make our attempts at dictation no better than mere bluff. The German people remember, moreover, that they had to submit to a one-sided disarmament after the last war as part of a victor's peace and it did not result in justice, nor in a satisfactory European settlement. Is it not rather silly, therefore, to suggest anything but disarmament by *all* belligerents on fair and equal terms.

Yours truly,

BEDFORD

Newton Stewart, August 25.

F. W. JOWETT'S OPINION

F. W. Jowett is a veteran of the Parliamentary Socialist Movement and a man of outstanding integrity. He lost his seat for East Bradford in 1931, at the time of bankers' ramp election, when Ramsay MacDonald became the leader of the Tory Party. He had won the seat in 1929, after losing it at the "Zinoviev Letter" election of 1924. Prior to that he had sat for West Bradford from 1906-1918, but lost the seat at the famous Lloyd George Khaki-coupon election. It will be seen that Jowett entered Parliament in 1906, the very year we had left the S.D.F., and renounced parliamentarism as careerism and Anti-Socialism. Jowett was First Commissioner of Works in the First Labour Government of 1924, but possessed too many inhibitions to adapt himself to mere parliamentarism. He is now seventy-seven years of age and still struggling to serve the cause of Socialism to which he dedicated himself in his early years.

In the *Bradford I.L.P. News*, Jowett discusses the Churchill-Roosevelt statement as follows:—

"The Eight Point Charter of Churchill and Roosevelt is so much less promising for the German people than were President Wilson's Fourteen Points that it is inconceivable that it will have any influence on the German people, even if it were possible to think of them trusting such promises a second time.

"It is the eighth Point which is vital—and fatal. It kills stone dead all hope of mobilising German public opinion for active opposition to Hitler and his Nazi militarist aggression.

"There can be no doubt that with their bitter memories of the starvation and suffering of the German people during the Allied blockade (continued long after the war ended, with the object of enforcing an unjust peace on a disarmed nation), Goebbels' challenge will be approved by practically the whole German people.

"If we had gone through a similar experience, and were threatened with disarmament to enforce dictated peace on us, our answer would be no less emphatic.

"Therefore, I say without hesitation, that the much belauded Charter will carry no weight as a declaration of peace aims."

RED ARMY STATUTES

Last October, the Red Army, which was forged by Trotsky during the Russian Revolution, was placed under disciplinary Statutes harsher than those operating in any army, except that of the Nazis.

The Statutes introduced on October 12, 1940, gave the commander unlimited powers:—

"In case of insubordination, the commander has the right to apply all measures of coercion up to and including the application of force and firearms."

"The commander bears no responsibility for the consequence in case he finds it necessary to apply force and firearms in order to compel an insubordinate to fulfil a command and to restore discipline and order. . . . The commander who does not in such instances evince firmness, resoluteness, and who does not apply all necessary measures to fulfil an order is remitted to trial before the court martial." (Red Star, No. 242, October 15, 1940.)

This means that, without being responsible to any civilian control, a superior officer has the right in *peace time* to shoot down a Red Army soldier for not fulfilling a command—not for mutiny, not for an insurrection, but for insubordination!

Article 7 of the Statutes which were in force from 1925 to October, 1940, reads:

"The nachalniki (men in charge) have the right to apply armed compulsion only in a military situation and only in the execution of battle orders."

V. Ulrich, presiding judge of the Moscow Frame-up Trials, in an article in the *Red Star*, special organ of the Red Army, for October 22, 1940, gives the following accurate descriptions of the effect of the new Army Statutes:—

"The disciplinary statutes considerably extend the right of commanders as regards the use of force and firearms."

"Comradely relations between soldiers and officers are no more.

"The hail-fellow-well-met spirit in the relationships between a commander and a subordinate can have no place in the Red Army. Discussion of any kind is absolutely prohibited among the subordinates."

Lt.-General V. Kurdyumov clarified the Statutes in his article in *Pravda* for October 6, 1940:

"Grievances may be introduced only personally and individually. Submission of group grievances or grievances for others is prohibited. No more group declarations, no more joint discussions—whether concerning an order, or bad food, or any other topic—all this comes under the heading of 'insubordination' and for it a soldier may be shot on the spot without so much as a court-martial, hearing or investigation, if a superior officer solely and personally so decides.

This is how Stalin has militarised the Red Army. We do not see any difference between Red militarism and any other kind of militarism.

In the Press.

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TOWARDS PEACE: WHAT CAN BE DONE?

A Letter Answering Many Readers from The Duke of Bedford

Dear Aldred,—

I should like to make a reply to the many loyal friends, some of whose letters have appeared in *The Word*, who feel that I have a contribution to make towards the establishment of a better world. Conscious as I am of my own shortcomings and limitations, I think perhaps I *may* have some such contribution to make, even if it be only on the principle that among the blind the one-eyed man is king. I certainly have a confidence which does not, I think, spring from mere conceit, that if I had the political power to do so, I *could* give this country the two things it so greatly needs —lasting peace and prosperity; the latter, not by reason of discoveries for which I myself can claim credit, but because (unlike the majority of M.P.s) I have, by the mercy of God, at least sufficient sense to know a good thing when I see one! If to the blessings of peace and prosperity, those who look to me for guidance desire to add the crown of the fullest happiness that this life can give, I can assure them, if they have not already made the discovery for themselves, that it may be found in a Christian faith based on a living fellowship with God and on a rational and wholehearted obedience to His commands.

There is one thing that I should like to make plain at the start, even at the risk of causing some disappointment or giving some offence. While I shall always welcome the suggestions, the advice, and the constructive criticisms of my friends, I cannot, as some leaders of political movements do, go against my convictions or alter my policy to avoid alienating possible supporters. If, after careful reflection, I feel that a certain course of action is useless, mistaken, or morally wrong, I cannot undertake it merely out of deference to those who are of a different opinion.

I want, now, to share with you my views as to the task which lies before us and the methods by which it can be accomplished. Our ultimate task is the establishment of prosperity and social righteousness, and the first step to prosperity is the setting-up of a system which removes all barriers to trade and adopts a financial technique which enables the members of the nation, not forgetting any who are unemployed, to consume and avail themselves of all the goods and services which industry and commerce, working to full capacity, can produce and import. The political leaders of all Parties have in the past failed to give the country the economic prosperity which they promised in their election addresses because, from corruption, mental laziness or over-pre-occupation with other ideas and theories, they have ignored the one thing that really matters most from the point of view of removing the needless evil of financial poverty. I pledge myself, as soon as I have political power to

TO ALL MANKIND

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Edith Louisa Cavell was born, December 6, 1865, at Swardeston, Norfolk. She settled as a nurse in Brussels in 1907, and was executed there by the German military authorities, on October 12, 1915. Her heroic story shall be told in our next issue. As early as 1888, she endowed a Free Hospital in Bavaria. When war came to Belgium, she tended friend and foe alike. Whatever its technical justification in military law, the execution of Edith Cavell for helping 200 French and British fugitives to escape, was a grave error in judgment; for it served to perpetuate hatred and so further war. True moral understanding would not have permitted the execution. Such understanding would have been of tremendous healing value to the wounds of mankind. In her last interview with the British Chaplain, Edith Cavell uttered the immortal words that F. W. Jowett, in 1924, had placed on her statute. They redound to her glory. To Jowett belongs the credit of remembering and engraving them on stone in the heart of London in such a way that the stone record transcribes itself on the living hearts of humanity. To-day, Edith Cavell's words are a vital call to all mankind. We must honour her memory with loving attention that peace may arise throughout the world and war be abolished for ever.

enable me to carry out the necessary reforms, to make it my concern as a first instalment of good things to come, to raise well above the line of crippling and degrading poverty all who have suffered so long and so needlessly. I make this promise with the utmost confidence because, unlike many others who have made it, *I understand the measures which must be taken in order to give it practical effect.* One thing, and one thing alone, could seriously hinder and delay me, and that is the continuation of the present war until, by the destruction of our working population and industrial plant; the sinking of our merchant shipping; and the loss of our foreign trade to other countries, the very sources of real wealth are crippled and destroyed. If that point were reached, then, while financial reform would still be necessary, it could give, for a time at anyrate, but a meagre return, for the reason that the whole country would be poor in the real, as distinct from the financial, sense, money being of no value when the power to produce goods has been destroyed.

This, therefore, brings me to our immediate task—the ending of the war *before* our resources have been further wasted by senseless destruction in an effort to attain right ends by wrong means.

There was a time—and such a time will doubtless return and may even return shortly—when a policy could most usefully be promoted by speeches in Parliament; by public meeting; and by conferences.

Under the abnormal conditions which exist at the present moment, however, all these methods are, in my opinion, of small utility Let us first take speeches in Parliament, a matter to which I wish to give very thorough attention, partly because Parliament and the Government are undoubtedly the crux of the whole situation, and partly because many of my friends obviously still attach great value to the effect of Parliamentary speeches.

It is, however, exceedingly important to realise the present strange mental condition of Members of Parliament, a condition which exists to an almost equal extent in both Houses, as may be gathered from reports one receives from the few individual M.P.'s who have managed to retain their sanity. The plan fact is that the vast majority of the members of both Houses have come to resemble the ostrich of the Book of Job, in that God (or perhaps the Devil?) "hath deprived them of reason"! They are completely filled with war hysteria and emotionalism because they believe what they read in the National Press whose Editor-in-chief in these days must surely be Beelzebub the Father of lies and hatred! The result is that, to borrow a phrase from the religious field, they are completely "gospel-hardened" as far as arguments in favour of a negotiated peace are concerned. Every plea that can be put forward in favour of peace has already been brought to their notice times without number, sometimes by the minority of intelligent Members already alluded to and sometimes by a great variety of outside agencies, among which I can include myself: *but the effect has been nil.*

The propaganda value in the country of anti-war speeches made in Parliament is also now universally small, for the warmongers' Press either ignores such speeches or reports them briefly and perhaps inaccurately, giving undue prominence to hostile replies in order to discredit the peace effort.

Two things, and two things alone, can make the slightest impression on Parliament in its present state of mind. The first is a further succession of military disasters, shipping losses, and disappointments with regard to help from Allied countries; the second is a change in public opinion towards the war. I will return to this point later on.

Though I would not for a moment suggest that they should be abandoned by those who believe in them and find that they are able, even in a quiet way, to do effective work through them, I feel that public meetings are now of comparatively little value because, owing to black-out and air-raid hindrances, audiences tend to be even smaller than before the war and more strictly confined to those who are already converted. If by any chance the appearance of some speaker of unusual eloquence, or a change in public opinion, did bring large and receptive audiences of people hitherto indifferent to peace, the Government would quickly take steps to suppress the hindrance to their war effort, either by imprisoning the too-eloquent speaker for causing "despondency and alarm," or by the indirect but equally effective method of issuing, on the quiet, instructions to all owners of halls forbidding them to let their premises for meetings where the speaker to whom the Government took exception was likely to appear.

In regard to conferences, the conditions which now obtain have made the issues on which effective action can be taken so simple and so few that there is really nothing much to confer about! It is better to get on with the job than to talk. Some people think that conferences are helpful for the planning of the post-war world, but if we already know the spirit which should animate international policy in the post-war world and understand the financial and foreign trade technique necessary to give practical effect to our desire for neighbourliness, it does not seem to me that there is much point in trying to work out a detailed scheme when only wishful thinkers can imagine that we alone shall possess the deciding voice in the post-war settlement and when we do not know, and cannot get in touch with, the other important contributors whose decisions will carry quite as much weight as our own.

We come now to the point — and, in my opinion, almost the only point—at which practical effort can, and should, be applied on the material, as distinct from the spiritual, plane. I have said just now that the only thing, with the exception of disaster, that will make the slightest impression on the mentality of our war-hypnotised Parliament *is a change in the outlook of an adequate number of British citizens.* Militarist Members of Parliament have repeatedly defended their attitude on the ground that the majority of the nation are in favour of continuing the war, and we have got to face the unpleasant fact that as long as they are able to say this with truth the war is going to continue. Our first task, therefore, is to increase by every means in our power the number of people whose attitude towards the war is reasoned and intelligent. Each one of us has his own contacts and his own opportunities, and of these he must train himself to make the best possible use. All that is needed in the way of mental equipment is now available for him, since he can obtain at the cost of a few pence literature containing reasoned arguments against every idea that can be put forward in defence of the war and its continuation. In *Peace News*, also, he can find up-to-date comments on recent happenings which are of extreme shrewdness and interest.

A working knowledge of the reforms needed in the monetary and foreign trade system, if the economic causes of war are to be removed and prosperity is to be made possible, is a very useful asset to the worker in the cause of peace. People are much more likely to become keen on an early peace if they can see that there is a chance of really good times ahead, and they will become especially impatient at the prolongation of the war if they realise that every day of its continuance makes the chances of a rapid entry into prosperity less good. It is particularly necessary to be able to convince those who are lukewarm about peace because they have well-paid war jobs, that there is not the slightest reason why, if they can do a useful job well, the cessation of hostilities should involve them in a lowering of their present standard of living. They should also be helped to realise the selfishness and shortsighted folly of their outlook. Just because they are all right does it really not matter to them that thousands of other people should be killed or ruined? And just for the sake of a few months', or at most a few years', comparative prosperity, is it worth while tolerating a war which, by its continuance, may bring disaster upon the whole country and, in the long run, involve them also in a protracted period of acute distress?

But the extension of an enlightened attitude towards the war is not the only task. *It is of the utmost importance to drive home into the public mind the responsibility of the Government and of Parliament for the continuation of the war.* A hazy idea is common that Hitler is entirely responsible for the continuation of the war, but unless, and until, Hitler rejects reasonable peace terms not deprived of all practical value by foolish clauses such as the unilateral disarmament proposal in the Eight Points, it is our Parliament and Government and not Hitler, who are responsible for the continuation of the conflict.

Our third, and perhaps in some ways our most important, task *is to convince those who are opposed to the war of the duty, value and necessity of making their views known continually to members of the Government and of Parliament,* not necessarily only their own Members, though these should, of course, receive special attention. Anti-war constituents of a militarist Member of Parliament commonly feel that it is quite useless to write to him, and therefore refrain from doing so. If by "useless" they mean that their individual letters will not convert him to an anti-war position they are probably right, but this is not the point. *Their action is needed to give volume to the popular demand for a negotiated peace,* regardless of what the personal views of the Member of Parliament may be. Experience with regard to other issues has proved again and again that a government will always alter its policy, even against its own wishes, *as soon as it has evidence of a sufficiently strong popular feeling against the plan which it proposes to follow or alternately in favour of some other plan.* At the present time it is numbers, and numbers alone, that count, anyhow in a very important field, and it is those numbers that we must create and mobilise, for apart from numbers there is no hope.

There is an old legend of a waggoner whose vehicle got stuck in the mud and who, in his agitation, prayed to the god Mercury for assistance. Mercury appeared, but instead of performing some miracle to assist the waggoner, he suggested that he should put his shoulder to the wheel in the right place. He did so, and, with this assistance, the oxen managed to drag the waggon on to firm ground. Now our "waggon" is Parliament, and the Government, deep in the mud of war hysteria and the sticky, evil-smelling slime of Press dope. The toiling oxen are our good friends Maxton, McGovern, Rhys Davies, Stokes, Sir Ernest Bennett, Lord Ponsonby, and others like them, who have neither lost their heads nor sacrified their principles. The situation demands pressure from the rear. Our job is to put our shoulders to the wheel and shove, and as soon as enough of us get shoving, out she'll have to come!

There is another reason why I would impress upon my friends the need for personal effort and personal initiative. *They cannot afford to rely too much on the help and guidance of one or two men.* At any time illness, or accident, or the action of powerful enemies may deprive them of Guy Aldred's help, or of my own, or perhaps of that of both of us. If this should happen, seeing the great task which is committed to them by God for the service and salvation of humanity, can they afford to become a disunited and dispirited mob without purpose, plan or initiative — mere

sheep without a shepherd? Certainly they cannot afford to do this! Each one must himself develop a capacity for leadership and, if we should fall by the wayside, he must be ready to carry forward the gospel of truth and peace, certain alike of the goal at which he is aiming and the methods which he must employ to reach it.

These are dark days, with much in them to discourage and depress us. Let us not forget, however, that the greatest forces in the world are on our side, the forces of God and truth. We have also another and more grim ally, one whom in a sense we should rather be without, yet from whose aid our cause may greatly benefit. That ally is the inescapable nemesis of events which brings disaster upon those who seek good by methods of evil; put their trust in blind guides and frail alliances; and, refusing to learn the lessons of experience, prefer to continue, if one may quote in all seriousness lines from a famous classic in light humour, "to madly force a right-hand foot into a left-hand shoe." Perhaps also we may, just for a moment, allow ourselves the luxury of a calculation which errs on the side of optimism. Although ordinary daily papers are apt to be destroyed when only one person has read them, experts say that journals of the character of *The Word* commonly get into the hands of from five to ten different individuals. If, then, we could assume that *The Word* has half a million readers, each of whom decides to devote himself to the cause so thoroughly that every week he gains one other to be as keen a missionary as he is, how long will it be before the day of peace dawns when the new order of hope and happiness can begin? Not long indeed!

Yours sincerely,

BEDFORD.

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SOCIALISM AND THE BANKS

LORD KINDERSLEY MAKES AN ADMISSION

By F. W. JOWETT

[The following article by our comrade, F. W. Jowett, appears in the "Bradford I.L.P. News" for September 5, 1941. Jowett was First Commissioner of Works in the 1924 Labour Government. See reference in another column. In consequence he is a Privy Councillor, and in the P.C. list his name follows that of Thomas Johnston, M.P. Jowett remains an uncompromising Anti-Militarist and opponent of war, notwithstanding his one-time membership of the Labour Government. Lord Kindersley has been a Conservative M.P., a soldier, and stockbroker. Finance and politics have landed him in the House of Lords. He believes in finance and Jowett believes in Socialism. Thus is the issue joined.—Ed.]

The National Debt, which at the beginning of the war was £8,494 millions, is now £12,561 millions, so that we are borrowing at the rate of five and a half millions a day (W. J. Burtt, City Editor, *Daily Herald*).

Lord Kindersley, leader of the national savings campaign, is complaining that well-to-do savers only invested less than £3,600,000 last week in Government loans although there is £3,000 millions in the banks on deposit and in current accounts.

This very ugly fact of the rapidly increasing public debt whilst a very large amount of money is in the banks in deposit and current accounts of investors has compelled Lord Kindersley to recognise at last that banks only inflate currency, which increases prices, when they create credit for paper loans to the Government. These bankers' loans, Lord Kindersley has found it necessary to admit, are MERE BOOK-ENTRY LOANS.

Lord Kindersley's trouble with the well-to-do people who keep their money in banks ready for more profitable investment or speculation, is that they excuse their refusal to lend the Government the money they have in the bank by a fallacy—a false argument. The false argument is that there is no need for them to lose control of their money by lending it direct to the Government until it suits their convenience, because the banks lend it themselves to the Treasury.

This false argument which has so often been exposed in the *I.L.P. News*, Lord Kindersley blows sky-high, although by a little verbal subterfuge he shows how reluctant he is to expose the bankers' bluff.

Appealing to the class of people who at present have £3000 millions in banks and are keeping it there "to withdraw their money and put it into Government war loan," Lord Kindersley said: "You can't lend money by proxy," and went on to explain why. This was the way he explained the procedure, as we have done on so many occasions:—

"When a private individual invests his money in a Government security, Lord Kindersley explained, he transfers command over goods and services from himself to the Government.

But when a BANK LENDS PART OF A DEPOSITOR'S MONEY to the Government, not one depositor transfers his purchasing power to the Government.

He can still spend his money, and if he does so, his purchases are added to the expenditure of the Government instead of the Government expenditure being substituted for his. This leads to inflation."

The little verbal subterfuge (which does nothing more than show how reluctant Lord Kindersley is to make his long-overdue open admission that bankers' credit loans are NOT REAL LOANS AT ALL but just increases of currency causing inflation) is in the words I have put in capitals. These words are "when a bank lends part of a depositor's money."

Lord Kindersley's own explanation of bank credit loan procedure makes pure nonsense of these words, for if, as Lord Kindersley admits, "not one depositor transfers his purchasing power to the Government" to enable the bank to make such a loan, how can it be possible that "a bank lends part of a depositor's money" for the transaction"?

It is helpful to have this tardy admission of the root causes of inflation from the officially appointed whipper-up of savings for investment in Government loans. Because, however the war ends and whenever it ends, this money question will have to be effectively dealt with if the vast majority of the people are to emerge from the horrible experience that still lies before us all free from financial dictatorship. And I see no sign on which to found any belief or hope that the leaders of the Labour Party have any intention of dealing effectively with the money question.

This is a most amazing thing to have to say after the experience of the last war which has left us with nearly £8000 millions of unpayable debt, and the first two years' experience of the present war which has already increased the debt to £12,561 millions which is being added to at the rate of £5½ millions a day.

One prominent Labour M.P. who claims to be an authority on financial and money questions, Mr. Arthur Woodburn, goes so far even now as to assert that the public credit which is being issued by banks is being "issued without inflation." "The banking system," says Labour M.P. Arthur Woodburn, "IS ONE OF THE CLEVEREST INVENTIONS OF MODERN MAN," and he doesn't think that a big war debt at the end of the war will be a serious burden for the community to bear. If Mr. Woodburn had been an appointed agent of the financiers who control the banking system of this country, he could not have been more industrious and persistent in defending their nefarious and anti-social activities.

Soon after the war began, I expressed the opinion that at the end of it the national debt would not be less than £20,000 millions. A very large proportion of the £20,000 millions or whatever the amount of the debt may be, will consist of bankers' credit loans such as Lord Kindersley has described which are duplications of real money which alone has value representing goods produced and services rendered.

Being money created by banks it is in substance COUNTERFEIT MONEY as well as being one of the greatest of all sources of inflation.

If this method of issuing the nation's money is going to be continued after the war then all Arthur Greenwood's Government sponsored after-war reconstruction schemes and Professor Harold Laski's Labour Party reconstruction Committee's schemes can give no more substantial promise than Lloyd George's "homes for heroes" promise made nearly 25 years ago.

If, as it is assumed, not only by the Tory and Liberal party, but by the Labour Party so far as can be ascertained from its official publications costs of after-war reconstruction and all the measures necessary for the social security which has been promised are to be met by more borrowing and additional taxation, then Messrs. Greenwood, Laski and Shinwell may as well roll up their blue-prints of the new social order and put them away, for the new social order cannot be built on borrowed money and additional taxes. What alone will be possible after the war on the borrowing plus taxation plan will be a VERY MUCH WORSE DEVELOPMENT OF THE OLD SOCIAL ORDER.

And the pity of it is that there need be no such blockade as the present money sstem constitutes against the new social order. This much at all events has been made perfectly clear by experience in this war. THE ONLY LIMIT TO WHAT THE NATION CAN HAVE FOR ITS USE OR MISUSE—for the public well-being or for destructive warfare—IS THE LIMIT OF WHAT CAN BE OBTAINED FROM LABOUR AND AVAILABLE NATURAL RESOURCES.

But to think of starting after-war reconstruction for a new social order with a debt of, say £20,000 millions on more borrowing and more taxation, is sheer madness.

After all, the experience of the past two years, and Lord Kindersley's admission that banks are issuing duplicated supplies of money which, although it is bank-created credit money, is being added to the national debt, proves that the nation could issue its own money not as debt but as

national credit for whatever purpose it needed money.

The State could (as I see is explained in a circularised statement by the Duke of Bedford) issue its own money and:—

"earmark for its own use whatever percentage of an annual debt-free creation of money was needed for an adequate financing of its services. It would not borrow any money at all and it would USE TAXATION ONLY AS A MEANS OF COLLECTING FOR DESTRUCTION SURPLUS MONEY FOR THE PREVENTION OF INFLATION."

Can anyone find a reasonable objection to this straightforward proposal? It would give the Government the power it professes to need, to limit private spending: it would drive right through the tangled thicket of City and Treasury pacts and understandings (and incidentally set free some thousands of executives and their staffs for more useful work) and it would set the nation free, at the end of the war, to make the best it can of the real wealth (goods, labour, natural resources) then at its disposal.

THIS WE CAN DO!

By OSWELL BLAKESTON.

Pacifism is not worth the things which pacifists are enduring if it is without political and economic significance. That is so obvious many people keep it well at the back of their minds. They can be startled out of their complacency only by such direct statements as: Is your privilege of "peace" to be purchased at the expense of your neighbour, and do you really enjoy claiming a share in the exploitation of man by man?

The pacifist is he who is opposed to aggression (not just war) and, therefore, to imperialist politics, predatory economics, and aggressor.

How, then, is the pacifist to obtain the world of abundance for all, which, logically, is the world of peace? How indeed! were it not for non-co-operation? Thank goodness (which has everything to do with it) that non-co-operation has shown a way! for without it pacifism would be—passive.

Pacifists have not been slow to pay lip-service to non-co-operation. Faced with the pertinent "How would you deal with the evils of the Nazi system if the Germans conquered?" we have come back pat with "We would co-operate with whatever is good in the system (certain matters of social justice, etc.) and refuse to co-operate with whatever is bad (Jew-baiting, etc.)." We have explained how, by the positive moral force of non-violence, we would win in the end, just as Gandhi wins, on the higher plane where conflict may be resolved. Our enemies would become our comrades!

And often our questioners have curled their lips and said they couldn't see us doing it. We have replied valiantly that we would be only too willing to make our "battle" sacrifice on the field of non-violence, offering ourselves constructively for peace where we have refused to offer ourselves destructively for war. And sometimes our questioners have pushed it further and asked for proof, have even suggested that we might be getting on with the job. We have told them that we are preparing ourselves for the historical moment, for the Gandhi who will be ready to lead us when we are ready for him.

Well, we have reached a new stage in the exercise. The tragic thing is that so many pacifists seem unaware of it.

Why is so little stress laid on the really important part of the conditionally exempted C.O.'s refusal to accept the new conscriptions? The National Service Act and Industrial Conscription have brought about a totally new situation—if only we could realise it. For here, for many of us, is the opportunity to show our witness that this thing is possible in spite of legal compulsion.

We know that the "absolutists" of the last war have, by their heroic stand, made many things much easier for the pacifists of this war. Many of us accepted the conditions of exemption almost as a tribute to them. But the authorities have chosen to regard our compromise as a surrender, as weakness rather than a reasonable pacifist gesture. They have increased the pressure. Resistance to this pressure now takes on its full heroic stature.

The pacifist who refuses now has a profounder significance than the pacifist who refused in 1914-17. This is because the idea of non-co-operation has reached a more general consciousness. It is, as they say, in the air. To-day the pacifist who refuses does more than protest against the principle of compulsion, he gives evidence that the power exists which alone can make pacifism a policy as well as a blue-print for personal conduct. By indirect propaganda (always the most potent kind) he demonstrates that pacifism can be a living creed for the fiery blood of the young idealist as well as for the calm mind of the meditating sage.

To-day the individual pacifist, by his willingness to take the consequences of refusal helps others to understand that men could be found to stand shoulder to shoulder in a campaign of non-violence. Individual example can show that the things pacifists promise are not all talk, that pacifism can be, as it must be, politically and economically effective, that pacifism can mean real peace.

There are many who have scorned pacifism as passive, but who have their fill of proof that "war wins nothing, cures nothing, ends nothing." Once they realise that a non-violent struggle for an age of abundance is not an escapist's dream, they may become the men among whom we may look for our Gandhi. It is the refusal of the pacifist to co-operate with the new conscriptions, his willingness to bear the penalties of civilian and military punishment (and the stories are grim enough in the little left-wing papers), which will effect the wholesale conversion.

Only the exceptionally strong-minded are without any twinge of shame when declining to render some useful service to the community in the hour of need. Often the best pacifist has moments of wondering if he is not unreasonable in refusing some job as being a fire-watcher for the crops. Yet the pacifist need feel no guilt if he reminds himself of what he is doing positively by saying "No."

Of course there is a lot of "hedging" in the ranks. It is necessary for each to find out for himself how much of this is an attempt to rationalise our fears. If the editor will allow me, I should like to examine the main objections in another article. For the moment it is enough to remember—enough to live or to die for—that pacifism can be enough!

Why, why, why do we not say all this more often, more fervently, to our comrades, to ourselves?

NON-MILITARY WAR SERVICE
CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION
DUKE OF BEDFORD'S PROTEST

The *Catholic Herald*, London, for September 26, published the following valuable and powerful letter from the Duke of Bedford:—

Sir,—The Government's refusal to recognise the conscientious objection of men and women to forms of non-military war service imposed by the State marks another step in the direction of complete totalitarian tyranny. The treatment even of conscientious objectors to military service is steadily becoming more harsh and unjust and if nothing is done to remedy abuse I have just referred to our prisons will be filled still further with high-principled and perfectly sincere people whose only crime is that they refuse, like the heroine of a modern anti-Fascist play, to admit that "The State is all"!

BEDFORD.

UNITARIAN CHURCH
Hope Street, Liverpool
Minister—Rev. SIDNEY SPENCER, B.A.
Sunday Services:—11 a.m. and 3.30 p.m.
Afternoon Subjects:
Oct. 5—Can We Carry On the Work of Christ?
" 12—"Black Record": Reflections on a Pamphlet.
" 19—Spiritualism and Religion.
" 26—What is the Use of Prayer?

THE ROOSEVELT-CHURCHILL STATEMENT

Is It An "Honest-to-God" Declaration?

by Alexander Ratcliffe

The opinion freely expressed in Britain from the Premier down to the humblest of citizens is that Hitler is not to be trusted: that Hitler could not make an honest statement, and that Hitler's word is not worth a brass farthing. Away back in December last when Mr. Churchill made a war statement before the House of Commons, he said, "Certainly it would be very convenient if Herr Hitler or the important chiefs in Germany were to give us every fortnight or so an honest-to-God statement (laughter) if they were capable of it." (*Glasgow Herald*, 20/12/40). It was truly typical of the mentality of our Parliamentarians that they should titter at the very suggestion that anything honest could emanate from Germany: especially it was the time for hearty laughter when the suggestion was made that Hitler and Co. could make an honest-to-God statement.

My purpose now is to deal with the Statement of President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill on the "Peace Aims" of Britain and her Allies. Everybody has heard of the famous Eight Points: but does anyone see through them? Is this Statement of the two leading Democrats of the civilised world an honest-to-God declaration? Can there be found any substantial and valued opinion upholding the vague and inconsistent and utterly worthless platitudes that constitute the Atlantic Ocean Declaration? I am inclined to the opinion that Roosevelt and Churchill were at sea in more senses than one, as they drew up that mess of mendacious meanderings. The reception which these Eight Points has got has not been an encouraging one. The press was at its wits end to explain away these silly sea sayings. The point to note, however, is that that Statement is not an honest-to-God declaration: it is merely a smoke-screen to hide the real purpose of that Oceanic Overture, so ably performed by these versatile voices.

The first thing to note particularly is that the Eight Points begin thus: No. 1, "Their countries seek no aggrandisement, territorial or other." It is to be observed that No. 1 and the other Seven Points do not constitute the basis for Peace with Germany. It is definitely stated in the Preamble that these Points are the "common principles in the national policies of their respective countries, on which they base their hopes for a better future for the world."

The Declaration, then, is merely an Agreement between one country at war and another country not at war: an Agreement between Neutral America and Warring Britain.

I do not think any purpose is to be served dealing with each of these Eight Points, for all of them savour of hypocrisy and smug complacency. No. 1 was the foremost Point for Peace with the Germans at the last war, and we all know the result, how after solemnly promising the Germans and *her* Allies that no territory would be filched from them if they accepted President Wilson's Fourteen Points as a ground for Armistice, Britain and her Allies tore up the Agreement and treated it as a Scrap of Paper; Britain subsequently benefiting by the gain of nearly a million and a half of enemy territory, most of it German. Of course, it may be safer this war to urge No. 1 Point, for at present it would seem that there is little hope of us adding to our territory after *this* war.

No. 2 Point is also suspect: it solemnly declares that there are to be no territorial changes "that do not accord with the freely-expressed wishes of the peoples concerned." That also was stated solemnly at the last war, the result being that again Britain and her Allies betrayed the Germans and *her* Allies by *forcing* the peoples of one nationality to live under the despotism of another nationality. One might here note that had Roosevelt and Churchill made these Declarations *before the present war commenced*, and agreed with the Germans and Hungarians, etc.,

to right the great wrong that caused hundreds of thousands of one nationality to live, against their express wishes, under the rule of another nationality, the present war would not have taken place. For it was with a view to setting free the peoples of one nation from the peoples of other nations that Hitler invaded Czechoslovakia and Poland. None seek to deny that fact to-day. Notwithstanding, neither Mr. Roosevelt nor Mr. Churchill has seen fit to make any reference to the injustices prevailing on the Continent of Europe before the present war started, injustices which, if swept aside *before Hitler was even heard of*, would have obviated the rise of Hitler, and the war we are suffering from to-day.

Point No. 3 is another piece of mendacity, for it coolly states that the people of any Nation must be at liberty to choose their own form of Government. Notwithstanding, Point 6 declares that the "Nazi Tyranny" must get its "final destruction." The Germans have chosen Nazi-ism as *their* form of Gavernment, for Messrs. Roosevelt and Churchill know, the latter especially, that in 1937, two years previous to the declaration of war, the Germans voted for Hitlerism 99 per cent.: this because of what Hitler had done for Germany in four years of rule. So, it would seem that every country but Germany, and probably Italy, is to have the choice of its own form of Government. But there must be no Fascism or Nazi-ism for foreign countries. Britain and America evidently are to be at liberty to dictate to other countries what form of Government they must enjoy!

The other Points are all likewise reeking of hypocrisy and inconsistency, so having dealt briefly with the few, the others can be passed over.

As for the Statement that Hitler is not to be trusted, and that Hitler always breaks his word. We are not excusing any man breaking his word, but every politician who is honest (if there is such an one!) must admit that where Hitler *has* broken his word, he has been driven to it by this country and our allies. But why point the finger at Hitler? Did not our respected and honoured political representatives *break their word* in 1919, when they foully betrayed the Fourteen Points of President Wilson which constituted the basis for the Armistice of 1918? *Our* politicians, our leading and honoured Cabinet-members, agreed to tear up an Agreement once they got Germany to lay down her arms. Once the Germans were disarmed and an Allied Army marched on to German soil, Britain and her Allies *broke their word* by tearing up the Armistice Terms, and they continued to *break their word* till they had reduced Germany to starvation, want and abject misery. What did that get us? We have heard some silly and stupid people say that "we must *finish* Germany this time." As if Germany could ever be finished *this* time as Germany was *last* time!

And if the boot is on the other foot, *this* time, what reason have we to squeal? If Hitler were to deal with us, were he to procure a victory, as we dealt with the Germans at the last war, could we blame him? If Hitler is the base rascal that he is said to be, then if Hitler were to break his word given at any Peace Conference, could we blame him? If Hitler and the Germans are the "scum of the earth" and beyond redemption, then let us just be prepared for what is coming to us. But sane and sensible men and women know that all that talk about Hitler and the Germans is mere war propaganda. They know that, what time it is urged that we never could talk with Hitler or discuss matters with him, our political advisers to-day are the very men not only to *talk* with Hitler, but to *side* with Hitler *if it will serve their own personal ends.*

THE ATLANTIC CHARTER

Miss Ruth Fry, whose labours for peace are well-known, has sent us a very detailed analysis of the Atlantic Charter, in which she puts forward a more conciliatory approach than that adopted by Mr. Ratcliffe. Owing to an accident in going to press we will be unable to publish this important analytical essay until next month.

LEACH AND WAR

Criticism of a Labour Militarist

By The Duke of Bedford

Dear Aldred,

In my letter in the September issue of *The Word*, I mentioned the difficulty I had in understanding how Labour M.P.'s, at one time sensible on the war issue, could change their outlook in the astonishing manner of which some have proved themselves to be capable.

A letter by the Labour M.P., Mr. William Leach, in the issue of *Forward* of September 6th, seems in some measure to answer my difficulty for me.

Mr. Leach tells us that he was an inveterate opponent of the last war, but he is an ardent supporter of the present one by reason of the antipathy which he feels to Hitler and Hitler's policy.

Mr. Leach is doubtless quite sincere, but it is evident from what he writes that his anti-war feeling of earlier days rested, not on and fundamental principles, but on prejudices and emotion.

People of my school of thought have a conviction that war is indefensible on Christian grounds because Christ, by precept and example, forbade the use of destructive violence against people who believe that they are doing right, even in cases where they are mistaken. They feel equally strongly that war is indefensible on grounds of justice and common sense, because, in the attempt to strike at some objectionable individual or group of individuals, correct their faults and restrain their wrong-doing, it kills and ruins milions of more or less innocent people, while the real offenders usually escape. On these two grounds we are finished with war under all circumstances, and no matter how much we may object to a Dictator's character and policy, we are convinced that war cannot possibly be a right or sensible method of dealing with him. Mr. Leach, however has no such settled convictions about war but, setting on one side both religious considerations and all consideration of war's fearfully clumsy and unjust method of operation, he supports or condemns it according to the feelings he entertains for the statesman at the head of the country with which we are engaged in hostilities.

Mr. Leach's attitude towards the persecution of minorities by the State also appears to be based on emotional feeling and personal preferences and not on fundamental issues. He is moved to the keenest indignation against Hitler because of what he has done to Jews, Socialists and Communists, presumably because he has a soft place in his heart for Jews, Socialists and Communists; but, as is evident from other passages in his letter, he is more than ready to condone and forgive the cruelties inflicted by the Soviet Government upon their political enemies, presumably because these enemies have consisted, among others, of landowners and aristocrats for whom Mr. Leach has little use.

People whose attitude towards State tyranny and persecution is based on fundamental principles but is at the same time understanding, condemns equally the harsh and unjust persecution of all large classes of people, realising that all large classes are composed of the good, the bad, and the indifferent, or in other words of the innocent, the guilty and the partly guilty and that in this respect, there is probably little to choose between Communists and Jews in Germany and artistocrats and landowners in Russia. Bearing in mind, however, the widespread weakness which induces numbers of people of all nationalities to persecute indiscriminately, once their passions and resentments have been aroused, while they may be deeply moved by the horrors and injustices of State tyranny, they avoid hysterical anger and emotionalism and seek to remedy the evil by methods which, unlike war, are not caneulated to accentuate them. One may, indeed, say that the man who fiercely condemns the persecution of one large section of a nation while he thinks nothing of the persecution of another large section of another nation, himself suffers in no small degree from that harsh and one-sided outlook which is a characteristic of the tyrant whom he opposes.

Yours sincerely,

BEDFORD.

Newton Stewart, Sept. 5.

[The case against Soviet Russia, that is, to-day, Stalin, is not the persecution of former landowners, but the bogus trials, terrorism, and persecution AFTER THE REVOLUTION of fellow Socialists, Communists, and Anarchists. All genuine pioneers and fighters in the social struggle. Leach was condemned in detail for his attitude towards the Arabs in Iraq in our work "At Grips With War." His 1924 speeches are disgraceful in one who was once a Socialist and a conscientious objector.—Ed.]

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD

We have received a further heavy correspondence from all over the country, urging the Duke of Bedford to become the leader of a United Pacifist and Socialist Movement. Selections will be published next month. The tone and style of the letters vary considerable but their import is the same, except here and there for some note of academic criticism. References to the duke's attitude from other journals will be reproduced.

The editor has received much correspondence on other matters. Some of this will appear in November also.

Send us your opinion. Make the *Word* known. Order November issue now.

CHURCH OF SCOTLAND PEACE SOCIETY.

Glasgow Region.

Chairman: Rev. G. Gordon Cameron.

Hon. Secretary: Miss Betty Meikle, 82 Coplaw Street, S.2.

Monthly Services in Y.W.C.A., 80 Bath Street On First Saturday of each month at 3 p.m. October 4,1941—June 6, 1942.

GLASGOW AND DISTRICT GROUPS.

Meetings or Secretaries.

Bearsden and Milngavie—Meets fortnightly at North Manse, Bearsden.

Cathcart—Secretaries: Miss Agnes Anderson, 5 Greenock Avenue; Mr. A. E. Meikle, 15 Largie Road, S.3.

Carntyne—Meets at 14 Gartcraig Road. Sec., Miss Olive Nicholson, 162 Gartcraig Road, E.1.

Central—Sec., Mr. James Montgomery, 37 Dorset Street, C.3.

Giffnock—Sec., Mr. Wm. Sinclair, Jr., 8 Elliot Drive.

Kings Park—Mrs. Todd, 43 Ashcroft Drive, S.4.

North—Cowlairs Parish Church, every first Tuesday, 8 p.m. Sec., Miss Chrissie Newton, 78 Endrick Street, N.

Paisley—Mr. George McFarlane, 52 Duchray Drive, Ralston.

Rockvilla—Rev. A. S. Mair, 27 Lacrosse Terrace, W.2.

West—Rev. W. J. Smith, 15 University Gardens, W.2

North West—Sec., Miss Marion White, 58 Gardner Street, W.1.

OTHER SCOTTISH GROUPS

In conjunction with the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

ABERDEEN—Mr. J. Macleod Scott, 16 Cairncry Terrace.

AYR—Mr. Alexander Handyside, 28 Belmont Avenue.

BARRHEAD—Rev. A. May, Congregational Manse, Paisley Road.

DUMFRIES—Miss M. A. Hogg, Balvaig, St. Cuthbert's Avenue, Maxwelltown.

DUNDEE—Dr. C. A. Coulson, 6 Somerville Place.

DUMBARTON—Rev. A. G. Jackson, Rockview Manse, Bonhill Road.

DUNFERMLINE—Rev. A. J. Armour, 139 Grieve Street.

EDINBURGH—Mr. Dennis Duncan, 148 Ferry Road, Edinburgh, 6.

EAST KILBRIDE—Rev. D. H. McMahon, 24 Harrington Road.

GALASHIELS—Mr. Angus F. Stewart, Langlands, Melrose Road.

GREENOCK—Mrs. MacKay, Duntrune, Gryffe Road, Kilmacolm.

METHIL—Meets Innerleven East Manse. Sec., Miss Christine Foster, 46 Omar Crescent, Buckhaven, Fife.

PERTH—Rev. H. Erskine Fraser, Bridgend Manse.

ST. ANDREWS—Mrs. Williams, The Roundel, 1 South Street.

STIRLING—Miss Miriam Jocelin, Inglewood, Alloa.

U.S.M. Meetings

106, GEORGE ST., GLASGOW, C.1

MONDAY: - - Group Meeting
THURSDAY :- - Study Circle
SUNDAY: - - Lecture

Meetings Commence at 7-30 p.m.

THE EDITOR'S TRIALS

IN THE DOCK

II.—GLASGOW SEDITION TRIAL, 1921

(Continued from page 19)

[Last month we published W. Gallacher's and H. McShane's reports of our Glasgow 1921 trial. We intended to conclude the record in this issue. This is impossible.—Ed.]

III. P. J. DOLLAN REPORTS.

The *Daily Herald* faithfully followed and reported every stage in the proceedings against us. In this chapter we wish only to record the reports sent in by P. J. Dollan, who was, at that time, Glasgow correspondent to the *Daily Herald*. Dollan displayed sympathy and solidarity. He may have expected to be Labour Lord Provost some day but he did not face the fact that he would be a war-time Imperialist Lord Provost, and he did not feel at enmity with the extreme sections of the Socialist movement. He was even indignant at our suggestions that Imperialism was the logic of parliamentarism.

We precede the Dollan reports with the date of the issue of the *Daily Herald* in which each report appeared:

Friday, March 4, 1921.

SEDITION TRIAL.

Sequel to Article in the "Red Commune."

From Our Own Correspondent.

Glasgow, Thursday.—A sedition case was opened here to-day, when three persons, one a woman, were remitted to the sheriff for trial in connection with an alleged seditious article published in "The Red Commune" in January.

The accused are Andrew Fleming, a printer; Douglas McLeish and Jane Hamilton Patrick, alleged to be the joint authors of the offending article.

The article, the police allege, was calculated "to excite popular dissatisfaction, commotion and violence to popular authority."

Tuesday, March 8, 1921.

GUY ALDRED IN COURT.

Sequel to Article in the "Red Commune."

From Our Own Correspondent.

Glasgow, Monday.—A further stage in the charge against Guy Aldred, Andrew Fleming, Douglas Mellnish, and Janet Hamilton, of Partick, was reached to-day, when they appeared for a declaration before the Sheriff, and were committed for further inquiry. Bail was refused, and all four were returned to the prison.

The charge has arisen in connection with an article in the "Red Commune" containing an appeal to the Glasgow members to organise its anti-Parliamentary activities so as to give concrete expression to its principles, which article, it is alleged, was calculated to promote disaffection and resistance to lawful authority.

The court was crowded, many being refused entrance.

Aldred, in response to the charge, stated he had nothing to say. He will conduct his own defence.

Councillor Rosslyn Mitchell appeared for the other three persons.

Earlier in the day Aldred was brought before the police court and was formally remitted to the Sheriff.

Monday, March 21, 1921.

ALDRED REFUSED BAIL.

Three Other Communists Granted Bail.

From Our Own Correspondent.

Glasgow, Sunday.—Three of the prisoners charged in connection with an alleged seditious article in the "Red Commune" were liberated on bail yesterday. The bail for Andrew Fleming, the printer, was £200; and for Jane Patrick and Douglas McLeish, £150 each.

The Lord Justice Clerk, however, refused to allow bail for Guy Aldred, who is under arrest on the same charge.

Aldred has been in prison fully two weeks, and it is stated that his trial will not come on for another six weeks yet. Aldred is detained in Duke-street Prison.

Wednesday, May 11, 1921.

HUSBAND PENALISED.

Sequel to Raid on Offices of "The Spur."

From Our Own Correspondent.

Glasgow, Tuesday.—In a recent raid on "The Spur," the paper edited by Guy Aldred, the name of a woman was found on the list of subscribers.

The information has evidently been conveyed to the employers of her husband, who has been dismissed in consequence.

The matter is receiving attention, but it is doubtful if the man will be reinstated.

Thursday, June 2, 1921.

GUY ALDRED'S TRIAL.

To be Held at Glasgow on June 10.

From Our Own Correspondent.

Glasgow, Wednesday.—The trial of Guy Aldred and three others on a charge of publishing an alleged seditious article in "The Red Commune"—which was originally intended to be held at Edinburgh—has been fixed for the High Court, Glasgow, on June 17. A pleading diet will be held on June 10.

Bail has been refused for Aldred, who has been in prison for almost three months.

Wednesday, June 22, 1921.

GUY ALDRED'S SENTENCE.

Eloquent Appeal for Free Speech.

From Our Own Correspondent.

Glasgow, Tuesday.—Guy Aldred, Douglas McLeish, Jane Hamilton Patrick, and Andrew Fleming were to-day found guilty of acting in concert to print and publish the "Red Commune," the official organ of the Glasgow Communist Group and affiliated bodies, containing alleged seditious articles.

Aldred was sentenced to one year's imprisonment, Miss Patrick and McLeish to three months each, and Andrew Fleming, the printer of the paper, to three months, plus a fine of £50, or a further three months.

Persecution!

In continuation of his defence, Aldred spoke for a further hour this forenoon and in an eloquent plea for free speech said Communism might be wrong, but a free Press was always right. He reminded the jury that Liberals had threatened to destroy the House of Lords and were not persecuted. If that was proper advocacy it was equally proper to urge the destruction of the Commons as an agency of Government.

Very telling was his reminder of the persecution of Catholics because of their religious beliefs. As it so happens, the judge, Lord Sherrington, is a Catholic.

Aldred also referred to the speeches of Carson and Lord Birkenhead, who, he said, prevented a peaceful solution of the Irish problem, and were responsible for Irish murders. Now these men were Judges!

Aldred also pointed out that he had been 100 days imprisoned, awaiting trial, which was longer than the sentences imposed on some convicted of sedition in other courts. He was to some extent their main writer, and on that account he pleaded for leniency for his comrades. . . .

The jury included eight women, one of whom was the forewoman.

We have omitted from the last report only details of sentences included in the reports published last month. To-day Dollan indentifies himself with the class that rejoiced in our prosecution.

IV. CONCERNING GUY ALDRED.

By JOHN S. CLARKE.

[Reprinted from "The Worker," the organ of National Workers Committees, Glasgow, for October 8, 1921. Clarke was editor at that time. Subsequently Clarke returned to the Labour Party, became M.P. for Maryhill for a while, and then adapted himself to Capitalist journalism. We have attacked Clarke bitterly at times and have resented his developments. We hold that he has wasted or dissipated his ability and knowledge. Clark has answered our attacks by maintaining an attitude of undiminished friendship. Recently he presented us with a rare copy of Cartwright's "Legislative Rights of The Commonalty Vindicated," published in London in 1777, presented by the author to the Committee of Sussex, inscribed in the famous Radical's bold writing, and dated "3rd March, 1780." Also the exposure of the spy system, pursued in Glasgow, 1816-1820, with the original letter of Andrew Hardie, published in 1833. Clarke sent a letter of warm friendship with these gifts, accepting our attacks as facts, and commending our discipleship of Richard Carlile. In "The Worker" article reproduced in part below, Clarke recalls the appeals he wrote and published in "The Worker" for March 12 and March 26, 1921, and later appeals issued by the Anti-Parliamentary Group itself. The unnecessary details are omitted. Clarke cites them only to deny the suggestion that he was wanting in solidarity. We reproduce the rest of his signed editorial reviewing the trial and sentence. The title was used by Clarke in the original articles.—Ed.]

There is a feeling in some quarters that we have not been as sympathetic toward the Aldred-Patrick-McLeish case as we might have been Because we did not make any comment when sentence was passed, we are suspected of being callously indifferent. . . .

But the lock-out began and E.P.A. commenced to operate. Our readers know the result. Some thing like one hundred Communists were arrested in different parts of the country and sent to jail. Aldred and his friends were tried at the time that scores of others were being similarly tried. For us to have commented on each case would have necessitated turning the *Worker* into a kind of Prison Bulletin or Police Budget. . . .

With this explanation (an Editor has to be continually apologising for his existence) let us make some, if belated observations on the case against Aldred. Whatever savagery a vindictive hatred prompted the ruling class bullies to inflict upon our E.P.A. victims, it apparently inspired them to be outrageously severe on Aldred. They kept him in confinement for four months prior to his trial, refused him liberty on bail. *They gave him a longer sentence than anyone else.* Aldred not only gets *no remission* of sentence but *will not enjoy the reduction of the four months* which he suffered previous to his trial. For the trivial offences he was found guilty of this punishment is positively monstrous. Not justice, but blind, bitter hatred sent him to endure the horrors of a Christian prison. Such martyrdom it has been his unfortunate lot to bear on several occasions in the past.

From our point of view—from *your* point of view—his political opinions may be hopelessely wrong. This is a point which must carry no weight whatever in our consideration of his case and our judgment of his splenetic tormentors. Such opinions are not only held by many, but have been held in the past by the loftiest spirits of the race. We may not agree with them, but we have got to agree that their right of expression is as legitimate as our own. Only bigots think otherwise, and a bigot is always a tyrant. As for his "crime," it is one that every self-respecting man has committed and intends to commit time and time again—an attempt to stir up the people until they realise that the common heritage of Nature and Society is deliberately and systematically thieved from them by a small section of gilt-edged scoundrels and rapscallions who hire a swarm of flunkeys and brutal bullies to keep the people from realising their own sordid subjection. This is the long and the short of the capitalist-landlord system and the comfortable hogs who thrive upon it. They are to-day as their predecessors were in the time of Christ, a gang of whitewashed sepulchres mouthing their stinking hypocrisy the while their carnivorous fangs are dripping with the blood of women and little children. His *alleged* crime was that he advocated "the preaching of sedition." We say "alleged" because we are as certain as we are that light follows day that his persecutors only made that excuse to get him.

Those who saw the original paragraph which constituted the chief count in the indictment will recollect that the word "sedition" was printed in quotation marks—"sedition." Such marks are employed by all literary men and women in cases like this one as determinatives. They are intended to point out to the reader that the word they embellish is only used in a derisive sense. Every cultured person in the court knew this little point as well as Aldred, but when the wolf has the lamb at its mercy ignorance becomes a virtue and legal technicality as sacred as the Sermon on the Mount.

When one remembers the speeches and actual deeds of Carson and Smith and the subsequent immunity these creatures enjoyed, it makes one vomit to think that the people who sent Aldred away for sixteen months, for a triviality, profess to have assimilated the teaching of the man who spoke of his own ruling class as those "who strain at gnats and swallow camels."

Aldred commited only one crime—he tried to awaken the working class. That is a villany beyond forgiveness in the eyes of the lechers and lickspittles who manipulate the machinery of coercion on behalf of the filthiest ruling class that has ever plundered a quiescent proletariat.

We are not in favour of petitioning even Labour M.P.'s to move in a matter of this kind, for if they were really one hundredth part of

what they profess to be—the representatives of the working class—they would have fought a case of this kind long ago, even though the principal victim is uncompromisingly anti-parliamentarian. . . .

A man who bravely spoke for the dispossessed and browbeaten, is eating his heart out in a prison cell and his friends are powerless to help him because they lack the means. Gallacher once assured me that instead of "getting used to it," to adopt the familiar expression, prison life becomes more horrible each time one returns to it. Aldred has already suffered over *three years* and has been in prison now for seven months on a ridiculous charge. What kind of a hell, physically and mentally, must it be to an active minded, cultured man? Try to conjure it for yourself. Try to be sentient for any sake, to feel what others feel, and *do* something to save further suffering on his part. Don't shake your heads and piously commiserate, and don't take pity on Aldred the Martyr. Aldred can dispense with pity, he can keep *his* back up, and pity is for those who can't. . . .

As a penalty for active service in the class war we might excusably ignore the loss of a warrior. As the phrase goes, "he only got what he dared for." But Aldred's case is different. He got more than he dared for. In his case it is a fact of utmost importance to remember that the punishment does not fit the offence. As long as men like Carson are loaded with honours instead of being shot as traitors to the realm, the persecution of Aldred is transparently an act of revenge on the part of the animated carrion who control the capitalist system. . . .

Forget everything but the fact that your enemy has got a comrade down; a comrade who has fought valiantly for you for many years; one whose hands bear not the smutch of corruption; one who suffers because—

"The people is a beast of muddy brain
That knows not its own strength."

(To be continued)

OUR PRISON SYSTEM

An Essay intended to be of interest to Socialists and "Conchies"

[Last month we published an essay written in August 1918, at Deepcut, whilst in detention awaiting our fourth Court Martial for resisting military service. The following essay was planned at the same time but was not written actually until we were released, for the first time, under the "Cat and Mouse" Act. Just after writing it we proceeded to Wandsworth Common to speak, where we were re-arrested and returned to Wandsworth for more hunger striking and prison discipline resistance. The story of the Wandsworth Prison C.O. revolt is told in "The Word" for April 1940 and February 1941.

Study of the courageous work of Richard Carlile caused us to be interested in constitutional law and the prison system before we experienced prison hospitality. From that time on, we studied, placed, and debunked Blackstone, whose ridiculous and unworthy ghost stands too often besides judges of the King's Bench, dictating over their shoulders, against the liberty of the citizen, and conferring powers on the executive intolerable to the believer in the rights of man. We studied the prison system, in England and Scotland, in person, at first hand, always as the victim, and with no desire to become the jailer. The nature of our study was revealed in our 1916 essay on "The Military Cell," published in "The Word" for May 1940.

The present essay was published in "The Spur" (Vol. V, No. 11, page 125) for April 1919. We have added (1941) the last two paragrephs.—Ed.]

We are a goodly but apathetic folk. Prison revelations disturb and surprise us. Most distinctly, we are not our brother's keeper. Of course, we will discuss his immoralities quite gladly. Scandal is our recreation. It spices our piety. But to concern ourselves with his sufferings, to protest against his being outraged—that is quite another question. The problem is one for which we have no taste, since the consequences may prove unpleasant. Smugly do we atone for our neglect by questioning, if not actually denying, the reality of another's sufferings. We are sceptical from indifference not from anxiety. We suspend our sense of duty not our judgment. It satisfies our humour, because it suits our interests, to believe that prison life is being reduced, surely if slowly, to a humane system of detention. There is an optimism abroad, which is ever ready to defend authorised iniquity. Most cheerfully does this spirit of glowing progress persuade us that huge improvements were witnessed in our prison system from the time of Godwin to that of Dickens, and between the age of Dickens and the present time. If this was true, one should shudder to think what it must have been like when Godwin wrote his *Caleb Williams*. That work must have been a very poor indictment indeed.

It happens, however, that optimistic sentimentalism is not only wrong, but hypocritically so. Instead of our prison system improving, it is rapidly becoming worse. To-day, the Prison Commissioners place a premium on despotism—that Englishmen would not have tolerated a century back. Yet at that time political corruption was as rife as it is now. Perhaps it was more rife, for its agents were more notorious. I am taking advantage of the Wandsworth Inquiry, therefore, to call attention to this curious evolution of our prison system, especially as regards political offences, because I am convinced that direct action and public opinion will destroy this despotism, as it can destroy every other despotism. The evil secrecy of the Prison Commissioners, the impudence of prison governors, warders, and wardresses, and their craven attendants, has to go. The State will never destroy these vices. The people can.

Under a system where despotism did not pry into the communication of every prisoner, and punish with barbarities the slave who "splits," such hideous torture as forcible feeding could not continue a day.

It is always the poor who suffer. Despotism ever attacks the friendless. At Newcastle, during the suffragist agitation some seven or eight years ago, rather than forcibly feed Lady Constance Lytton, the authorities discharged her on medical evidence, stating that she suffered from a weak heart. To her lasting credit, let it be recalled how Lady Constance exposed this hypocrisy. Disguising herself as Jane Wharton, a factory girl, she again went to gaol—*and was fed forcibly*. Only when, after seven days, her identity was discovered did the Medical Officer unearth her weak heart.

In all, twenty-nine women were submitted to this degrading treatment. Then the authorities succumbed somewhat to the public scandal. Under Churchill, a new set of rules were adopted for prisoners of the second division, which removed the criminal marks and practically admitted the right of the Suffragists to be treated as political prisoners.

Much has been made of the fact that C.O.'s, after suffering over twelve months' imprisonment with hard labour, are permitted, always provided they servilely subscribe to the prison regulations, to enjoy certain very limited privileges under the Churchill regulation, rule 243A. These privileges include a limited period of association exercise and a fortnightly *censored* letter. I want now to compare this restricted and censored "right" of correspondence with the right of correspondence enjoyed by prisoners a century ago. The following letter was addressed by Lord Sidmouth, who suspended the *Habeas Corpus Act*, to Mr. Cunningham, the Governor of Gloucester Gaol, and issued as a circular to every county gaol in the kingdom by order of the Home Secretary:—

Whitehall, 9th Nov., 1814.

Sir,

"I address this letter to you in consequence of certain complaints that have been made relative to the government of Gloucester Gaol, and the report of the Visiting Magistrates thereon. It appears that there has been a practice of opening letters, either addressed to or written by prisoners of the classes of felons and fines, under a notion that it was your duty to do so. I feel myself, therefore, called upon to repeat the opinion which I expressed in a letter addressed to the Chairman of the Quarter Sessions of the county of Gloucester, on the 12th July last, *that the law will not warrant* such a practice.

"Letters should be opened in such cases *only* in which there is reasonable ground to suspect that a communication is intended for purposes of confederation and crime, or which may produce disorder in the gaol, or lead to escapes, or other mischevious consequences. It must be left to your individual discretion to decide upon individual cases in which fair suspicion may warrant you in opening such letters, to prevent apprehended mischief; but if it be done as a general practice, or without probable cause or suspicion, it will be highly reprehensible. I think it also necessary to repeat, though not called for in the same degree by every practice proved to have existed in the gaol under your care, that the legal advisors or friends of prisoners should be permitted at reasonable times, to have access to them, for the purpose of preparing for their defence or trial, or for the protection of their rights and interests. But as application of this sort may be made a practice for improper or unreasonable communications, it must remain for you to exercise a fair and honest discretion in deciding whether the application for access or communication be for the real purpose stated, and act accordingly.

"I am, Sir,

(Signed) "SIDMOUTH."

"P.S.—As the High Sheriff and the Visiting Magistrates are annually appointed, I have to request that you will communicate to them from time to time, as occasion may require, the contents of the above letter."

By order of Sir John Acland, Chairman of the Quarter Sessions for the County of Somerset, this letter was entered in the Magistrates' Journal at the Gaol of Ilchester. More than a century has elapsed since this was done. Our prison system has been "reformed" and our parliamentary franchise has become democratic! With the result that a practice, denounced by a reactionary Home Secretary, in an official communication, as illegal and highly reprehensible in 1814, has become legal and official in 1919, thanks to our democratic parliamentarism and interest in prison reform! The consequence is that, to-day, prisoner and their friends are warned:

"All letters are read by the Prison Authorities."

This despotic practice renders the prisoner absolutely helpless. Yet it has been developed by our parliamentary democracy. Side by side with the extension of suffrage has grown and developed this increasing invasion of the right of prisoners. Bureaucracy has increased in impudence with every broadening of the franchise. And when some fact or other leaks through, we control our government so well, that we are shocked out of our wits. A Prison Inquiry is ordered and we fall asleep again. So much for prison-reform Socialism and the Capitalist careerist parliamentary ballot-box.

ADDED, SEPTEMBER, 1941.

There is no protection to the common people in the fact that a man has suffered imprisonment and is elected to parliament afterwards. M.P.'s have been sent to prison and have been horrified at the conditions. But then it was too late to reform the conditions for they were no longer M.P.'s and their voices no longer carried weight in respectable and official circles. Political prisoners have become M.P.'s after their release and have forgotten that the little grey home in the west remained intact, that prison conditions continued in the same bad old way, and that human beings were suffering still what they once endured.

It is time that mankind gave up playing at prison reform and the pettifogging child's game of punishment and authority, and established a sane and decent society. We think so much in the terms of jailing that even those who want Communism and Revolution, with rare exceptions, have no idea of dispensing with the medieval and counter-revolutionary institution of barren class society, termed the prison system.

CONSCIENCE (1916) CASES

The *Word* has devoted considerable space to the question of conscientious objection. To-day many of the 1916 cases and prison experiences will be recalled with interest. April, May, July and August 1940 numbers are devoted to this question of exempting conscience in 1916. Comrades should order the four copies, post free, for 1s. 0d.

LABOUR, WAR AND THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

The Labour Party rejected Lansbury's plea against war, and decided on a policy of war, renewing its latest National Government alliance, at the Brighton Conference of October 1 and 2, 1935. Lord Ponsonby adopted the same attitude as Lansbury and uttered some wise words about a sham fight, as regards matters of principle, not as regards suffering, being staged between the great Imperialistic Powers. He added:

"I am convinced that my duty lies in pinning my faith and giving my allegiance—not to a sham fight of international war—but to a real fight against the enemy here in our midst.

"That is our job.

"This sham fight is preventing us from building up the society that we want.

"We are losing sight of the grim and dreadful war against exploitation, greed, capitalism and all the badly-constructed injustice of society which allows one man to leave £7,000,000 and another not to leave enough money to bury him. ... ...

"That is the war that I am going to be faithful to."

This excerpt is culled from the report published in the *Daily Herald*, for Wednesday, October 2, 1935.

According to our contemporary, Stafford Cripps denounced the then Labour Party Policy of League and Sanctions as a policy supporting the National Government. To-day, Cripps is Britain's Ambassador at Moscow, appointed by the National Government, in evidence of the truth of his own 1935 contention. H. B. Lees Smith denounced his arguments then as "trivial and cantankerous" and described Ponsonby's contribution as "elevating but negative." Ponsonby's argument was correct and time has shown that Stafford Cripps was neither trivial nor cantankerous in his reasoning.

William Mellor attacked collective security and made a speech the direct reverse of those he has made since the outbreak of war. He said:

"The same appeals that were made to the working-class in 1914 were being repeated now. ...

...The League of Nations was retaining power politics in which the Imperialisms of France and Britain dominated every decision.

"The League was based on the robbers' treaty of Versailles, out of which had come Fascist Italy and Germany."

Charles Dukes, speaking for the National Union of Municipal and General Workers, replied to Cripps and Mellor:

"We are accused of co-operating with Imperialistic Governments," he said.

"Cripps and Mellor know that to be a lie, and they have no right to make that accusation.

"Our Socialism is as good as theirs, but as responsible men and women we have to say not what we hope may happen in the distant future, but what we are going to do to-morrow . . ."

"I envy Dr. Salter his optimism, but I do not believe that singing psalms to lions will work in this year of our Lord."

Cripps and Mellor were right about co-operating with Imperialistic Governments. Dukes was right when he said that his Socialism was as good as their's. It was as good—and as bad. For it was simply parliamentarism, power politics, and not Socialism at all.

Rhys Davies recalled that he had been a C.O. in 1916, but, after much mental agony, took his stand by the League against Cripps. Davies has made some telling speeches against war and militarism in the present House of Commons and must know that his Brighton speech was nonsense.

George Dallas said that he had returned recently from the Labour and Socialist International. The Socialist parties on the Continent of Europe were looking to the British Labour Party for a lead. Which meant that George Dallas had engaged in some joy-riding at the expense of the working class. One would like to know all about those mysterious Socialist parties. What a sorry joke that parliamentary-Socialist-job-seeking business has proven!

Jack Williams, of the Miners' Federation, compared Stafford Cripps with Oswald Mosley, and declared that the statement about supporting the National Government was "shallow and dishonest."

John Wilmot, M.P., also denied the National Government argument. Thus:

"Let us be clear about this. There is no question of this party throwing in its lot with the 'National' Government."

CONCHIES, SOCIALISTS AND PRISON CONDITIONS

All over Britain, conscientious objectors are being sentenced to twelve months imprisonment for refusing medical examination. This directs attention to the question of prison conditions, and to the further fact that several persons who complained of prison conditions in 1916 to 1919, became M.P.s in 1923, and did nothing to remedy the appalling conditions of which they complained. This fact is an outstanding disgrace to the parliamentarians.

The name of Hubert William Peet is to be found in *Who's Who*. To his credit he recalls his 28 months' hard labour as a conscientious objector. What he suffered during that period he tells in the following letter:

"The attempted imposition of silence is unmoral, even if not immoral; the isolation drives the man into himself, and tempts him at every turn to fulfil the human instinct of communication with his fellows, a course possible by the exercise of some petty deceit or the breaking of a rule. The prison regime provides every temptation to atrophy, and to let oneself vegetate. Several times I felt acutely the danger that my pacifism might become passionism, and that if not watchful I might let my life develop into meals and mail-bags. . . ."

In 112 Days' Hard Labour, Peet wrote:

"There is in prison no method of recording permanently thoughts that occur during reading or meditation, of noting for future reference passages that may be found helpful or striking, or of making notes for plans on return to ordinary life . . . and personally the one single alteration which would go to make gaol life more tolerable than anything else would be the provision of pencil and paper, and the permission to retain the latter on release."

Hubert Peet wrote thus in 1917. It is now 1941. For 24 years this intolerable barbarism has continued, under Labour and Tory Governments. Compare the conditions with those enjoyed in Sidmouth's days by Richard Carlile!

Stephen Hobhouse wrote in 1917:

"Sometimes when I feel tired and ill, I long for some little homely comfort, such as a glass of hot water or some tea and dry toast. I felt cruelly the restrictions of what seemed the most elementary needs. I did not think that my body with its weak points would stand it long. The struggle is often intense. Prison life has its own special temptations—to selfish introspection and the like. . . . I think the worst pitch of depression was one foggy and dark Sunday, when it was impossible to see either to sew or read in one's cell, and on remonstrating in the evening with one of the warders for not giving us the gas light, he answered, 'You are not worth it—it is not a work day.' The answer sank in."

In another letter, Stephen Hobhouse wrote:

"I told the Governor that it was impossible to keep the silence rule, in fact I came to the conclusion it was morally wrong to keep it, though it is not good for one to have to regulate one's talking according to one's distance from the warder and his character. There is no doubt that the prison system encourages artfulness and deceit. Deadening of intellect is one of the great dangers for educated prisoners, while others, owing to harrying, spying, etc., lose self-respect and all confidence in their power to lead a strong moral life."

Clifford Allen wrote during his second period of imprisonment:

"One hundred and ninety-five days of stitching, each of twenty-three hours and fifty minutes' silence. I think the greatest torture of enforced and perpetual silence is the never-ceasing consciousness of thinking in which it results. You cannot stop thinking for an instant. And if you seem to, it is only to listen intently to the beating of your heart drumming in your ears. You cannot escape thinking about the most trivial matters of routine. I thing of the very knots in the boards each time I scrub them, until I could scratch them out of the floor to rid myself of their arrogant insistence upon themselves. One inevitable result is a consequent and hopeless inability to think of those very things that are your interest, and would stimulate and hearten you. . . . And then I seem to have no way of escape from dwelling upon the horror of the war, and just because I cannot be active, my imagination is the more vivid, until I am driven almost to the breaking point of despair by thinking of all the agony of the world. . . ."

We indicted Clifford Allen's record in *The Word* for May 1940. He was made a Baron in 1932, for supporting Ramsay Macdonald's Imperialist Coalition. To his credit, in Debrett, Allen recalled the fact that he was imprisoned three times as a conscientious objector. But Allen became a peer whilst these conditions continued behind the grim walls of our prisons. Allen is dead now. He died in honour. And a second generation of C.O.s is being condemned, under a semi-Labour Coalition Government, to these conditions complained of and indicted in 1917. The fact is unbelievable but *alas* it is true.

FREETHOUGHT BIOGRAPHY

Chapman Cohen, the veteran editor of *The Freethinker*, and President of the National Secular Society, in *The Freethinker* for July 27 last, gives a kindly notice to the new edition of our "life" of Richard Carlile, and makes the following interesting reflections on the subject of Freethought biography:—

"We like the following remarks of Sir Ronald Storr, as given in 'The Times Literary Supplement.' They are taken from a speech delivered in Edinburgh.

'Reading,' said Sir Ronald, 'must bear not only the blossom of delight, but the fruits of absorbed and assimilated experience. . . . The spirit of books is the spirit of freedom—universal through, yet independent of time, clime, religion and race; the first book written was the first nail in the coffin of tyrants all over the world.'

"That is sound philosophy, and it reminds one that ever since books have been published, both Church and State have done their utmost to regulate what books should be published and what should be said in them. The Roman Church has a colossal index of forbidden books, and the other Churches, while not issuing an official index, still have a lengthy list of forbidden books. Both State and Church look upon books as something that must be regulated in the interests of established opinion.

"We repeat that we have no official index of forbidden books, although their suppression in this country is not unknown to the law. But the great weapon in this country is the boycott, far more cowardly and contemptible than any form of published legal proscription. The majority of Christians will not read a book on Freethought, the majority of hard-crusted Tories will not read anything that threatens their power or privileges. Above all, there is the boycott—the most cowardly and the most contemptible of all weapons. So far as we are concerned, the meanest form of this is manifested in the sphere of religion. Shopkeepers are threatened if they display Freethought papers, booksellers if they display uncompromising attacks on religion. . .

"Yet we have achieved, in spite of Church and State, a measure of freedom. But, how it has been fought for! Just over 100 years ago there were scores of men and women imprisoned for selling Paine's 'Age of Reason,' and a long list of books might be given that have brought their writers or sellers terms of imprisonment. The State does not like freedom of publication, whatever shape the State is, but the Churches hate it because it strikes at their very existence. Sir Ronald Storr is right—the spirit of books is the spirit of freedom. But they may also be used to crush freedom and, when too late, the writers find that they have been forging chains for themselves. . . .

"Among the very greatest Freethinkers of the nineteenth century stands the heroic figure of Richard Carlile. The years he spent in prison—on different sentences—indicate the heroism of the man, and his conduct affected every reform movement of his time. The working classes owe more to him than most people know. It is for these reasons that we welcome a new edition of 'Richard Carlile, Agitator,' by Guy A. Aldred (Strickland Press, Glasgow, 1s. 6d.). The sketch extends to 160 pages, with a number of plates and is, in these days of dear printing, marvellous value for money.

"It will probably not come in our time, but one day we hope that some wealthy person will see to it that a series of biographies of famous Freethinking men and women is published. As we have so often said, in this country we have a very effective method of burying our great heretics. We neglect them when living, and ignore them when dead. If possible, their names are never mentioned. If as prominent in their day as was Paine or Carlile, just a passing mention is made of them and their work which leaves the student quite ignorant of what they did, and with the impression that there is no need to bother about them.

(Continued on page 35)

OBEDIENCE TO CONSCIENCE

[The following important statement was issued by the Meetings for Sufferings of the SOCIETY OF FRIENDS, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1., in June. Copies may be obtained direct for 2d. We publish it as a statement of great value and supreme importance.—Ed.]

RECOGNITION OF CONSCIENCE.

It is fundamental to the faith of a Christian democracy that a citizen has obligations which may over-ride his duty to obey the laws of the land. The British Parliament has recognised this in several Statutes by providing exemption upon grounds of conscientious conviction. The most recent examples are the military service Acts.

The Prime Minister has declared "the rights which have been granted in this war and the last to conscientious objectors are well known, and are a definite part of British policy. Anything in the nature of persecution, victimisation or man-hunting is odious to the British people" (House of Commons, March 20th, 1941). The Minister of Labour and National Service has emphasised the same principle by repeatedly expressing disapproval of the action of local authorities and private employers who have victimised conscientious objectors because of their views.

PRESENT LIMITATION OF THIS RECOGNITION.

The Society of Friends is thankful for this recognition of conscience, but is the more disturbed that the extension of the principle of conscription to industrial purposes, fire watching, and civil defence should be accompanied by a drastic limitation of the recognition to be accorded to conscientious conviction. On behalf of the Government this limitation was stated by the Minister of Labour and National Service (House of Commons, April 1st, 1941) in the words "I cannot admit the principle of conscientious objection to civil work," and "To say that you can have a conscientious objection to State mechanism would resolve itself into turning the whole of the State into a state of anarchy."

In view of this new limitation the Society of Friends is impelled to state now what it believes to be the basis and consequent importance of obedience to conscience.

CONSCIENTIOUS CONVICTIONS THROUGHOUT HISTORY.

Men and women in every generation have felt constrained to live in direct relation to loyalties beyond those accepted by their contemporaries. One of the earliest statements of this to which our Christian tradition turns is found in the reported reply of the three Israelites to Nebuchadnezzar:

"If it be so, our God whom we serve is able to deliver us from the burnings of the fiery furnace, and he will deliver us. . . . But if not, be it known unto thee, O King, that we will not serve thy gods, nor worship the golden image which thou has set up."

This story recounts a direct refusal on the part of loyal servants of the State to obey its demands when they conflicted with loyalty to God. The particular witness of each age has varied in the differing circumstances, but it gives constant proof of the compelling character of the obedience demanded. Throughout history this faithfulness to conscience, though condemned at the time, has come to be recognised as of lasting worth. Readiness to accept suffering for convictions has given a redemptive character to life and revealed human effort in "a costly but noble state of tension" through which the quality of life was raised.

Our own Society was born in the experience of men and women who met publicly for worship knowing that the cost would be disturbance by the magistrates and soldiers, loss of goods and chattels, imprisonment or even death. They bore all this faithfully, conscious that they were being led into truth. In the furnace of persecution through which they passed they too desired only that they might serve their God as they understood His will. Friends have always found in their first-hand experience of God within the soul what they have called the Light or the Light of Christ. This Light illuminates the conscience and gives power to do what is perceived to be the will of God.

FOUNDATIONS AND GROWTH.

The Society of Friends has always associated conscientious conviction with the revelation of God within the heart. In using such language we would not suggest that obedience to conscience is compliance with the vetoes or injunctions of a mysterious inner oracle. It is the acknowledgment by a man's whole self of a loyalty—to a principle, a cause or a person—to which he feels committed and which he may not betray. Conscience is a "sense of oughtness," capable of development as its promptings are obeyed. Training, heredity and example, thought, reason and religious experience—all help to determine its quality. At its best it becomes an impelling power, not so much prompting a certain course of action as making it impossible to do anything else. In the words of Martin Luther: "Here stand I—I can no other."

It is our experience that faithfulness to conscience illuminated by the Light of God in the heart produces a life which issues in service to the community. Sometimes this service is of obvious and positive kinds, sometimes it may be the apparently negative service of refusing compliance with laws or regulations which are felt to hinder the higher loyalty. The test of sincerity is the kind of life lived, though the full meaning and significance of it may not be immediately apparent. John Woolman felt "a stop in his mind" when instructed by his employer to write a Bill of Sale for a negro slave, but this was a prelude to a lifetime's devotion to the cause of the slave.

CREATIVE CHARACTER OF CONSCIENCE.

We recognise that there is increasing need for the regulation by the State of economic relationships and social services. Moreover, that the State cannot on the score of freedom condone laziness. We can understand that to those pre-occupied with active forms of social and national service the claims of conscience may seem sometimes an excuse for evasion or inaction. Conscientious objection, however, arises from the claims of the State to prescribe for a man what his service shall be, and when these demands are felt by some citizens to be contrary to the will of God they will be bound to say "No." The idea that this endangers the State overlooks the fact that the democratic State can function only on a basis of tolerance, and that it runs far greater risks in overriding the conviction of minorities than in accepting them. Many sincere people, first become aware of the claims of a great moral principle in terms of what they feel constrained not to do. The general assertion remains true that even in its negations conscientious concern is primarily creative. It develops a relationship to the community which makes for the righteous ordering of the State. This is in accordance with the experience of our Society in the past, and to-day we expect that our members will give positive as well as negative expression to their faith.

ITS VERDICT AND AUTHORITY.

We do not assert that he who claims to be following the lead of conscience is infallible. There are inevitably instances of honest self-deception, in which through lack of self-knowledge, motives are mistaken and some deep rooted inclination or disinclination, which has no moral basis, is thought to be the voice of conscience. We may too readily identify a latent fear of the dangers of war, or a mere dislike of discipline as a conscientious objection. A conscientious decision therefore should not be hastily reached, glibly formulated, or arrogantly proclaimed: it should be a first-hand judgment not an echo of a point of view caught from others. But a man who has done his best to see clearly and judge honestly upon the moral issues confronting him is under obligation to act upon the conclusions he has reached, even though fuller enlightenment might show him to be in error, for to do otherwise will be to betray the right as he sees it. The verdict of his conscience is binding upon him, for the alternative is to surrender to external pressure, and abandon the right and duty of moral choice and personal responsibility.

CONSCIENCE ALWAYS ENTITLED TO RESPECT

If conscience is sometimes mistaken it is equally true that no human tribunal can be sure of judging whether it be genuine. The National Service (Armed Forces) Act in providing for the recognition of conscientious objection has enabled many men to make clear to an understanding Tribunal the way in which they feel free to serve the community. There will, however, always be many men who feel that any alternative to secure their compliance is as unacceptable to them as is the principal service required under the Act. Others again will feel compelled to refuse to change their occupation at the behest of a Minister for a purpose which they must conscientiously disavow. Their conviction should meet with respect even at the risk of some insincere claimants receiving treatment which they do not deserve.

Respect should be accorded also to many whom we know to be equally sincere but whose thoughts run more easily in political channels and phraseology. Our own belief is that conscientious conviction always arises from the Light of God in a man's heart, but those of whom we are now speaking would themselves make no such claim. They should not be misjudged by the assumption that moral convictions must always be given an avowedly religious basis. The proof of a man's moral enlightenment lies in whether his convictions lead sooner or later into a true and extending human brotherhood and understanding—an understanding which we believe can only reach its fullest depth as it is linked with a unity in God.

The noblest example of individual loyalty to a guidance within the soul is found in the life of Jesus Christ. In Him the Light of God shone at its brightest and his determination to follow its leading is seen as he set his face steadfastly towards Jerusalem to meet the fate which he knew awaited him there. His conduct might have been criticised as being both unpatriotic and unpractical, but his crucifixion remains a judgment upon conventional opinion as well as a revelation of the redemptive love of God. His loyalty to the guidance of God, and the spirit in which he met persecution, set free the most potent force for overcoming evil which the world has known. Thus he stands for all time the revealer of the Father and the inspiration of those who follow him.

EDITOR'S REPORT

We issued a special appeal for £1,971 11s. 3d. in November 1940. Last month this deficit stood at £1,780 14s. 4d. During the interval there had been regular monthly losses on the paper. If we can recover this sum we can carry on for some time, despite our monthly losses, without begging further. The circulation of the paper is rising. Lady Clare Annesley sells it in the streets at Coventry. Lady Stalbridge has sent £10 towards its peace work. A working man comes in on the first of each month and gives 10/-. A London doctor, who believes in healing and sanity, has sent £1 and promised to do so each month. On all sides comrades are urging us to keep the work going. The total return last month was the highest yet: £62 7s. 8d. Many workers have left 6d. and 1/- donations at George Street shop. The deficit now stands at £1,718 6s. 8d. Comrades, it is a year since we issued this appeal. Could we not raise this balance in a month and end this feature. Our circulation is rising steadily. Each comrade needs but to make one response **now!**

RICHARD CARLILE

Until such time as a fourth edition of my "life" of Richard Carlile is called for, this essay must stand as a further appendix to the third edition. It is written, therefore, in the first person singular instead of the customary editorial plural.

Many comrades have expressed appreciation at the recent publication of the third edition. The work would be improved by the additions indicated in this commentary. They were not incorporated in the third edition owing to a printer's mistake, and the difficulty of repairing it, when discovered, without unduly postponing publication.

I. CARLILE'S BIOGRAPHERS.

The 1941 preface makes reference to W. H. Wickwar's monumental work, *The Struggle For The Freedom of The Press.* This treats largely of Richard Carlile and his magnificent fight. It should find a place in every Freethinker's library, notwithstanding its shortcomings.

Wickwar compares the three biographies of Carlile: G. J. Holyoake's; Mrs. Carlile Campbell's, and my own. (See page 68 of Wickwar's work).

Wickwar states that Holyoake's biography is "based *on a close study of Carlile's writings.*" Actually, Holyoake's biography is notoriously slight and reveals no such study. I dealt with Holyoake's falsehoods thoroughly in *THE Spur* for February, 1916 (Vol. II., No. 9, pages 73-74), and the essay will be revised and reprinted. Holyoake can be accepted as an authority on the struggle of Carlile, subject to the most careful examination and analysis. His comment is helpful. His record of fact, interested, unreliable, and contradictory. That Wickwar was unaware of the real value to place on Holyoake's writings detracts from the worth of his own writing. It lessens considerably his critical authority. He also shows that he cannot read, for his statement as to period over which Holyoake knew Carlile is inaccurate and contradicts the book.

Wickwar states that Mrs. Carlile Campbell hardly remembered her father, but had some of his correspondence and knew some of his friends. This is correct.

Wickwar describes my biography as a "*Communist compedium of miscellaneous information picturing Carlile as a demi-god among demons.*" The "Communist" adjective is introduced from bias. The "compedium" reference implies that I cannot write. The "demi-god" is meant to accuse me of false writing and unbalanced judgment.

These three charges are most unfortunate for the man who makes them. The adjective has no place in the record, for it is obvious that I am a complete libertarian, and, as regards Carlile, my bias is towards the principle of the absolute Freedom of the Press. Certain folk, claiming to be Communist, falsely in my opinion, object to a Free Press and favour dictatorship over opinion. It is not correct to say that the work is a "Communist compedium," for it does not mention nor discuss Communism. It is correct to say that the Wickwar's comment is an Anti-Communist inaccuracy, for it betrays spleen and exposes the writer's narrow approach. As for "compedium," it may be that I cannot write: but to state facts simply and directly is more useful than to write falsehoods eloquently. Many liars are eloquent. The "demi-god" touch is as unfortunate as the rest of Wickwar's comment. Sir G. M. Trevelyvan, who was *not* a Communist, but was a great and worthy scholar, in his *British History in the Nineteenth Century*, expresses the same view of Carlile and his shopmen as is expressed by me in less powerful language. Trevelyvan cannot be accused of Communism and cannot be indicted for producing a compedium. But he shares my offence of admiring Carlile. Perhaps Wickwar will try to write down Trevelyvan's history, which increases in repute with the lapse of time. And perhaps if Wickwar should reissue his work, he will apologise to his readers for spoiling a splendid work of research by a quibbling legal and ruling class bias. If Carlile was too great a personality for him to understand, he ought never to have attempted the task.

Wickar insists that Carlile was no orator. This is true. The fact makes Carlile's speech from the dock a magnificent performance, for it breathed eloquence and possesses, even to-day, a living fire.

Wickwar objects to Carlile's conduct in the dock in 1819. He ought to know that Carlile's contentions were right and that the judge's conceptions of blasphemy and sedition were ridiculous. They have been repudiated from the bench since then in most learned verdicts that read like second-hand versions of Carlile's original reasoning. Carlile's aggressive conduct was the behaviour of the agitator. Wickwar is unable to appreciate its splendour because he has the mind of a pigmy scholar and is capable only of wandering round in a maze of legal jargon unrelated even to jurisprudence, the mental cobweb of despotism. Carlile belongs to the despised underworld of agitation and agitators. The first Christians belonged to this world in the days of the ancient Roman Empire, when Christianity was despised and rejected. This underworld has been the real overworld of progress. Since the days of Caesar to those of Labour-Lord Advocates and Labour Ministers of Home Security, the real underworld of thought has been the fashionable political and intellectual world of class authority: the mean, contemptible, underworld of lawyers and judges, the routine mediocrity of bench and bar. There have been great lawyers and great judges. But these have been rare and usually fell on bad times because of some kink of genius that routine could not suppress. But the run of the fraternity has been of the type of Lord Justice Abbot. He was one of the worst judges despotism employed for its evil purpose. It is but natural that Wickwar should evidence studied regard for his memory. The reader must turn to Chapter IV., in which Abbott's career is detailed.

Wickwar objects to my eulogy of Carlile; but he quotes Trevelyvan—whose very name spells learning—and the very work to which reference is made in this essay.

Trevelyvan says that the revival of Paine's influence was due to Richard Carlile, who "suffered and *achieved* more for the liberty of the Press than any other Englishman of the nineteenth century." This comes perilously near the pictures of Carlile that my biography outlines. The truth is, that I am in entire sympathy with my subject. Holyoake was never in real sympathy with him, and few modern Rationalists or Freethinkers are. Which explains why Wickwar prefers Holyoake to myself as a biographer.

I conclude this chapter on the subject of Carlile's importance and his biographers, by recalling a truth written by Robert Louis Stevenson in a moment of rare insight:—

"To write with authority about another man, we must have some fellow-feeling and some common ground of experience with our subject. We may praise or blame according as we find him related to us by best or worst in ourselves; but it is only in virtue of some relationship that we can be his judges, even to condemn. Feelings which we share and understand enter for us into the tissue of the man's character; those to which we are strangers in our own experience we are inclined to regard as blots, exceptions, inconsistencies, and excursions of the diabolic; we conceive them with repugnance, explain them with difficulty, and raise our hands to heaven in wonder when we find them in conjunction with talents that we respect or virtues that we admire."

In other words, all or any criticisms which we may pass upon the subject of a biographical sketch are as much indicative of our own temperament as of that of our subject; as much an index to the character and temperament of him who censures as to that of him who is censured, to the mental calibre of the praised as to that of the praising. Hence it will be seen that the more nearly the biographer's ideals and circumstances correspond with those of his subject's, the greater is the weight which one can attach to the accuracy of his views, and their agreement with the feelings of his subject. The difficulty, then, of Radical thought, turned Whiggist, and Freethought reduced to complacency, doing anything like justice to the memory of Carlile, Social Republican and journalist of the poor has but to be stated to be recognised.

On the other hand, my imprisonments, almost equal in time to Carlile's, but more vicious in character, and more extensive in place, enables me to share Carlile's outlook and manner of approach.

II. VICARY GIBBS.

Chapter IV. of Carlile's "life," headed "Legal Biography," records the story of Vicary Gibbs and ends with a reference to his "levity," by which he meant leniency, or hesitation to prosecute charges of sedition or blasphemy. The chapter should have continued and concluded as set out in the following paragraphs.

* * * * * *

Perhaps Gibbs expressed his "levity" in its most expansive form in the case of Perry, proprietor of the *Morning Chronicle*, the leading Whig paper of the day. This paper published an editorial containing the following passage:—

"What a crowd of blessings rush upon one's mind that might be bestowed upon the country, in the event of a total change of system. Of all monarchs, indeed, since the Revolution, the successor of George the Third will have the finest opportunity of becoming nobly popular."

For these words *alone*, exactly as they stand, aggravated by no innuendo or additional passage, Perry was prosecuted on an *ex-officio* information by Sir Vicary Gibbs, who, as Henry, Lord Cockburn, a judge of the Court of Session, wrote later, "might have been Attorney-General to Henry VIII."

Gibbs maintained that these words implied that blessings were kept from the country by George the Third, and that this lowered his majesty in the esteem of his people! Gibbs overlooked the fact that no comment could lower George the Third in the esteem of the common people! In any case, the comment was directed against the political and social administration, for which the king was supposed to be responsible no longer, and not against the king's personal dignity. Even Ellenborough was in favour of the acquittal that took place. But the prosecution expresses the outlook — the hungry pendantic self-seeking logic born of the metaphysics of self-interest—of the legal mind. It placed Gibbs, the aspiring hireling of constitutionalism based on exploitation, in his proper category, as the enemy of Richard Carlile; and it elevated Carlile, as his enemy, to his place of worth in history.

In addition to prosecuting Perry, Gibbs also prosecuted, among others, Cobbett, and John and Leigh Hunt. His reward came in due course, and he became one of his Majesty's Judges, in company with the following notorious ex-Whigs, Best, Copley, Scarlett.

What a mean scramble, law and politics present! During the 12 years, 1818-1830, there were 9 Attorney and Solicitor-Generals, all hating Carlile, for a living! Eldon reckoned that there were 18 during the 20 years ending 1824!

(To be concluded.)

By GUY A. ALDRED.

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THE BREAKDOWN OF THE STATE

By C. H. NORMAN

[The following valuable essay from the pen of our comrade, C. H. Norman, was published in *The Railway Review*, for July 4, 1941.—Ed.]

In 1895, Messrs. Heineman published a translation of a book by an Austrian writer, Max Nordau, entitled "Conventional Lies of our Civilisation," a careful and far-reaching analysis of the evils then afflicting European and English civilisation, as they struck a humane and learned mind.

The width of subject-matter covered by the book—which has been ignored by most English writers on social and political questions—can be judged by the chapter headings: "The Monarchical and Aristocratic Lie," "The Religious Lie," "The Political Lie," "The Economic Lie," "The Matrimonial Lie," "Lesser Lies," dealing with the Press and the methods of journalism under its growing capitalistic business organisation, and various subsidiary evils of modern society. The book winds up with a remarkable chapter on the possibility of harmonising the social, moral and economic conflicts in European and American civilisation before the disharmonies within society would disrupt that society completely. The warnings of this gifted writer were unheeded, and to-day one has the pain of witnessing the catastrophe clearly forseen in his book.

Incidentally, the capacity of the writer can be judged by the fact that the chapter on "The Economic Lie" has not the limitations so obvious in Marx's analysis "Capital," as Nordau is not fettered by the ideology of Marxian-Hegelian philosophy.

CLASSES AND CLASS INTERESTS

Nordau did not make the error of assuming, because there were classes in society, all those classes had necessarily an economic motive governing their relationship to society. Marx assumed a class interest in the working class arising from labour power. Class interest does not arise from labour power: but only from the possession of economic privilege—derived from the profitable exploitation of labour power by a non-labouring class. Hence the muddle and upper classes hold a privileged position, which creates a general economic interest in them as classes: whereas the working man has only his labour power, which does not create, psychologically or economically, a class interest in him.

So the working class, as a class, can always be beguiled, when occasion of political or economic crisis requires it, by the other classes into thinking their interests are those of the middle and upper classes: whereas, on the Marxian analysis, they should see their interests were opposed to those of the other classes—as, in fact, they obviously are.

It is because the working class does not move from class motive that the Socialist and Trade Union Movement has always found itself acting as a lackey of the Capitalist class, as was shown in full effect during the war of 1914-1918 throughout Europe, as was seen in the history of the Labour Governments of England, and has been conclusively demonstrated by the action of the working class and their leaders since the war began in 1939, during which period the working class has been content to accept the leadership of its two past outstanding enemies in Messrs. Neville Chamberlain and Winston Churchill, whose political careers were stamped, prior to the war and during the war, with a common reluctance to take any administrative action to advance the interests of the mass of English people, and whose war records have the common factor of having brought the people of the country under their leadership, to the verge—if not beyond it—of irretrievable disaster.

THE CITIZEN AND THE STATE

One interesting passage in the book referred to deals with the relationship between the citizen and the State as illustrated by the coercive regulations of government, taxation and the demands of military conscription. The function of the State has been to organise society, to protect the citizen from tyrannical acts and dangers and to safeguard the citizen's life and property. It is rather a humorous fact to notice, at a time when the State seems overwhelming in its power, that all the sanctions for its existence are disappearing. So far from the State protecting the life and property of the citizen it has abdicated that function entirely. In circumstances of air warfare the State cannot protect the life and property of the citizen, as the condition of many cities in England and Europe conclusively proves. Both sides, by gradual and persistent attack, given time, could wipe out every city and village of any size in the respective countries. There is no moral question involved in that process: it is merely a matter of mathematical calculation.

DETESTABLE STATE OF AFFAIRS

Vast numbers of citizens to-day are paying half their earning to the State by way of taxation—direct and indirect—but none of them has the slightest guarantee that, on returning to their work in the morning, they will not find their place of employment destroyed—or, perhaps, will themselves have been blown to atoms with their families and property during the night.

It is hardly creditable to the citizens of Europe that they should so meekly accept such a detestable state of affairs. The very statement of the matter is enough to represent the horror the modern State has brought upon mankind.

The jargon of "We can take it!" has really no sense in the circumstances, for to-day everything has been taken away which the State professed to protect. The inviolability of the home has disappeared by the action of the State. The right of personal property no longer exists.

The right of personal security from imprisonment by administrative degree without accusation or form of trial has gone.

When it is alleged that the people are wholeheartedly in support of the war, one may wonder why the Government should think it necessary to intern ex-Cabinet Ministers, admirals, colonels, barristers and working men of all kinds, who are British subjects, without any form of trial, or any pretence that they could be convicted of any offence, even under the wide provisions of the Statutes of Edward the Third and Henry the Seventh, which stand unrepealed. It was not done in the last war. Such action by the officers of the State is evidence not of belief in their cause, but fear that public discussion and debate would destroy the morale of the people. The fact that the legislative and administrative machine in Britain and Germany is working on parallel lines is only another example of the irony of the situation.

PROTECTION FOR THE CITIZEN?

Max Nordau, in his references to conscription, points out how absurd the contradiction is between the institution of military conscription and the claim of the State to afford protection to the citizen. The soldier who is conscripted is denied any opportunity of protecting his own family from danger. Men who are fighting in the Balkans cannot protect their families from air attack in Berlin or London. Indeed, one of the curiosities of the present war is that the civilian is forced to support a vast Army and Navy which cannot protect either him or their own families at home. It is only a question of time, at the present ratio of destruction of ships, when there will be no commerce-carrying vessels on the seas at all. The State is carrying its destructive propensities so far that even they may become self-destructive in the exact sense. Should the over-sea submarine and air fleets of Russia, the United States and Japan engage actively in the war, in a matter of 18 months practically every merchant ship of the belligenent Powers would be at the bottom of the sea or laid up in harbour, leaving a few ships sailing under the protection of neutral flags to carry on the commerce of the world!

"KING, LORDS AND GENTLEMEN"

It is rather instructive that in 1938 in Stuttgart there was published a book carrying Max Nordau's analysis of the situation right up to date. The book, too, was published in translation by Messrs. Heinemann in 1938 under the title "King, Lords and Gentlemen," and has been equally smothered by the critics, as apparently was at that time Nordau's splendid book. Though normally referable to British institutions, this German book had a general relationship to the European sickness unto death. Considering what is said by propagandists about freedom of discussion in Britain, it is certainly strange that two of the wisest political books ever published should have been written by an Austrian and a German in Vienna and Stuttgart, translated into English and completely ignored!

It is certainly the fact that

Herbert Spencer's warnings concerning the coming slavery by the State have proved true. The fact that the slavery is imposed by Liberalism and Socialism does not alter the practical effect.

When those excuses about the New World after the war are uttered by the tyrants of to-day, let us remember that, when this war is over, as was the case in 1919 onwards, the people will be so exhausted that the privileged class will re-assert their authority with ease, as those who put forward this soothing syrup about the new social order after the World War of 1914-18 knew.

At the moment, the only goal in this war which is cerain is the establishment of economic and political slavery everywhere, or a complete breakdown of State organisation by its own contradictions being brought home to the mind of everyone by the tyranny of war-time demands, in which life, youth, property and home are committed to a common destruction by that State whose main excuse for its existence is the protection of those values which it is engaged daily in destroying.

FREETHOUGHT BIOGRAPHY

(*Concluded from page* 32)

"Take for example that miserable production by a late Minister of Education, 'A History of Europe,' by the Right Hon. H. A. L. Fisher, published a few years back. In his excellent 'British History in the Nineteenth Century,' G. M. Trevelyan said of Richard Carlile that he 'suffered and achieved more for the liberty of the Press than any other Englishman of the nineteenth century. He and his like bore the brunt of the early struggle. . . . Thanks to these sturdy predecessors the decorous and well-to-do philosophers of the Victorian era were able without fear of the law to write whatever they thought about the relation of science and literature to dogmatic belief.'

"In another part of his work he dwells on the good fortune of the working class of their day having three such servants as Owen, Cobbet and Place. But one may look through the whole of the 1,300 pages of Mr. Fisher's book for any reference to their work. Those whom a scientific history has consigned to the muck heap of humanity are there galore, but not the names of the heretical men and women who fought so well, suffered so greatly and achieved so much for humanity.

"It is a cowardly and contemptible policy, this burying of great men and women. Young students, and now aged teachers, are ignorant of how much these early reformers did for the world that they spend no time in finding out what these men and women did. And not only is the policy of punishing our great reformers carried on by the Churches, but modern politics takes a hand. Politicians are as frightened of offending a wrongly educated public opinion by praising notorious Freethinkers as religious leaders are of evaluating heretics in such a way their flocks may be led to read their works.

"We think our copy of Fisher's 'History of Europe' cost us 10s. 6d. We advise others to wait until they pick it out of a shilling lot on a second-hand bookstall."

CREECH JONES

We have made several references to the excellent speech made in the House of Commons by our comrade, Creech Jones, on April 10 last. That speech is in type and will be published in our next issue. Comrades interested in Rhodesia and the question of Colonial exploitation and development ought to read this speech. Order the November *Word* now.

F. W. JOWETT

ENEMY OF MILITARISM, POVERTY AND WAR

I. A GENERAL REVIEW

Because we believe that it is necessary to make a coalition for Socialism and Peace, we are paying tribute, in this issue, to a parliamentary Socialist who maintains an attitude of uncompromising hostility to war, and has rendered great service, in days gone by, to those who suffered for conscience and anti-militarism. Our reference is to F. W. Jowett.

Born in 1864, Jowett commenced work in a Bradford weaving shed as a half-timer, when he was eight years of age. For a number of years he followed his trade, mastering it until he held the position of manufacturer's assistant. But he was thinking and he felt the call to Socialism. William Morris and Belfort Bax were engaged in their great Socialist Educational agitation through the old Socialist League, and Jowett joined the organisation. That is 55 years ago, and he has been struggling to realise the Socialist ideal ever since. He could tell a great deal that is now forgotten of the early struggles: the conflicting ideals of reforming the terrible conditions and speeding the social revolution: the many discussions as to which was imperative: struggles to get hungry children fed; to secure better houses for working folk, etc. As a parliamentary Socialist, Jowett engaged in a thirty years' struggle to destroy the present system of Cabinet Government. In reply to our criticism of parliamentarism, Jowett points out that it is essential for the common people to understand that it is not a system of parliamentary government we are enduring and living under, whether such a system is bad or good in itself, but a system of Cabinet Government, backed up and rubber-stamped by party caucus machines.

We were not a year old when Jowett was stating the case in the Bradford local press for Labour representation in Parliament. We do not think much of Labour Parliamentarism and we think our opposition has been justified. But Jowett was advancing his Labourist views in 1887, and at the same time conducting a vigorous general Socialist propaganda. The first Socialist Parliamentarians in Britain were not afraid to define the class struggle or urge the need for a Socialist Commonwealth.

Jowett played an active part in the great strike at the Manningham Mills, from December, 1890, to April, 1891. The rights of public meeting were attacked by the authorities and the Riot Act was read in Bradford Town Hall Square. Out of this activity arose the Bradford Labour Union. In 1893 Jowett was its delegate to the Conference, at which the I.L.P. was established as a national organisation. The year before he had been elected as a Labour representative to the Bradford Town Council.

In 1895 unemployment and privation were very severe in Bradford. Jowett, condemned, at a public meeting, the action of the Council for refusing to admit in an official report the existence of distress arising from unemployment. This speech evoked bitter hostility among the other members of the Council, and at its next meeting he was refused a hearing and solemnly censured by resolution. The following year the same Council elected him as Alderman. In 1898 he became Chairman of the Health Committee.

For fifteen years in all, Jowett was a member of the Bradford Council. On its Education Committee he was responsible for the inauguration of the Movement for feeding necessitous school children.

It is now 37 years (November, 1904) since a sub-committee of which Jowett was a member, reported to the Town Council that 329 children had gone to school breakfastless and it had resolved (1) to undertake to provide food for the children who go to school without sufficient food, (2) to make an application to the City Council for a grant to enable the Education Committee to provide food. These resolutions were

—*Topical Press copyright.*

Portrait of F. W. Jowett, taken in 1924, when he became First Commissioner of Works.

accepted by the Council, but at the next meeting which lasted from 3 p.m. on one day to 2-35 a.m. the next, it was rescinded despite the fiercest opposition of the then Labour group.

Two years later Jowett was elected to Parliament for West Bradford. His maiden speech was on the School Provision of Meals Bill, which afterwards became law.

A persistent advocate of international peace, prior to the great war of 1914-1918, Jowett sought for information by means of questions to Ministers, regarding the commitments of this country. He was one of the small group in Parliament which spoke and worked as opportunity offered, for peace and a reasoned settlement.

Jowett consistently urged that Members of Parliament should cast their votes on the merits of the question before them regardless of Cabinet or Party interests. He is the acknowledged exponent of the case for the democratisation of Parliament. His views were explained in detail in the report submitted to the Annual Conference of the I.L.P. held at Gloucester, 1925. Briefly it may be said that he urges the institution of a committee system with a Cabinet Minister as chairman of the committee concerned with his Department, and the members of which are entitled to question officials and secure any necessary information relating to the committee; the material proceedings of such committees to be reviewed by the full House of Commons, and the voting records of the committees to be available for publication. Such procedure, he maintains, would afford complete and more effective Parliamentary survey of departmental administration and legislation arising therefrom, and the departments would have better contact with the legislature. It would also give to members the opportunity and the right to take an active and more informed part in the administrative as well as in the legislative work of Parliament.

Jowett was a Chairman of the Labour Party in 1921-22, and for many years, beginning in 1916, a member of its Executive. In October, 1924, at the "Red Letter" forgery election, he lost his seat by only 66 votes. At the 1935 election, his first serious illness contributed to the loss of his seat. Whether in Parliament or not, his zeal for Socialist propaganda has never abated.

During 1916-1918 Jowett harassed the Secretaries and Under-Secretaries for War and Home Affairs, respectively, with searching questions in defence of civil liberty and the rights of conscience. We can indicate but feebly in this essay his tireless activity on behalf of those victimised and persecuted for their war opposition, or poverty-stricken and oppressed under war conditions. We do not say that Parliamentary Socialism is the way of working-class emancipation. We think that, apart from the peace interlude of poverty, the second World War proves that Parliamentarianism has failed. We still applaud the service rendered to liberty and justice, in the House of Commons, during a period of war crisis by one who, believing in Parliamentary Socialism, fearlessly proclaimed his war opposition and his belief in the rights of conscience. Jowett was one of the small band to whom the cause of conscientious objection owes a debt that can never be repaid.

Jowett's questions thoroughly exposed the prison system. Why, when the Labour Government came to power, it failed to tackle this problem at least, we cannot understand. Labour Parliamentarians ought never to have allowed the old brutal prison system to remain.

Jowett's questioning over the year 1916, 1917, and 1918 will be detailed in the second part of this essay. The selections will be casual rather than deliberative. But they will show how exhaustive was his questioning and will compel the reader to turn to the columns of Hansard with an appetite for more.

As First Commissioner for works in 1924 Government, Jowett rendered a service to humanity of great symbolic value. One day it will be recalled. Meantime, during the days of sadness, he has every reason to feel secretly proud. When his life has passed for ever into the ever-flowing stream of life of all humanity, it is well that it should not be forgotten. Jowett who had questioned the Labour members of the Coalition War Government, who had defended conscience and Anti-Militarism so fearlessly during the outcast and outlaw years of 1916-1918, gave the instruction for the words to be inscribed on Nurse Cavell's monument: *"Patriotism is not enough. I cannot hate any man."*

Before he became First Commissioner of Works, Jowett had read that these were Edith Cavell's last words. Consequently, he examined the file of documents relating to her case and discovered that the statement was correct. He enquired as to the omission of these vitally important last words, and was assured that it was within his power, as Minister in Charge of all similar monuments, to have the words inscribed. Gently and delicately Jowett pursued his private enquiries and made sure that Nurse Cavell's next-of-kin would have no objection to the famous last words being remembered for all time. Then, without any publicity, until the job was done, Jowett ordered the inscription to be made. And so to-day, Nurse Cavell, brave servant of humanity, being dead yet speaketh. In the heart of London she proclaims her message: *"Patriotism is not enough. I must have no hatred or bitterness for anyone."*

Jowett's name will be linked forever with these last words because he insisted on a Government recording them. Enemy of war, fearless defender of a really united Anti-war front, Jowett gave life and hope to Nurse Cavell's memory and made a dead monument a vital message of human love and fellowship.

(To be concluded.)

[The second and concluding instalment will record Jowett's questioning in Parliament of 1916-1918.—Ed.]

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IS PEACE POSSIBLE?

A LETTER FROM THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

[The following letter on the question of peace was received from the Duke of Bedford after the November issue had gone to press. As events move so fast, we thought that it might be better to circulate it as a supplement instead of holding back its publication for a month.—Ed.—*The Word.*]

Dear Aldred,

Hitler's speeches, though of course ignored or ridiculed by the National Press, are always of great interest and importance to those of us who are constructive peacemakers, even though we may not always agree among ourselves as to what kind of man Hitler really is.

His recent speech, delivered in Berlin at the opening of the Winter Help Campaign, was, taking everything into consideration, not too unhelpful. It did not, as one always fears may one day happen if our statesmen persist in their foolish obstinacy in refusing to negotiate while we are still strong enough to make a good bargain, contain a declaration that he would not listen to any terms, no matter how reasonable or by whom offered. His references to Divine aid for the German forces are, of course, repellant to all true Christians, who realise how utterly alien to the methods of God are the evil processes of war, whether carried out successfully by the Germans, or unsuccessfully by ourselves. Hitler, however, is not the only national leader who mistakenly assumes that Divine blessing can attend the military operations of his country. It would, indeed, be very interesting to know how much or how little real chance he has ever had of understanding the true religion of Jesus Christ, for the answer to this question would be of great assistance in forming an accurate judgment of his character and possibilities.

Hitler's praise of his fighting Services and of the war effort of his people, and his anticipation of further victories call for no special comment, being the normal policy of a leader of a country at war.

His reference to what he claims to have been the Russian demands in regard to Finland, Roumania, Bulgaria and the Dardanelles was interesting, although we shall have to wait until the passions and falsehoods of war are over until we can judge with any measure of certainty how far his statements were justified.

As on many former occasions, Hitler stressed his original desire to avoid war and his efforts to bring the conflict to an earlier conclusion; but in this connection there was an interesting addition, not unkindly in tone, in the declaration of his belief that the British people had not originally wanted war. It has, indeed, been characteristic of the present conflict that whereas the propaganda on both sides has directed an equally bitter attack against enemy leaders, there has been, on the part of Germany, a very striking absence of any hate campaign directed against the people

of Britain. It is unfortunately on our side that, in spite of the high ideals for which we profess to be fighting, this singularly false and ugly feature in Press propaganda has made its devilish appearance.

Events in Russia have been moving rapidly and on a tremendous scale and it may be that sooner or later, and perhaps sooner, we shall witness the collapse of that country. If Russia is defeated, the struggle for peace will begin to enter on a new phase and we shall be able to speak to our militarist friends with increasing directness and with a new tone of authority, having on our side, moreover, the growing support of a number of people who are not at present opposed to the war.

The fall of Russia will mean quite definitely that we have no more chance of victory over Germany, and the only alternatives that will remain will be a negotiated peace or defeat. This is not merely a pacifist opinion, for certain papers like the "New Statesman" have expressed it already. It may be that, if Russia is actually defeated, they will endeavour to retreat from their former position, but this will not alter the fact that their former position was the correct one. If Russia goes, it will be in the truest and most obvious sense patriotic for us to point out that the real "defeatists" are those who, by hindering and delaying, still further, peace by negotiation, are preparing their country for the grim evil of a German victory. The real Fifth Columnists, moreover, will be those who, when chances of victory no longer exist, extend still further the useless destruction of life and property.

We shall be entitled to point out that whereas our nation in this tragic conflict has displayed physical courage in abundance, there is now an acute need, especially in its leaders, of a corresponding display of **moral** courage—moral courage expressed in the form of willingness to admit to oneself, and to confess to one's fellows, that one has blundered gravely and is willing to make amends by standing aside, if need be, so that others, as far as possible, may save the victims of those blunders from further suffering.

It is all very well to talk about "fighting to the bitter end." Such talk **may** be heroism but it may also be arrant, selfish folly. Before one decides to fight to the bitter end in a conflict that involves others besides oneself, it is well to consider most carefully **what that end will be like.** If, as sometimes happens, it is so exceedingly bitter as to constitute the worst of all imaginable evils then obviously the person who refuses first to explore every alternative, including even those alternatives that are far from attractive, is both a rogue and a fool.

The reason for feeling that, in the event of the defeat of Russia, we should no longer possess any chance of defeating Germany, are so numerous and so plain that they must convince any person, no matter how war-minded originally, who has not surrendered his intelligence to wishful thinking and is not prepared to sacrifice his country in the hope of saving his face.

Should Germany achieve victory in the East, we shall be again seriously outnumbered both as regards men and equipment and, even if it be admitted that, man for man, British troops are superior to German, sad experience has already proved on more than one occasion that we are unable to resist such heavy numerical odds.

Germany would have access to vast resources in war material which do not have to be conveyed by sea; as well as to numerous armament factories which our

bombing planes would be unable to reach and destroy, though no such immunity can be claimed for our own factories. Germany also possesses a monetary and foreign trade system far better fitted than our own to make the best use of all available resources.

For geographical reasons Germany even now has a great advantage for the conduct of air warfare and she is in a strong position for the conduct of submarine warfare also.

Our shipping losses, in regard to which we are allowed so little information for reasons by no means convincing, continue; while our autumn air attack on Germany has yielded disappointing results, our losses in planes being, by reason of the strength of the German defence, considerable.

In the all-important field of morale, the German nation has been encouraged by many victories and is stiffened by the memories of Versailles which have been recently stimulated by the foolish unilateral disarmament threat contained in the Eight Points.

It is fantastic, therefore, to assume that American aid, coming to us across dangerous waters, can counterbalance these serious handicaps. The American nation is exceedingly divided on the question of participation in the war and objection to full participation would probably increase greatly with the defeat of Russia. This opposition to full participation in the war, does not, it is well to realise, spring merely from pacifist ideas. There are an enormous number of non-pacifist Americans who feel, very understandably, that in the unlikely event of a German attack on America, it would be better that hostilities should be conducted under conditions which impose on Germany the tremendous handicap of landing an expeditionary force and transporting it across the still formidable barrier of the ocean.

We must point out also that, even if our Navy is able to prevent invasion, it is rash folly to suppose that we can wear Germany out by conducting a defensive war of many years' duration. For such a war of exhaustion our position is obviously in every respect the weaker of the two. There is no good reason to suppose that we can stand indefinitely the drain of shipping losses, or that our harbours and industrial centres can endure for an unlimited period the terrible hammering of air bombardment to the effects of which some already bear the very grimmest testimony.

If, after the fall of Russia, the war is still continued without any attempt being made to explore the possibilities of a reasonable peace by negotiation, it will be evident that, whatever others may be professed, our real war aims are the saving of the Cabinet's job and Parliament's face. To these war aims two drawbacks are attached and both of them are fatal: the first is that they are not worth attaining at the cost of even a single human life; the second is that they are unattainable.

Yours sincerely
Bedford

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Liberty! Equality!! Fraternity!!!

THE WORD

To Rouse The People, To Combat Fascism, and To Speed Commonweal.

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MILITARISM, DIPLOMACY AND WAR

WHEN RAMSAY MACDONALD TALKED SENSE

BY

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD

Labour leaders have an unfortunate tendency to resemble bulls of the dairy breeds of cattle in that, with advancing years, they become unreliable and increasingly desirous of destroying members of the human race. Although I do not think he displayed any marked militarist tendencies, the late Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald in the latter part of his career made some serious mistakes and caused disappointment to his friends. We should not, however, on this account lose sight of the fact that, as a younger man, he said things which were both wise and courageous and which can with great profit be recalled to mind, for they are as true now as when he first uttered them.

In the course of an address delivered at Derby on November, 24th 1917, Mr. MacDonald said :—

War is a political incident. It only comes when the political machine ceases to go round; a deadlock then happens and the way that deadlock is faced and dealt with is by war. Now the democratic view of the situation is this. If war is a political incident, only a political settlement will end the war. If you would see quite clearly the political ends which you want, the political purpose for which the war is being carried on, lay that aim down as a matter of justice; as a matter of fair play; as a matter of common security. Say it does not matter what the military issue is: the moment that your aim is gained then we have the security for the peace we want and the people who were out for moral ends have won the victory they set out to attain.

Several things follow from this; the first thing is that the responsible leaders of democracy should have an opportunity for conferring together; not for the purpose of settling the terms of peace, but for the purpose of seeing what common platform is available for the Democracies of Europe. It is not that the Government should settle it, or even that Parliament should settle it. We have to have some sort of agreement; some sort of understanding between the men who hold important positions in the great international organisations—Labour, Trade Unionism, Socialism, the Church, which, at any rate in theory, is a great international organisation. That is why we were so keen about Stockholm (where it was suggested a conference might be held); and that is why, in days to come, those who opposed Stockholm will have to face grave responsibilities for defeat, unsettlement, and the prolongation of the war, the like of which few can imagine.

"If Governments alone settle it, you will have secrecy, underhand bargains, agreements made that will not be politic or political, like the agreements regarding Constantinople. You will find men afraid of offending their constituents and afraid of the clamour against them that can be got up by the Press and by interested parties in the constituencies. The Parliaments will be the last representative organizations to accept a condition of things which is justice and not conquest. What is required of us is to get men and women who earn their living by the sweat of their brow, the men of influence among them, to indicate the settlement first of all. This is the answer to the question "Could the statesmen of Germany be trusted? Could we accept an agreement with them?"

I do not want the statesmen of Germany to be the spokesmen of Germany, just as I do not want the statesmen of England to be the spokesmen of England. I want this war to create a condition of things which mean that the people of England will speak and the people of Germany will speak. If the people in cooperation will settle their differences of their won freewill, then you have the only guarantee that a nation will keep its word. You and I can come to an agreement, but if we do not want to keep it, we can always break it; and, what is more, we can always find good grounds for justifying ourselves in doing so. The one who is aggrieved will always accuse the other of breaking his word and they will both say the same things about each other and the friends of the one will back it up with the same arguments and considerations as the friends of the other. Try and think of what is actually going to happen and not to use phrases such as "the statesmen of Germany, or "the Kaiser of Germany." The settlement, to be democratic, should be told to the people so that, if they do not accept it, you will hear of it and it will have to be altered if justice requires it. If it is altered and accepted, I have the greatest faith that the people of Europe will keep their agreement and if they want it altered will refer to a court of reason and not to a court of war.

Diplomacy should be open, even for England only. We can afford to make our diplomacy perfectly open, because when you are conducting secret diplomacy, wicked people in other countries know all about it and the decent peace-loving people do not know about it. If you think that our negotiations were not known in the Wilhelmstrasse, you are mistaken. Of course they were known to the Kaiser and others. Every one of the documents and conversations were picked up by gossip and spies in Whitehall and at clubs in Pall Mall, from persons of knowledge, and passed over to Berlin and pigeon-holed there. Every secret arrangement that Berlin made with Vienna was picked up in the same way and passed over to Paris or Petrograd. All the arrangements for the invasion of Belgium were known before the war broke out.

My point is that the devils, the people we are up against, the secret intelligence departments, know what is being done, whereas the men and women of goodwill do not. Therefore they walk in an innocent way, whereas the people with all the manipulation of the wires are informed. The evildoers on both sides know each other's policy. The war thus comes without our being able to stop it.

Mr. Macdonald went on to say that "open diplomacy is good for the nation and there is no such thing as secret diplomacy, so far as evil-minded rulers of the countries are concerned. I repeat that again and again. We should have a chance, both ourselves and the other nations, to speak and think and look into each other's faces and say 'Why are we going to kill each other over this question? If your rulers want you to do it, well, then be done with your rulers'; and they would do it before they allowed war to break out. Treaties, therefore, should be open and published. If we get democracy after the war, then in Russia, France, Germany, Italy ,Austria and here, one of the first things that ought to be done is to publish every word of the secret agreements come to during the war."

Since Mr. Macdonald's day the growth of totalitarianism has made contacts between peoples and meetings between the representatives of peoples rather more difficult—more difficult but not impossible even in war and in peace-time still quite easy. The development of wireless has also made contact between peoples easier, in spite of the war-time restrictions on listening-in imposed by certain Governments.

It is unfortunate, indeed, that Mr. Macdonald's plea for open diplomacy has not been heeded, for few things are so important to the peace of the world. There are persons to-day serving long sentences of imprisonment in this country for alleged betrayal of official secrets, but with the exception of those pertaining to the military defences of the country (which, in a non-pacifist nation, must obviously be preserved), *there should be no official secrets to hide*, such secrets being merely a respectable title given to the

[*Specially drawn for "The Word" by Gowrie.*

"WE'RE GOING TO TO BUILD A GRAND NEW PALACE WHEN WE'VE GOT EVERYTHING SMASHED UP"

dangerous and discreditable intrigues of foolish statesmen.

Mr. Macdonald's words regarding the growth and destruction of militarism are also worth quoting, especially at a time when the suicidal demand for unilateral disarmament has once more been revived.

"So long as you have militarism," Mr. Macdonald said, "you will have war. You cannot help it. If I was threatened by a neighbour and I bought a gun to protect myself, he would very soon hear about it, and if there were an armament firm about, that firm would be perfectly certain to tell my neighbour that I had got a gun and that he had better employ the firm to make one for him. He would say that one against one would only establish equality and they would go on to say 'I suggest you ask us to make two.' My neighbour would get the two, and what would I do? I should not be content with one and I should order two and as soon as this is done my neighbour will probably order six. Now what happens? War inevitably, because a time is bound to come when any little thing that upsets us will set us blazing away at each other to our hearts' content. A mere touch of a feather, the insult to the ambassador, the murder of an Arch-Duke, the forging of telegrams, the spy in the employ of a Government who has to earn his living and who tells lies in order to do it—anything like that will give just the necessary shock to this state of unequal equilibrium and the two armed camps, the two armed nations, will fire off their guns and fly at each other's throats.

That is the story of militarism and then, when it is all over and one side wins and the other side is beaten, you do not get peace. You only get a patched-up peace, a military truce and after the two sides have gone through a few years of resting, they begin to order other guns because the one that was beaten wants to wipe off the disgrace of the beating. They order guns and then the grandchildren of the original combatants find themselves engaged in a war, infinitely worse and more deplorable than the previous war was.

Militarism is bound always to produce war and how are we to abolish it? By giving personal security, by giving security to the nations; by isolating and removing the causes of war; by bringing into play and operation those co-operative tendencies and desires and forces that make people bring their grievances always to a table and discuss them; bring them to a court of reason and not to a court of force, and, having brought them to a court of reason, then justice will be done and the very worst people on the face of the earth are bound to accept justice, especially if they have not been playing with militarism."

Yes, Mr. Macdonald undoubtedly at one time talked sense. It is a pity that Labour leaders and, indeed, the whole country, did not long ago take as their motto "Hold fast that which is true." It is the almost universal abandonment of that which is true for that which is false which has brought this and other countries to their present plight.

LADY STALBRIDGE

On another page we publish a letter urging pacifist unity from Lady Stalbridge.

Lord Stalbridge served in the South African War and also in the Great War. He was mentioned in despatches in both wars, received the M.C., and generally deemed one of the gallant defenders of British Liberty.

Lady Stalbridge is a pacifist and has renounced the idea of war for sometime. Her sister, Mrs. C. E. Payne, was a pacifist during the last war, and was a friend of George Lansbury.

Mrs. Payne had a young family to tend in those days and had little time for politics. She was marked, nevertheless, for her pacifism, which she avowed quietly and firmly when necessary or in response to challenge. Notwithstanding this record, in 1940 her home was visited by the police and her papers searched. It ought to be added that this was done at Northam, where she was born, and was well-known consequently. Her sympathies are Labour and Pacifist.

Lady Stalbridge had a similar experience to her sister. She was submitted to several hours' cross-examination by police officers in a district where her family-record was known thoroughly. There were no grounds whatever for suspecting her of Fascist sympathies.

EMRYS HUGHES AND REJECTED C.O.'s

HIS STAND, VICTIMISATION, AND 5th COURT-MARTIAL

Emrys Hughes published a splendid article on the imprisonment of conscientious objectors in the columns of *Forward* for September 13 last. Hughes comments on the cases of C.O.'s who are being sentenced to 12 months' imprisonment for refusing medical examination. C.O.'s who refused medical examination are those who have been transferred to the medical register because they have been deemed to be not genuine C.O.'s by the Tribunals. Hughes can write with feeling on this matter because he was deemed not to be genuine in 1916. At that time he experienced five district Court-Martials. This did not prevent the post-war Labour movement from considering him a worthy member of the Labour Party. Thomas Johnston, now Secretary for State for Scotland in a War Government, and Regional Commissioner under that Government, welcomed Hughes as a colleague. To-day he is editor of *Forward*. C.O.'s who are refusing medical examination should note this fact and take courage accordingly. Emrys Hughes is their complete colleague, their champion from conviction and experience, and their mascot.

In *The Word* for July, 1939, we detailed fully the account of Emrys Hughes' first Court-Martial. We now report the parliamentary questions concerning his case, and his fifth Court-Martial.

On Thursday, December 14, 1916, Mr. T. Richardson asked the Secretary of State for War a question concerning the treatment of two conscientious objectors, named Thomas Allen and Peter Allen, who had been deemed not genuine by the Central Tribunal. The question was answered by Mr. Hayes Fisher, who replied at the same time to a question put by Mr. John. We reproduce question and answer:

Mr. JOHN asked the Secretary of State for War whether he is aware that Emrys Hughes, of Abercynon, a conscientious objector to military service, was sentenced to two years' hard labour, and afterwards to nine months' detention, and later to 112 days; that he was subsequently court-martialled in Devizes, sentenced to twenty-one months' hard labour, which was commuted to three months, and that he was afterwards taken to Wormwood Scrubs and appeared before the Central Tribunal, who decided that he was not a genuine conscientious objector; and whether it can be stated on what grounds such a decision was arrived at

Mr. HAYES FISHER: The President of the Local Government Board is informed that these cases were considered by the Central Tribunal, and that, on their report, the men were not offered work under the Home Office Committee. The Central Tribunal determine each case on its merits.

Emrys Hughes is to-day Editor of *Forward*. For a number of years he has been the close colleague of Thomas Johnston, Editor of *Forward*, now Secretary of State for Scotland. No one considers Hughes to have been *"not genuine"* because of the Tribunal decision against him. Yet Johnston is member of a Cabinet that justifies the imprisonment of conscientious objectors to-day because Tribunals have turned them down. If they survive the war, in the post-war years they will be regarded as genuine, even as Thomas Johnston considered Hughes to be genuine, despite the decision of the Tribunals. The Labour movement must realise, surely, that there is something wrong in this state of affairs.

Emrys Hughes was court-martialled five times in all. He faced his fifth District Court-Martial at Redcar, North Yorkshire, in August, 1918, when he was charged with refusing a lawful command given by a superior officer, and using insubordinate language.

Speaking in his defence, Comrade Hughes said:

"This is the fifth time I have been tried by court-martial for refusing to obey military orders. I have been in the prisons over two years, but I come back once more as determined and persistent as ever to continue to refuse to take part in any of the military and industrial organisation necessary for carrying on the war. I believe that every Government is equally responsible for the international situation which led to the outbreak of the war . . . and the series of military massacres that have meant so much bloodshed and suffering among the nations involved. I have been unable to agree that the interests of the people of this country have been served by the attempts to settle the International problems at issue by military methods, but that such means could only lead to further calamities and foster a spirit of revenge, and a desire for retaliation fatal to mutual understanding and the establishment of a lasting peace . . . .

"I regard Conscription as the most monstrous form of social tyranny, and hold that the only honourable and courageous course to take is to oppose it steadfastly and resolutely refusing to serve in the army in any capacity. I am also opposed to taking part in any alternative war service or in any of the industrial efforts to solve the problem of the conscientious objectors, by first of all compelling them to work under degrading conditions in penal settlements and then allowing them to find other work if they promise to agree to refrain from propagating their opinion.

"I think the greatest service I can render to the people of this country is to oppose the military institutions which have been introduced and established during a time of panic and terror and by which thousands of men have been forced to submit to a loathsome routine of military discipline and then sent to be miserably butchered in a bloody, futile and foolish war, in which their rulers have involved them. The greatest menace to the liberty of the people is the Conscription Law; the greatest duty of the intelligent citizen is to oppose it at all costs and to continue such opposition and defiance until it is overthrown."

At that time tremendous service was being rendered to the cause of Socialism and conscience by the fearless Labour weekly, *The Merthyr Pioneer*. Emrys Hughes was associated with this paper, whose editor at this time, we believe, was a comrade named Yates. In its issue for September 14, 1918, *The Pioneer*, which had supported us throughout our imprisonments for resisting militarism, published in full the statement we made before our 4th District Court-Martial. *The Pioneer* commented:—

"We reproduce below the statements of our Comrade Guy A. Aldred before his recent court-martial—a repeated experience with him as with others—not as an exceptional case, but as typical of many that are to be found in the country to-day—one on all fours with our own local Comrade Emrys Hughes, for instance; and also because the Editor of "The Spur" shows in his statement the evasion of the actual legal position which is being practised in these cases. Anyone acquainted with these cases in any detail at all must feel strongly about them, for they know how the continuous strain of the repeated sentences are sapping the very life out of these heroic young men—though the weakening of th body does but seem to strengthen the resolve to suffer even death itself rather than yield the priceless right of their conscientious conviction. In this connection we are told that the robust health of Emrys Hughes has been sapped away from him, and equally we hear from two comrades who were in the guard room with Guy Aldred that after his return from prison to camp he had three nervous and mental relapses in one week of so serious a nature that they were compelled to the opinion that nothing should be left undone to procure his immediate release if his life and his reason were to be saved. It is ironical that British labour which justly boils with indignation and protest over the case of a Tom Mooney in San Francisco, should sit so calmly by whilst some of its most promising recruits are thus broken upon the wheel of British militarism, under acts which specifically included safeguards for those with conscientious objection to military service. The pretence that the only possessors of conscience are those who subscribe to the 39 articles, bow the knee in adoration to the God of an infallible Pope, or whisper the mumbo-jumbo of Nonconformity, is a transparent pretence to all who have read history of freedom. It is outside of those things that men have ever shown the willingness to guarantee their conscience by their immovable determination to suffer rather than yield—and in their sufferings have helped along the birth of the rational spirit and outlook and effort that has been the real dynamic of progression. But surely the time has arrrived when martyrdom—long drawn out and horrible despite its pseudo-legality—is unnecessary as the actuating motive behind progress. We live in the days of light and breadth and spaciousness—the days when right is stirred to war for transcendent ideals. Even the cynics preach that, even pessimism is conscious that man is better and more rational than the middle ages showed his forebears to be. But against that belief you have to place the brutal facts of the Guy Aldreds and the Emrys Hughes—and the result looks like negation."

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THE ATLANTIC CHARTER

By A. RUTH FRY

The conscience of mankind is distraught as, perhaps, never before. A century of unparalleled progress in industry, science, and other human activities, has been succeeded by one in which these advances have been prostituted to the service of evil, so that science lends its vast powers to material destruction, whilst ingenuity in lying and deception become praiseworthy. And all this output of evil is proclaimed as essential good. The belligerents in this terrifying war assert that their aim is peace and prosperity, that their means are determined by the monstrosity of the means used by the other side, and the futility of any other method of dealing with the situation.

So the ghastly competition goes on, with ever-increasing misery extending to wider and wider areas.

We are challenged by the old question, "Does the end justify the means?" to which must be added the further question: "Do the means attain the end?"

To both of which I answer, No.

This is a world-wide question.

If, as is possible, an increasing number of people in the world is joining in that double NO, it is time for the spirit of man to arise, to save his civilisation, his sanity and his material existence.

The continued demand in this country for a statement of Peace Aims, in order to give to Hitler's victims a preferable alternative to his New Order, has, at length been met, in part, by the ATLANTIC CHARTER, recently signed by Roosevelt and Churchill. The Charter is in vague terms, with no indication whatever of the means to be employed to realise the principles therein enunciated, nor of the intention to attempt to obtain acceptance of them by reasonable negotiation. In fact, it is made clear that Allied Military Victory must precede any implementation of its principles. No inducement is offered to accept them, and we could have wished for some guarantee that they would not merely remain pious hopes, as have so many former words of politicians, but that some supporting action was imminent. Even the statement of what act of renunciation would follow on their acceptance would have been an inducement to give them consideration.

Nevertheless, the statement itself is of such importance that it behoves us to make every effort to take advantage of it. With this in view, the following statement has been drawn up with the idea of focussing thought upon the terrible evil of continued warfare, and the means which might be taken to end it, in fact, to give an opportunity to express support of some elements in the Atlantic Charter, and an appeal for its amendment, its amplification and its immediate application to the urgent needs of humanity

This statement intentionally omits emphasis on the retrograde features of the Atlantic Charter, e.g., the insistence on military victory, the retention of national sovereign rights, the repeated mistake of unequal treatment with regard to disarmament, made after the last war. It is believed that more good can be done by seizing on its hopeful points, insisting on them, and building round them a structure which may be demanded by the peoples everywhere.

A DECLARATION

The President of the United States and the Prime Minister of Great Britain have together registered a remarkable step in human history.

In the midst of a terrible war, they have stated their adherence to certain principles which, in other wording, include :—

(1) The renunciation of aggrandisement, territorial or other.

(2) The renunciation of territorial changes that do not accord with the expressed wishes of the peoples concerned.

(3) The respect of the right of all peoples to choose the form of Government under which they will live.

(4) The endeavour to grant equal access to the trade and raw materials of the world to ALL NATIONS.

(5) The desire for economic collaboration between all nations with the object of securing for all, improved labour standards, economic advancement and social security.

(6) The desire for a peace according safety in their own countries, and assurance of freedom from fear and want to all men (but qualified by prior destruction of Nazi tyranny).

(7) The consequent safety of ocean travel.

(8) The belief that "all the nations of the world for realistic as well as spiritual reasons, must come to the abandonment of the use of force." To implement this, they advocate the preliminary disarmament of aggressor nations, or those who may threaten aggression. "They will likewise aid and encourage all other practical measures which will lighten for peace-loving peoples the crushing burden of armaments."

This declaration marks an advance in two important points, the more remarkable for being made in war-time :

(A) The needs of all humanity are envisaged as a whole.

(B) The necessity for the abandonment of the use of force is endorsed for realistic and spiritual reasons.

This realisation that war is useless has been stated by many seers for thousands of years, years, but its acceptance in the midst of war, by the leaders of two great countries is a fact of immense importance. It is in line with the Christian teaching that Satan cannot drive out Satan, and that love and forgiveness are due to our enemies; it is in line with the ancient Indian teaching, "To the man that causelessly injures me, I will return the protection of my ungrudging love; the more evil comes from him, the more good shall flow from me."

It is further a realisation that nations, like persons, must obey moral laws, and it points to the fact that if the use of violence is, in principle, of no avail, then it is as useless as war to-day as in any future period.

For this war is leading to :—

(1) The destruction of millions of lives on both sides, material goods beyond enumeration, many of them irreplaceable treasures.

(2) The increase of hatred between nations, and the aggravation of all the problems which war is supposed to solve.

So that every day that the war continues, it becomes harder, materially as well as spiritually to rebuild a better world.

As it is declared that violence should not be used as deciding force, a realisation that there is no connection between possession of the greatest number of devilish implements and the strongest moral position—it follows that reason must be arbiter, and might be so to-day, even better than when victory of either side has produced an inequality between the fighting nations.

It has been realised in this war, as perhaps never before, that propaganda is a weapon of vast importance—that peoples' minds and spirits govern their actions—that men cannot continue to fight even under military coercion, if their hearts are convinced of the error of their cause

Untrue and deceptive propaganda has been widely used and has been frequently successful in doping the people into false beliefs. But it is suggested that in order to support the Atlantic Charter in the most effective way, it is necessary to employ truthful "psychologic offensives" with as much energy as soldiers believe in military offensives. They should be carried out by broadcasting, by dropped leaflets, by every possible means of reaching all the belligerent peoples of the world.

The main theme of such offensives should be that only by a peace founded on the good of all can a way out of the increasing chaos and catastrophe of the world be found, and that the sooner an Armistice can be arranged, in which discussion of such a true peace can be effected, the better.

Among the many world institutions essential for the carrying out of the Atlantic Charter, the following may be suggested :—

World General Council.
World Economic Council.
International Labour Office.
International Arbitration Court.

These bodies would be charged amongst other matters with the following :—

(1) The complete reform of the financial system, so as to prevent, incidentally, the present anomaly of the destruction of food, whilst millions of people starve for the need of it. The new system should take into account the immense potential power to produce an ample sufficiency of goods for all people living in civilised countries, and, ultimately, when up-to-date methods of production are universally employed, in the more backward nations as well.

(2) A just distribution of raw materials and the resources of the world, together with freedom of exchange of goods and services.

(3) The demilitarisation of all frontiers.

(4) Progressive disarmament of all nations, and the concurrent employment of demobilised soldiers on works of reconstruction oi a non-profit-making basis for improving the general welfare. Such as :—

(A) Prevention and cure of disease; provision of hospitals and Sanatoria in health resorts.

(B) Development of natural resources of food, etc., made possible by chemical discoveries.

(C) The reconstruction on improved lines of the destroyed areas of the world.

(D) Relief of war victims.

An era of world history is at an end, and on us falls an important share of the responsibility of building a new era. This is a call to all those who believe in the ethical principles as the only basis upon which a good society can be founded, to join with us in a crusade to build it, and to plead unceasingly for an end to the appalling catastrophe being enacted before our eyes.

With a view to considering what united action is possible, in urging the programme sketched in this statement, and the obtaining of a righteous peace at the earliest possible moment, all those who approve of it are asked to communicate with the Editor of *The Word*.

WAR'S VESTED INTERESTS

The *Daily Mirror*, London, is one of the most reactionary papers published in Britain. Nevertheless, it often expresses vital truth. This militaristic never-endian war organ, in its issue for Tuesday, September 30, published the following interesting editorial :—

EXPLANATION.

How does it happen that an increasing number of people do in fact face a very long war with surprising fortitude in foresight?

Because, as war goes on, it mechanically creates various vested interests. For one thing, it creates jobs.

It is a criticism of our degraded civilisation that, in peace, hundreds of thousands drift helpless, without security for to-morrow. In war they are "provided for."

Who will blame them for subconsciously dreading the economic uncertainties of peace?

The *Daily Mirror* leader-writer should have added that these persons, who dread "the economic uncertainties of peace," hate the conscientious objector and the pacifist and the Socialist enemy of war, *for economic reasons*. They then commit the hypocrisy of pretending that their fears are dictated by heroism and patriotic devotion, and hide their motives behind a smoke screen of abuse directed at the people who have no fear of peace but only a hatred of war.

NORTHERN RHODESIAN COPPERBELT

NATIVE CONDITIONS EXPOSED IN A STRIKING HOUSE OF COMMONS SPEECH

By

A. CREECH JONES, M.P.

(Parliamentary Private Secretary to the Minister of Labour).

[Reproduced from 1935 Election Address.

[In the House of Commons, on Thursday, April 10, 1941, on the motion for adjournment being moved by Mr. James Stuart, M.P., our comrade, Creech Jones, opened an interesting discussion on the subject of the Northern Rhodesian Copperbelt. The speech was interrupted by the message to attend the Lords Commissioners, to receive the Royal Assent to following Acts:—

1. **Public Works Loans Act, 1941.**
2. **National Service Act, 1941.**
3. **Isle of Man (Detention) Act, 1941.**
4. **Army and Air Force (Annual) Act, 1941.**

Creech Jones' factual indictment of conditions prevailing in the Northern Rhodesia Copperbelt drew forth a defence of those conditions from Mr. George Henry Hall, who has been Labour M.P. for Aberdare since 1922. Mr. Hall has been Parliamentary Under Secretary of State to the Colonial Office since 1940. Born in December 1881, this man started work at the Penrikyber colliery at the age of 12, and continued to work as a collier until appointed checkweighman in 1911. Member of the South Wales Miners' Federation and an official for 15 years. Served on Mountain Ash District Council for 14 years. Defeated C. B. Stanton (who won the seat as a Labour Imperialist and war-monger) by a majority of 5,217, WITH THE AID OF PACIFIST VOTES. Stanton had a majority of 16,500 in 1918!

Hall's apology for the Copperbelt conditions is a study in parliamentarism and trades-unionism, when one considers his antecedents and personal experiences.

It is regrettable that space does not permit the full discussion to be reproduced in one issue. As it is, we must divide the excellent speech made by Creech Jones into two instalments. We must summarise the opposition. The reader can turn, however, to the "Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons Official Report," for Thursday, April 10, 1941, Vol. 370, No. 50, cols. 1731-1761. This report will repay study. The remarkable story of Creech Jones' interest in the dark continent, his association with Winifred Holtby, his acquaintance with Clements Kadalie, the General Secretary of the I.C.U., and how the plight of the black workers roused his sympathy, is told well by Vera Brittain, in Chapter XV of "Testament of Friendship," her "life" of Winifred Holtby, published by MacMillan, 1940. We advise our readers who wish to understand the following speech to read the Holtby chapter. We reproduce this speech with pleasure. It shows clearly that our comrade, Creech Jones, is not a Government placeman. He takes his stand boldly as a man of independent thought and a champion of social justice.—Ed.]

Mr. Creech Jones (Shipley): Although the situation in Europe and Africa is grim and we seek to vindicate certain great principles—principles of importance to the future of Africans—I am sure the House will not begrudge spending an hour of its time in discussing the well-being of Africans for whom this House has a special responsibility. The Copperbelt Report has occasioned considerable interest because the repercussions of the questions in dispute have been felt in all parts of Africa, and how the problems raised are handled will have a great importance in our future relations in that great Continent. I regret that the Commission appointed to investigate this dispute was a Commission of the Northern Rhodesian Government. This was not the responsibility of Lord Moyne or of my hon. Friend the Under-Secretary for the Colonies, but the fact remains that, as it was a Commission of the Northern Rhodesian Government, there has been considerable delay and very great difficulty has been experienced by many bodies interested in the problems of the Copperbelt, in obtaining copies of the report itself. I hope that this method of investigating such special grievances in the Colonies will not be adopted again. I would like to say, in this connection, that I am a little puzzled that the draft report should have been submitted to certain interests whose activities were in review before the report was officially published.

I think, as a House, we should congratulate the Commission——

[Royal Assent Interruption. Adjournment again proposed.]

Mr. Creech Jones: I was about to remark that we are grateful to the Commission in question for the speedy way in which they discharged their duties. It may be that one does not altogether agree with the rather narrow way in which certain aspects of the problems have been dealt with, but I think we are all agreed that they approached the matters in question in a practical and commonsense way. I regret that the Northern Rhodesian Government have not accepted certain of the recommendations which the Commissioners made. To-day I want to resist the temptation to discuss British policy generally in Northern Rhodesia, or to say much about past neglect, present needs and the slow social development. A series of illuminating Reports all point the way the Territory should go. It is largely an undeveloped country. Its manhood and its wealth have, to a degree, been drained away, and its people are very poor. We have obligations to the native people, and I hope that the British policy will rest on the principles of the paramountcy of African interests and opposition to racial theories and practices which are based on the assumption of the superiority of the white man. The mines in Northern Rhodesia have, in recent years, been the outstanding economic feature, and in 1935, when a disturbance in the Copperbelt occurred, the Commission appointed then, with prophetic vision, made these remarks:

"Here (in the Copperbelt) there are considerable numbers of natives concentrated in compounds without chiefs; with their tribal organisations being broken down by disintegrating influences; becoming accustomed to machinery and modern methods; feeling an increasing desire for luxuries, and what has been called pathetic contentment rapidly giving way to what has been called divine contentment. Experience in all countries shows that industrial disputes give rise to violent passions and often to sudden violent destruction, to the loss of all parties, which is afterwards regretted; and it is unreasonable to hope that no such industrial dispute will ever take place on the Copperbelt. It is a possibility which must increase with the development of industrialism, and it seems necessary to recognise the fact and to take such measures as are necessary to reserve the public peace.'

That was stated by the Commissioners in 1935, and I think it will be generally agreed that following that report comparatively little was done beyond the setting up of a Native Industrial Labour Advisory Board. It is true that three years afterwards Major Orde-Browne did report on the situaton as he saw it at that time. He stated that the unfortunate neglect by the Government of the new problems arising out of mineral exploitation, and the large measure of industrialisation which had suddenly overtaken the native population, called for attention. He pointed out the glaring defects in respect of accurate statistical evidence as to native movements, disease, contracts, wages, and cost of living. He also referred to the lack of comprehension in the relations between industry and the administration and the lack of experienced men and people to deal with recent industrial growth and developments. Following Major Orde-Browne's investigation, it is quite true that a Labour Department was created, that a Labour Commissioner was appointed at the centre, and that the Labour Advisory Board was improved. He recommended that there should be at least four labour officers appointed in the Copperbelt. At the time of the dispute no labour officer had been appointed, and it was then obvious that a great deal still needed to be done if the grievances of the employees were to be focussed. It was obvious that certain machinery should be created in order that the views of the natives concerned should be made known.

The absence of suitable industrial machinery should be kept in mind when dealing with the problems of the dispute. The Northern Rhodesian Government did not heed the 1935 warning which I have already read to the House. I stated that there was no broad machinery for the ventilation of these grievances or to deal with disputes. The Government in the present dispute had warning of the trouble which was brewing. That is brought out in paragraph 46 of the Report. They must have been conscious that there had been no adjustment in wages to meet the new necessities, that the cost of living was rising, and that industrial problems had been neglected over a period. It was clear, even when the dispute was coming to a head, that the Government there were still half-hearted in their proposals and the kind of intervention which was necessary if the crisis was to be avoided. Industrialism and wage earning have spread practically into all corners of the British Empire, and it is imperative that we should not wait on events but should go all out with a well-conceived and well-planned labour policy in respect of the whole Colonial Empire.

About the dispute itself, we all deplore the loss of life, but I feel that the authorities had a very nasty situation to handle. There may be grounds for criticism that, for instance, there was not enough tear gas available, which might have avoided the necessity of shooting, or that it is a pity that the management paraded the native workers who had been at work on the pay day in sight of the strikers. But I think the situation was an ugly one, and undoubtedly the authorities handled it in as practical a way as the circumstnces of the moment permitted.

But the report reminds us that something is not altogether right in regard to wage relations as between the mines managements and the African people. It is true that the standard of wages is higher than those operating in other parts of the area and that the mine-owners appreciate the value of a healthy and contented labour force, and they have a great deal to their credit in regard to the provision that they have made in respect to medical care and sanitation and certain aspects of welfare. But wages have remained, until this dispute, pretty well unaltered all these years and, following the slump, they never recovered with the prosperity of the mines. There was no attempt to bring the African wage-earners up to a standard more consistent with the return of prosperity to the Copperbelt. I think it is fair to say that the mine-owners have always taken advantage of cheap labour in the Protectorate, of the lack of organisation among the workers and of the desire of the Africans for wage employment because of their poverty and their tax needs. The Commission has been extraordinarily modest in its recommendations in the matter of wages, and only some very tardy concessions have been made. No one will suggest, however poor the standard of living of the Africans, that an increase of less than 1d. a day is a satisfactory wage accommodation. A ticket carries with it 30 shifts, and it means that every day of the month must be worked in order that the half-crown shall be earned in that month. Probably this is deliberately done to compel the worker to work

every day of the week, Sundays included, so that he can claim no special rates in regard to his week-end employment.

The same tardy concession is seen in the bonus which was agreed to of 2s. 6d. to meet the increased cost of living. Even that bonus is subjected to the good will of the compound manager. That is to say, the compound manager, a civilian outside the immediate work, may make deductions or determine whether the full bonus should be paid. I should like to ask why, when the Commission recommended that no deductions for disciplinary purposes should be made from the bonus payments, the Northern Rhodesian Government do not accept the recommendation, and why these new disciplinary powers should be placed in the hands of the compound manager. I believe that under Statute they have no right to exercise these disciplinary powers.

Likewise, in regard to overtime, the Government reject the proposal of the Commission that there should be a fair basis of calculation of overtime rates, and the grounds of the rejection by the Government are that the method recommended is contrary to local practice. I should have thought the Commission made its recommendations because of what the local practice was, and I am astonished that so flimsy a pretext should be offered. The other wage adjustments proposed are almost illusory, because so many of the Africans do not stay at the mines much more than six months and therefore cannot earn the special increments which are likely to accure for service beyond this period. In any case any additional costs which these adjustments may involve are not likely to fall on the copper companies at all. There is an arrangement in regard to the output of copper with the Ministry of Supply where any additional working costs to which the companies are put will be borne by the British Exchequer. I submit that more generous arrangements might have been made as far as wages, overtime and bonus payments are concerned.

Something must be radically wrong in our Colonial methods when we allow such intense poverty and so much disease in a Territory where there is an enormous drainage of great wealth from it. This aspect of the problem has received considerable attention outside the House. All the missionary bodies and associations concerned with the well-being of the African people have urged from time to time that there should be some limit to this draining of wealth in order that the welfare of the Africans in their own lands shall be built up or safeguarded. I would submit that in the case of the Copperbelt an end ought to be brought to the perfectly infamous arrangement whereby the British South African Company are able to levy a perpetual toll on industry in royalties on the work that is done. I need not tell the history of that transaction, but sooner or later, and the sooner the better, this miserable story ought to be brought to an end, because probably as much is taken out of the territory in royalties as the total wage bill of all the black people who are employed on the Copperbelt. That is a grossly unfair situation.

Likewise, the Copperbelt companies are making an enormous contribution in taxation to both the local and Imperial Exchequers. We are receiving in taxation from the Copperbelt a vast sum of money every year, and I would suggest that that money should be returned to the Colony and used as a trust fund for social and economic development. In addition, a vast sum of money is annually distributed in this country to the shareholders of the Copperbelt companies. It may be argued that, taking a long period, that return is not as large as is often assumed. In point of fact, between £3,000,000 and £5,000,000 has been sent out in the past few years, and it amounts to from 12 to 16 times the total wage bill of the 26,000 Africans who are engaged in the work. The miserable wages paid on the one hand and these enormous profits on the other are completely unjustifiable.

(To be concluded.)

Fire Watching: Cases Report and discussion next issue, including John Morley's account of his experiences.

SHEER HUMBUG.

By The Rev. W. GRAINGE WHITE.

Vicar of Haughley.

Pacifists, as all convinced children of the God of Love must be, need to refuse to apologise for their position. They should "carry the war into the enemy's camp." The weapon used must be the "Sword of the Spirit," which is the "Word of Truth."

Let us examine a cheap gibe that the Pacifist accepts the food for which men of the merchant service risk their lives, and that they (the Pacifists) accept the protection of the armed forces.

But—we do not ask to be born. So, at the outset, we are not free agents. We can not select the race, nor nation, nor political hegemony, into which we shall be born. Nor can we select our parents and the social and economic position in which we shall enter this life. No referendum of the nation is taken before the Government declares war. Nor is Parliament summoned to a debate (open or secret). Nor do we know—until there is *un fait accompli*—what measures the Foreign Office, or other officials, have taken, which make war inevitable. As an example: The cleverly camouflaged pact with Poland, who was, as a people, prevented from coming to terms with Germany's reasonable demands, by the stipulation made that *any agreement would have to be guaranteed by other Powers.* In the Government *White Paper* this stipulation is recorded!

Now, to take a hypothetical case: Supposing a man, born of English parents, finding himself in England when war (about which he was not allowed to vote) is declared, said: "I do not agree. I refuse to accept this state of affairs. I do not wish to be "protected" by the British Forces. I prefer to be under the "protection"—as you call it—of Germany." Would that man be allowed the freedom of his choice? Oh! no! He would be placed in a concentration camp—a British invention, adopted during the Boer War. If able-bodied, such a man would have to register. And, if he had the moral courage to object to war as being "contrary to the will of God" (Lambeth Encyclical, 1930), what sort of treatment would he receive from his employers?

The trouble lies very deep in our traditions. James I. and the Bishops of the "Established Church"—(fancy Bishop's in God's Kingdom on earth allowing "Institutionalism" and its "Establishment" by the Laws of Man!) knew well why they scrapped the three versions of the "Sacred Scriptures" then in use—("The Great Bible"—one of the three—having been placed in every church by Thomas Cromwell, under Henry VIII.'s Order of 1538). They knew that the version, put out in 1611, under their "authority" was full of errors (due to ignorance of languages) and that it contained deliberate falsifications, to support certain political, social, economic and theological "doctrines." And they knew why they propounded and broadcast two special "doctrines."

(a) The Divine right of kings (retained in the expression "Thy chosen servant," in Holy Communion Service).

(b) The Bible (*this version*) is the Word of God.

They knew that utter confusion in the minds of the unlettered and uninitiated would result by omitting the *personal name* for the God of the Israelites and substituting the title "Lord." Because, when the Old Testament was read in church, and people heard "Thus saith the Lord, go and annihilate Amaleh—men, women, infants and even cattle," the listeners, taking this to be indeed the Word of God—("Our Father" of the New Testament)—would feel assured that war is God's will for His children (always supposing that some people were specially "chosen" to be His instruments of chastisement for their political enemies—with the corollary that *we* are a "chosen people" for such purpose).

Similiarly (see *Falsehood in War-Time* by Ponsonby) when they heard read: "Now hath the Lord put a lying spirit in the mouth of these thy preachers"—to deceive the king and send him to his death, these listeners would, as now, *excuse any lie*, to our own nation or to the "enemy" as *being in accordance with God's own methods*, as declared in "The Word of God."

And so, twisting a passage here (I. Cor. xvi., 2), putting a false heading there ("prodigal son" instead of "Lost Son," thus shifting the emphasis from spiritual to material), and misrepresenting our Lord as "angry," and as losing His temper and "driving" the money-changers and sellers furiously out of the Temple, they would effective *make God in the image of man*—in the image, indeed, of the Englishman, or of the Anglicised Scotsman who had become King of England.

And so, in *Catechism* and *Communion Service*, the sixth word *"Thou shalt not kill"* becomes *"Thou shalt do no murder."* While the 39 articles (to which clergy give general and not particular assent—scarcely honest?) gave support and afforded great comfort to those "predestined" to salvation from hell and damnation, in the inscrutable counsels of an arbitrary and partial Deity, even before the foundation of the world.

And thus it is that the appeal succeeds when the "religious pedal" of the political organ is pressed and folk feel warm and nice as they become "sanctified patriots," while, however, loudly protesting (if a preacher dares to follow his Lord, or even to emulate Jeremiah) that "Religion has nothing to do with politics."

More's the pity, when it is so, since "Religion" is man's relationship to God—the God of Love—and this God is "the Father of the spirits of all flesh"—which, however, is *not* tantamount to the mischievous claim that every child born is a new and special creation of God's own will. This, too, is utterly false Theology.

UNITARIAN NOTES

On Saturday, September 13, the Unitarian Peace Fellowship held a service at our Golders Green Church which was conducted by Rev. G. S. Spinks. The sermon was given by the Rev. J. C. Ballantyne, who took as the theme of his discourse the poem which Whittier addressed to those in England who were seeking reforms by peaceful and Christian means, dwelling especially on the verse:

The truths ye urge are borne abroad
By every wind and every tide;
The voice of Nature and of God
Speaks out upon your side.

Although many were dismayed by the war and felt that all hopes of a constructive world order had been shattered, the true pacifist was not discouraged for his principles could not be defeated. Below all the efforts to stir up hatred, the work for world order went on. They should, therefore, reconsecrate themselves, he said, to return good for evil, to develop mutual trust in one another, however difficult, and go forward still with the hope of world peace in their hearts.

The Rev. F. W. Woodruff has resigned his ministry at Warwick and intends to devote himself to founding a Unitarian Community. He holds that "Community" is a word with a practical meaning to-day. A clear statement of his attitude, discussing pacifists and conscientious objectors, will appear in our next issue.

The Unitarian Union for Special Service devotes its 4th leaflet to the subject of "Christian Communism." We hope to reprint this interesting leaflet soon. Meantime all enquiries should be addressed to: REV. E. G. LEE, 125 PRINCE GEORGE AVENUE, SOUTHGATE, LONDON, N.

NOVEMBER ANNIVERSARIES

The editor was born on November 5. This fact would not be recalled if November were not such a good month. It is the month of the execution of the Chicago Martyrs in 1887. Their story is told very fully in *Pioneers of Anti-Parliamentarism.* This work is published at 1s. 0d., post free, 1s. 2d. November is also the month of John Maclean's death, this story is told in *John Maclean, Martyr of The Class Struggle.* This work is issued at 4d., post free, 6d. Both can be ordered from THE STRICKLAND PRESS, 104 GEORGE STREET, GLASGOW, C. 2.

DUKE OF BEDFORD

MORE CORRESPONDENCE

Dear Guy,—Many thanks for the September issue, which is as good as ever, I have wanted to thank you many times for *The Word*. It is more helpful than any journal I know on this war business.

Your open letter to Churchill was as good as anything you have written and the exposure of Ernest Thurtle was searching and timely.

We carry on at the Church with the help of a faithful few. I am pretty well considering the many calls on my strength.

You can put me down as one who will gladly serve under the leadership of "Bedford." His vision of the present issues seems to me clear and his courage is an inspiration.

With affectionate greetings in the struggle,

Yours Ever,

RICHARD LEE.

Coventry, September 8, 1941.

Dear Sir,—I am in great sympathy with the views expressed by the Duke of Bedford in your columns.

I believe that the spirit of Love which animates the teaching in the New Testament is incompatible with the driving force behind war. I am, therefore, a pacifist.

I also believe that "poverty in the midst of plenty" as demonstrated in the last twenty years, is one of the root causes of war and a negation of the spirit of truth.

I believe that money, the means by which this plenty can be distributed, must:

(a) be issued in some relation to the real wealth it has to distribute;

(b) be controlled by the community;

(c) be put into the pockets of the people in some new way additional to the "wages system" which is inadequate in an age of callous saving machinery to dispense sufficient purchasing power to absorb the production of power machinery.

I would, therefore, as one individual in this community, like to support the Duke of Bedford's United Pacifist-Socialist Movement.

With all good wishes.

Yours truly,

(Mrs.) DOROTHY R. PUGHE MORGAN.

Formby, Sept. 7, 1941.

Dear Friend,—After reading *The Word* for the first time I regret deeply my failure to get your admirable journal earlier.

It is obvious from the correspondence published that the statements made by the Duke of Bedford has aroused great interest among many socialists and pacifists who, like myself, have been disappointed by the apathy, disunity, and lack of effective leadership in the anti-war movement. When one compares the magnificent fight put up by the handful of pacifists and conscientious objectors in the last war, and their subsequent effect on post-war thought in politics, with the feeble performance we seem to be making in this war one feels that a serious session of self-criticism is highly desirable.

The Duke is obviously one who wants to cut the cackle and get on with the job and as such he has my support. I hope that he will take his seat in the House of Lords although in doing so he is making sacrifices which only those who have seen this museum piece in action can appreciate. I believe that as the War progresses the people will turn more and more to those who have honestly and sincerely opposed it and providing that we are united and have a constructive policy to offer to both the rantings of the megalomanic Hitler and the wheezings of our home-grown gas-bag Churchill we shall succeed in utilizing the inevitable reaction for Peace and Socialism.

The moth-eaten Jacobins of the Labour Party are fast losing what little popularity they possessed and it is our duty to see that when the demand for the ending of the War and the evil system of which it is the expression is voiced, we can canalize it. There is all the difference in the world between Pacifism and passive-ism.

Best Wishes,

ALAN MASON.

Norwich, September.

Dear Sir,—May I add my plea that the Duke of Bedford should take his place as leader of a Peace Party in this country and the world. The long tradition of public service in his family, and his personal abilities and integrity, and zeal for peace, point to him as the desired head of such a movement. In a world which is almost engulfed in waves of hate, malevolence and destruction, some refuge of hope, peace, and social construction could be made manifest which might appeal to peace-loving peoples in countries.

Yours sincerely,

M. H. GRIEVE.

Wallasey, 30th September, 1941.

Dear Comrade,—I like the Duke of Bedford's articles. He is so beautifully sane. Thinking of him in terms of music, he is a Tone Poem, the loveliest of all music :—"Andante con-expressione." How much is due to lucky birth and an easy life, I wonder.

Yours Fraternally,

ISOBEL KNIGHT.

Aberdeen, September 2.

Dear Mr. Aldred,—I enclose subscription to *The Word*. It gives me a feeling of hope that some sanity does exist in the world, and is able ot emerge. The leadership of the Duke of Bedford would be absolutely magnificient. The country is waiting for someone of his calibre. The moment is not yet but it is bound to come. I wish it were possible to bring the great intelligence of Mr. Middleton Murry to unite with the Duke of Bedford and yourself. Unity is strength ; and those who share the same sane views should not be in different camps.

Yours Faithfully,

GLADYS STALBRIDGE.

Northam, September 14.

[Further references to the Duke of Bedford's position will be found in the editor's correspondence on page 46.—Ed.]

THE BAPTIST VIEW

Crisis, like adversity, makes strange bedfellows. Yet it advances humanity. It destroys sectarianism. Some folk have written to us, as 125 years their ancestors wrote to brave and fearless Richard Carlile, and ask us to assure them that we are not Atheistic. We can give no such assurance, and we would not if we could. We notice that, on the side of militarism and error, Theists of all shades gladly and readily unite with Atheists. Why not on the side of Anti-Militarism and Truth? Is the important thing a theological dogma, a formality of prayer, or a definite integrity of soul and conscience, a true public affection of real social service and witnessing unto peace? We have no bigotry and we expect to meet with none. That is why we can co-operate so openly and so freely with the Duke of Bedford, who is a Christian and therefore a man of wide democratic understanding. He measures Christianity by its concrete social expression and not in the vague terms of mere phraseology. He judges the tree by its fruits, and believes that, although a pretence of works cannot atone for an absence of faith, the living presence of faith must find its expression in works. *"Faith without works is dead."*

Our contemporary, *The Baptist Times*, London, in its issue for September 4 last, publishes some comments by the Rev. M. E. Aubrey, M.A., General Secretary of the Baptist Union, under the heading: *"A Duke's Family Prayers."* Mr. Aubrey's name will be familiar to our readers, and we make no apology for reproducing his comments :—

Following a mild protest concerning a paragraph which was based on a mistake, afterwards handsomely admitted, I have had a pleasant and unusually interesting correspondence with the Editor of THE WORD, a Glasgow monthly. It is not, as the somewhat Barthian title would seem to suggest, a theological paper but has a threefold purpose: "To rouse the People, to combat Fascism, and to speed Commonweal." We sympathise with all these aims even if the line of approach is not our own.

One of the Editor's kindnesses has been to send me a copy of "Some Family Prayers used in Time of War," by the Duke of Bedford. They are printed only for private circulation. I like the title, for it means that these prayers have really been offered. While we have no reason to think that a Duke's prayers (I am sure he would agree) are necessarily more acceptable to God than those of his poorest tenant, for that depends on the humble and contrite heart, they are very welcome to us. I cannot remember any book of prayers previously written by a Duke though we think gratefully of the many who have borne such a title who knew the way into the Holy Place.

I trust he will not mind my reprinting here the prayer "For a full Acceptance of the Truth of Christ."

There is no need to reproduce this prayer, for the Duke of Bedford is quite willing to send a copy of his prayers to any Christian reader who wishes to have them.

Mr. Aubrey continued :

To that prayer with its humility and insight we may all say "Amen," and perhaps we can use it for ourselves.

I quote it because it seems to me to reveal a right attitude, that of the true disciple who would bring his thoughts and life into subjection to the mind of Christ. How hard that is, all of us know.

It would be an impertinence for a man like me either to praise or to defend the writer. Frankly, I do not always agree with him. He is an ardent and (if the adjective does not seem unkind) a militant pacifist. Once a soldier, he has become a strong anti-militarist. People who confuse purpose and method have described him as "pro-Fascist" because he thinks that the use of armed force is not the way to overcome Fascism. He says, in an interview with THE WORD, that he is "trying to be a Christian." He believes that the Society of Friends and also Baptists and Congregationalists, with their "records of steadfast standings for conscience and the rights of civil and religious liberty," have a part to play. We have, and we think we are playing it. He will give us credit for our sincerity as we gladly acknowledge his, even when we differ from him.

We are all pilgrims. The Duke is not at the end of his pilgrimage. Where will it bring him? Will God, who used the Countess of Huntingdom, in her place of influence and witness, to be a focal point in a great revival of religion in this land, pour out His Spirit on and through another servant of His, highly placed and born to privilege and power, to help Him lead this nation to a fuller light and a richer life? Who among us will not lift up his heart in praise if that be His will? "He that seeketh findeth."

The fuller light to which Britain needs to be led is the same fuller light as that to which every nation in the world needs to be led, the light of peace and social justice. We call that light tersely and simply: *Socialism.*

LORD PONSONBY'S VIEW.

[Lord Ponsonby is better well-known as Arthur Ponsonby. During the last war he took his stand for peace and joined the I.L.P. He has had a distinguished political and diplomatic career but became a political outcast because of his loyalty to Socialism and Pacifism. In December, 1926, he organised the huge Albert Hall Peace Letter Campaign at which Herbert Morrison pledged himself to oppose all future war. See *Word*, April, 1941.—Ed.]

Dear Mr. Aldred,—Thank you for sending me the current number of *The Word*. If I have not acknowledged copies you have sent me before it is because such a mass of stuff is sent to me I often miss acknowledging good stuff in the midst of the far larger amount of bad.

I congratulate you on being able to produce such an interesting sheet considering the times and your own personal difficulties.

I have always said that international war must be based on hyprocrisy and humbug. But I never imagined that it would reach the pitch it has today.

Remember me to Fred Jowett my old friend who is among the small minority who have remained faithful.

Yours Sincerely,

Arthur Ponsonby.

ERRATUM: In "MALCOLM MACCOLL" article, page 48, 2nd paragraph, line 4, read "worthy of note" for "nothing to note."

JESUS AND WAR

Sorensen Questions Official Unitarianism

In *The Inquirer*, London, for September 27 last, the Rev. Reginald Sorensen, M.P., who was known in the No-Conscription Fellowship for his Socialist Opposition to the War of 1914-1918, takes to task the editor for his pro-war attitude. Comrades will recall that in the September *Word* we defended the Rev. Sidney Spencer, of Liverpool, and the Rev. Richard Lee, of Coventry against the attacks of our contemporary. The editor maintains silence rather than attempt a reply. He attempts to answer Sorensen.

Our Comrade Sorensen writes as follows :—

Sir,—You state, "To allow all the infamies to take place . . . without saying a word about them, is . . . a far greater horror than war. To hand over all armed power to the Hitler's and Mussolini's means in the long run silence over blasphemies against the human spirit. There were pacifists in Germany; they were soon reduced to silence."

Was not Jesus reduced to silence?

Surely, the significance of the Christian faith lies in the nature of its technique in overcoming evil, its power arising neither from the incentive of returning injury for injury nor in the amassing of overwhelming physical and military strength, but from the ultimately irresistible spiritual capacity for reclamation.

Infamies are not a modern invention and certainly to say no word about them or to evade their challenge to true human values would have been moral treachery as much in the time of Jesus as in our own age. Yet all armed power was in fact handed over to Caesar and, Jesus uttered no direct condemnation. Is the religion of Jesus therefore futile because (a) He called for no military V campaign against Roman oppression, (b) He condoned a "far greater horror than war," and (c) He was reduced to silence?

The answer is to be found not only in the existence of the Christian Church but also in the attitude we should adopt were Hitler and Mussolini, like Caesar, to be successful. We know that success would be confounded if devotion to the Truth received our tenacious devotion.

But what of the silence over the alleged evils of Communist Russia? Yesterday it was urged there was little to choose between the two powers now engaged in the west. Personally, I did not accept this, but those who did, now find it expedient to suspend their former accusations. Is this a blasphemous silence or the exercise of requisite patience in view of an ultimate purpose??

And what of the relative silence over the blind hate that gathers momentum every day and increasingly destroys our capacity for making a fair and gracious society. Is this a greater or less horror than war?

Truly, the mass of people reject the application of a reclamatory technique as impracticable, and with moving heroism and fortitude they seek to destroy an evil they rightly discern as a menace to civilisation. Better that than spiritual paralysis. But need that mean therefore the paralysis of those "who know a more excellent way" ? Barrabas probably was a brave man who hated his country's enemies. Is he to be accepted as more potent for human liberation than the Son of Man who was reduced to silence?—Yours,

London. **REGINALD SORENSEN.**

To this letter, the editor of *The Inquirer* makes this awkward reply in a footnote :—

[Frankly, we hardly know what point Mr. Sorensen wishes to make. Does he, for instance, draw any parallel between the death of Jesus (for so we interpret his sentence, "Was not Jesus reduced to silence?") and the silence of the German pacifist group? Does he draw any parallel between the present silence "over the alleged evils of Communist Russia" and that imposed by Hitler on some of his countrymen, and, by implication, would impose on all those who did not like him? Does Mr. Sorenson wish everyone to be silent under the infamies of the modern Caesars because, as he alleges, Jesus uttered no direct condemnation of the Caesar of his day? The Christian Church which Mr. Sorensen seems to suggest was the triumphant result of Jesus' "silence" has certainly never for any length of time been silent upon such matters; and certainly—since perhaps there is a hidden point behind all this—its great thinkers and most of its saints have never refused to sanction force to put down iniquity. As for hate, would there be less hate in the world at the moment, if the Nazis with their doctrine of hate, their leaders dripping hate from their mouths every time they speak, had had their way with the world? Less hate in Czechoslovakia and Poland for instance? "Overcome evil with good"—for so we interpret one of Mr. Sorensen's paragraphs—but what in heaven's name is to be done with evil until it is overcome? What is to be the interim policy until everyone sees the light as Jesus saw it? To refuse to answer those questions is, in our opinion, to retard the day when war shall be no more.—Ed.]

This is no reply to our comrade, Sorensen.

The pacifists in Germany are reduced to silence, or to seeming silence, for there is dangerous underground propaganda, by exactly the same methods as those employed against Jesus and the first Christians. We thought that this was the case against Nazi Germany : the existence of torture, concentration camps, spies, and summary persecution : the worship of State power under the names of Nazism and Hitlerism. We draw a distinct parallel between the case of Jesus and that of German pacifists and Socialists. Does not the editor of *The Inquirer*?

Our editor friend makes no reply to Sorensen's Russian argument. He simply side-steps to avoid saying either "yes" or "no" to a direct question that must be answered either "yes" or "no" if it is to be answered at all.

Nazism is founded on hate. But the hate is not one-sided. Nor can hate be cured by hate, which is mixed with expediency, and qualified by self-interest. Why is the hatred of Nazism and Fascism developed today by politicians and in a press that betrayed Spain and slandered the Spanish Anarchists and Republicans, who gave their lives to save Spain, Europe, and the world from the savages and impostures of Fascism? Why was the hatred of Fascism not expressed on principle in those heroic 1936 days? Why forget Spain and speak of Czechoslovakia and Poland, which were not genuine democracies, workers countries, or Anti-Fascist countries? Has the editor of *The Inquirer* never studied the wage conditions in Czechoslovakia or Poland? Does he not know that Jews were outraged and persecuted in Poland?

Why must he, if he is a christian, sneer at the light of Jesus? If he believes in Paganism, let him say so and leave the Christian pulpit for ever. He has no place there. Does he not know that it is on record that there were times and places when *the word* conquered *the sword*, that *martyrdom* has been more successful than *victorious militarism*, that *love* has conquered *hate*? Does he *not* realise that war will never end his way, because his sole reliance is *on power, on might, on the machinery of conquest*? His way is to throw huge masses of people against each other, because of the accident of birth : to permit no individual thought : to reduce mankind to soulless herds : and to consider the herd to which he belongs *idealistic* and the herd to which he does not belong *materialistic*. This policy is to be repeated every twenty years. We are to call the slaughter *"the war to end war"* and to give it other fantastic names. We are to rule out conscience and the civil duty of disobedience to militarism and the claims of Caesar. We are to be respectable and well-groomed and to possess or to masquerade a soulless allegiance to a vicious military sense of State duty. Is this Christianity? Is this the way to peace? Is this Unitarianism?

For the editor of *The Inquirer* to refuse to answer these questions, as he refused to answer our defence of Sidney Spencer and Richard Lee, is, in our opinion, to make impossible the day when peace shall triumph over war, and harmony shall reign throughout the world. We plead guilty to heresy. Our friend commits blasphemy, for he worships a false God, the national God of Imperialist war, instead of the God of civic righteousness and civic disobedience. Have no fear : the civic man will triumph over the militarist : the God of Peace will overcome the God of War : the son of man, who has not where to lay his head, will inaugurate, without guns or tanks or armed airplanes, the day of human well-being ; not without martyrdom but most certainly without adding murder to murder. To *The Inquirer* I say, in the words of one of long ago, whose voice is heard above the roar of guns : *"Oh ye of little faith!"*

In *The Inquirer* for October 11, Richard Lee takes his stand by Sorensen in the following challenging letter to the editor:

Sir,—Whatever Mr. Sorenson's point may be, yours is tolerably clear, that gross evil can only be overcome by more evil. For none except moonstruck idealists can see anything in war but a "hideous and loathsome business." That is *The Spectator's* description. The Bishop of Chichestor says "Modern war is a demon that not only kills human lives, but by its awful unreason, its perfection in the technique of mass-murder, turns the individual from a person into an unmeaning thing."

You assume that evil can be overcome in no other way than by the vile instrument of war.

Lord Salisbury was wiser. Faced with the cry from many quarters for war against the Sultan, who was responsible for unspeakable atrocities, this is what Lord Salisbury said: "Suppose the Sultan will not give these reforms, what is to follow? The first answer I should give is that above all treaties and all combinations of powers the nature of things, if you please, or the Providence of God, if you are pleased to put it so, has determined that persistent and constant misgovernment must lead the Government which follows it to its doom. The Sultan is not exempt more than any other potentate from the law that injustice will bring the highest on earth to ruin."

This is not the only method that Christian wisdom and love could pursue. Love will knock at a hundred doors rather than adopt the foul and fiendish devices of modern war.—Yours,

Coventry. **RICHARD LEE.**

"ACCUMULATIVE HELL"

A LETTER AGAINST WAR TOLL AND HUMBUG.

From R. SORENSEN, M.P.

Dear Comrade Aldred,—Your journal *The Word* is certainly a sharp and challenging contrast to other current literature! Your quotations from former utterances by Herbert Morrison (and others) transported me so swiftly over the archway of the last 25 years that for a moment I confused him with a person by the same name I knew today. In fact I suppose they are just distant relatives and perhaps that is why opposition to war is a relative term.

Although I possess an unorthodox faith I remember the biblical sentence "'When I was a child I thought as a child, but now I am become a man I put away childish things." Some evidently believe their former convictions belong to their political childhood but I rather feel the "childish things" refer to superficial foundations that do not stand the test of time and experience. For my part I feel the only sure foundation of Socialism and Peace belongs to human maturity rather than infancy and therefore I am still convinced that the pursuit of "an eye for an eye" is morally and politically futile. Those like our Prime Minister and others who vocalise that hypnotic delusion no doubt think they are striking a brave and comforting note. Actually, they are simply being tragically primitive.

How best to make that clear is a difficult task and we each have different media. We can believe, however, that even if the race still has a long way to go before it is grown up that the witness of those with vision is not lost. Meanwhile we can and must give what human service we can in a spirit of fraternity and seek to preserve as many elements of sanity as possible.

Scorned derisively as it may be there is profound philosophy in the technique of overcoming evil with good, and if we are big enough that could be applied internationally as well as privately. The alternative is the realism of accumulative hell.

With Kind Regards,

Yours Sincerely,

R. SORENSEN.

ARMY GAOLS

The Railway Review, for September 12, 1941, publishes a valuable and well-informed article, signed "Escort," entitled "THE DISGRACE OF ARMY GAOLS." We shall endeavour to republish this exposure in the interest of every man in uniform, who lives under the menace of the shocking conditions described in our contemporary. Since *The Railway Review* is a trade union and Labour Party organ, it has no interest in publishing false statements to the democracy at the present time.

THE EDITOR'S TRIALS

IN THE DOCK

II.—GLASGOW SEDITION TRIAL, 1921

(Continued from page 31).

[We have reproduced accounts of the Glasgow 1921 by W. Gallacher; H. McShane; P. J. Dollan; and John S. Clarke. We pass to the ordinary press reports. These bring out the illegal nature of our arrest "without a warrant" in London; the absolute indifference to that illegality by the Bench and the Crown; the assumption that it was sufficient for police witnesses to say they knew nothing about the question of legal or illegal arrest; and the deliberate shelter of these witnesses and the corrupt proceedings by the Judge presiding. Arising out of this Glasgow trial was the Edinburgh High Court Case of the documents, in which the Crown lost, and the victimisation of a man who had ordered literature from us, out of sheer curiosity, following an advertisement in "The Freethinker." Reports of these events, and newspaper comment, will be reproduced.—Ed.]

V—"GLASGOW HERALD REPORTS.

[The "Glasgow Herald" reported the trial in its issues for Tuesday, June 21, 1921 and Wednesday, June 22, 1921. Items in other reports that depict the trial, or add comment, or indicate more clearly what took place, will be noted separately. The "G. H." reports are accepted as the basic factual description. The date of the paper is indicated above each report. We omit the sentences, already stated, and from the second day's report, the repetition of the charge.—Ed.]

TUESDAY, JUNE 21, 1921.

GLASGOW HIGH COURT.

(Before Lord Skerrington)

NORTH COURT.

Practically the whole of the proceedings before Lord Skerrington and a jury in the North Court were occupied in the hearing of a charge of sedition against Guy Alfred Aldred and three others.

Aldred has been in prison awaiting trial, and the three others associated with him in the charge —Jane Hamilton Patrick, 166 West Graham Street, Glasgow ; Douglas McLeish, 194 Baltic Street, Glasgow ; and Andrew Fleming, 171 Wellshot Road, Shettleston—entered the dock when their names were called

The indictment extended over eight pages, and contained many quotations from the "Red Commune." It bore that between January 1 and February 10, 1921, at 28 Kirpatrick Street, Glasgow, and at 28 Great Hamilton Street, Glasgow, and at 13 Burnbank Gardens, Glasgow, and elsewhere in Glasgow, the accused, acting in concert, seditiously printed, published, and circulated a newspaper entitled the "Red Commune, Official Organ of the Glasgow Communist Group and Affiliated Bodies," containing "articles and words calculated to excite popular disaffection, commotion, and violence and resistance to lawful authority."

One passage quoted in the indictment was as follows :—

Our platform is a very simple one : it consists of the following five planks, platforms and principles :—(1) The complete overthrow of capitalist society and the establishment of the Communist Republic : (2) the class struggle ; (3) the dictatorship of the proletariat (4) destruction of Parliamentary government and the substitution of the Soviet or revolutionary workers' system of administration ; (5) anti-Parliamentary activity (a) boycotting the ballot-box, (b) Communist anti-Parliamentary or Sinn Fein candidature."

WHAT IS SEDITION?

Mr. Robert Morton, K.C., on behalf of Fleming, raised the objection to the relevancy of the charge. There was nothing quoted in the indictment, he argued, that expressed more than a desire to get rid of a form of organisation of industry and society of which the accused did not approve. He presumed that in order to be seditious any publication must intend to interfere with the organisation of society or Government of the State in a forcible way. There was nothing in the articles quoted except an intention on the part of these people to act by ordinary political means for the purpose of altering the system of society.

Lord Skerrington directed counsel's attention to the statement—"This implies war on all Parliamentary Communist organisations."

Mr. Morton—I do not think they mean physical.

His Lordship asked what other methods there were.

Mr. Morton said they meant boycotting the ballot-box.

His Lordship—What are the ordinary political methods other than Parliament?

Mr. Morton—One method is very prominent just now—the strike. He held that a person was entitled to work for the establishmnt of a Republic provided he used lawful means in bringing it about.

The accused Aldred, speaking in his own defence, objected to the relevancy of the indictment on the ground that there was nothing in it that warranted its being put before a jury, and cited legal opinions in support of his contention.

Lord Skerrington asked accused what his interpretation of sedition was.

Aldred replied that his interpretation was that there must be an active, illegal, violent element present to constitute sedition, and that there must be direct incitement to violent action, and there was nothing like that in the indictment.

Lord Skerrington repelled the objections, and asked the accused persons to plead. Each in a clear voice responded, "Not guilty, my Lord."

The jury was then empanelled, eight of those balloted being women.

VALIDITY OF A SCOTTISH WARRANT.

Detective-Lieutenant John M'Gimpsey, Central Police, Glasgow, was the first witness. He said the Glasgow Communist Group was founded about 1912. It was fused with the Glasgow Anarchist Group in 1916, and in 1920 it took the name of the Glasgow Communist Group. Witness described a visit he paid to a house, where he took possession of 51 membership cards, some bearing the name of Glasgow Anarchist Group and some Glasgow Communist Group. He and other police witnesses spoke to other documents having been taken possession of in other premises.

Detective-Inspector Noble said he arrested Aldred at Scotland Yard on March 5. Accused was at that time in custody, but he arrested him on a warrant he carried.

Aldred asked witness if he was aware that that Scottish warrant could not be executed lawfully in London unless it was backed by a London Magistrate.

Witness, while not admitting the correctness of Aldred's view, said the warrant was endorsed by a London Magistrate before it was put into operation.

Aldred—Are you aware that according to a decision of the English Judges sedition is a misdemeanour at English law, and not a felony?

Witness—I have not studied English law.

Aldred, at the close of his cross-examination, complimented witness on the courtesy he showed towards him on the journey north. "He performed a somewhat unpleasant duty very nicely indeed," he remarked.

MANNER OF ALDRED'S ARREST.

Inspector Thomas M'Grath, of the Special Branch, Scotland Yard, gave evidence regarding Aldred's arrest at Richmond Gardens, Shepherd's Bush, London, on March 2. Aldred drew from witness the fact that in arresting him he was acting on instructions from Glasgow police as conveyed in a letter dated February 26.

Are you aware, asked Aldred, that you cannot arrest me legally for sedition without a warrant, being in your personal possession?

There was no answer, whereupon Lord Skerrington asked witness, "Do you know anything about that?" Witness replied, "I have not looked up that , my Lord."

Aldred, while pursuing this question of arrest was reminded by his Lordship that the question for the jury was "guilty or not guilty" of the indictment.

Aldred said his purpose was to show that the police were not prepared to abide by the law ; that they were acting from panic.

Ann Menzies Scott Donaldson, a young women residing at Dalmuir, who acted as minute secretary of Glasgow Communist Group, stated that in November the group decided to issue an anti-Parliamentary manifesto.

Replying to Aldred, witness agreed that at the same time they adopted him (Aldred) as Parliamentary candidate for Shettleston, this candidature to be the basis of their anti-Parliamentary propaganda. The discussion after the business meetings were on philosophical ideas, and there were never any suggestions of violence or incitement. She never saw the accused Fleming at any of the meetings.

The Rev. Alexander Strang, Sandyhills U.F. Church, Shettleston ; Mr. Chisholm, headmaster of Shettleston Public School ; Mr. Robert Shanks, ex-councillor of Glasgow ; and Dr. Dunlop were among the witnesses who spoke to the character of Fleming, who is a printer to trade and an ex-member of Shettleston School Board. They could not, witnesses agreed associate Fleming with the doctrine of violence.

THE PRINTER'S DEFENCE.

Accused Fleming in the witness-box, said he carried on a stationers' and printers' business at 28 Great Hamilton Street. He had been about 16 years in business, and his firm did printing for manufacturers, small businesses, trade unions, literary societies, Masonc lodges, religious organisations, and other bodies. His office was half a mile distant from the workshop in Great Hamilton Street. He was very busy at the time the first issue of the "Red Commune" was printed. Prior to that he had printed for Miss Patrick tickets for socials, picnics, and dances, postcards, and letter headings—all in the ordinary way of business. He told Miss Patrick when asked to do so, that he was willing to print the "Red Commune" on condition that they were to be careful about the publication. Much of the matter had previously been printed in other publications, and he took that as good security. The job was sent to the workshop, and on his periodical visits there he saw it. He glanced at the matter ,but did not read it. Anything printed in the "Red Commune" which might incite to violence would not be in accordance with his views. He did not act in concert with the accused in the sense that there was any conspiracy. It was a pure matter of business. A large poster was produced to illusrtate the nature of Fleming's business. It was for a candidate at the last municipal election in Glasgow, and contained the lines :—"Electors, don't be bluffed ; the Socialists are out to enslave you."

The other accused did not lead any evidence Aldred, addressing his Lordship said :—"We are responsible for the publication, and the publication is good in law."

ANTI-PARLIAMENTARY PROPAGANDA.

The Advocate Depute (Mr. A. M. M'Robert, K.C.), in addressing the jury, said that the modern tendency was not to prosecute in case of sedition unless something was done likely to cause violence of some kind or resistance to lawful authority. The declaration for the "'destruction of Parliamentary government and the substitution of the Soviet or revolutionary workers' system of administration," showed how they meant to go about effecting the charge not by Parliamentary and constitutional methods but by other methods. The only way other than through Parliament was by doing something that was unlawful, because the only lawful way of changing the laws was by the constitutional way through Parliament. He quoted from a published passage regarding "abstentionist tactice" as follows :—

"The election address to contain . . . (2) a definite pledge to work outside Parliament, on the streets and in the workshops, for the revolution, preaching open and avowed 'sedition' and agitating towards the insurrectional crisis."

He submitted that this statement was not capable of an innocent meaning.

COMMUNIST ADDRESSES THE JURY.

After Mr. Morton K.C., had addressed the jury on behalf of Fleming, the accused Aldred spoke on his own defence, and in defence of Patrick and M'Leish. What he had done, he said, had been open to the public and all the world. He believed he had not exceeded the constitutional rights of a British citizen to say what he thought was right. It was those who wished to tamper with the right of free speech who were inciting and who were preventing the solution of the great problems of poverty and misery that afflicted the community. The Constitution was dynamic and not static, and hence the view of what was sedition was dynamic and not static. Not long ago,said accused, addressing the mixed jury, it was considered that to give women the vote and to place women in the jury-box would be subversive of the British Constitution. To-day women had the vote and women sat in jury-boxes in accordance with the British Constitution.

After accused had spoken for about an hour Lord Skerrington, interrupting, suggested that as the jury would require to return to-day in any event it might suit everyone's convenience to adjourn the case till 10.15 a.m. to-day.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 22.

When the sedition trials in the North Court—before Lord Skerrington and a jury (of whom eight were women)—was resumed yesterday Aldred, one of the accused, continued his address to the jury on behalf of himself and of Patrick and M'Leish. . . .

The indictment, which with the list of productions and witnesses, covered eight pages, quoted a number of passages from the "Red Commune," including a declaration for the "destruction of Parliamentary government and the substitution of the Soviet or Revolutionary Workers' System of Administration," and an excerpt from an article in which "the only possible line of attack" was stated to be "the line of direct revolutionary mass action."

Aldred entered the dock from the cell below, and the three other accused, who had been on bail, responded when their names were called.

ACCUSED REPUDIATE VIOLENCE

Aldred, in his resumed address to the jury, declared that free speech was more important than any Constitution. If the statements quoted in the indictment were sedition we had better close down our printing presses in this land of the free. After recalling the speeches of Sir Edward Carson and Lord Birkenhead some years ago during the Ulster crisis, Aldred said what the workers felt was that if you preached sedition in a certain way you might be honoured by being invited to fill the highest positions in the land. But the worker was at the disadvantage that he was uncultured and lacked a University education. Towards the close of his address Aldred exhibited to the jury, to counter a suggestion that a cartoon in the "Red Commune" depicted violence, a banner of the Communist Group, which he said, represented militarism being destroyed by the working man. That was their motto ; he submitted it proved that they did not believe in violence. Communism, he declared, might be wrong, but the freedom of the press must always be right.

His address, interrupted by the adjournment of the Court on Monday, occupied more than two hours.

JUDGES' DEFINITION OF SEDITION.

Lord Skerrington, in summing up, said it was quite sufficient to establish sedition in the case of a newspaper such as the "Red Commune" if they came to the conclusion that it advocated the bringing about of political changes in this country by the use of means which were illegal and unconstitutional. On the other hand, if the jury took the view that while it advocated political changes of a very drastic character it intended that these changes should only be brought about in a constitutional manner by the action of Parliament, then they would find that it was not sedition, and it was of no importance whether they approved or entirely disapproved of the political changes that were advocated.

It was plain that these people had an extremely low opinion of Parliament. They took the view that they might ask for what reform they liked, but that they would get no reform worth taking from Parliament. That was not sedition itself, but it was coming pretty near being seditious.

The Advocate-Depute's interpretation was that they wanted drastic political changes, and that they said that the regular constitutional method was not workable and of on use. And the Advocate-Depute put two and two together and said that this was just incitement to the people to rise up and seize for themselves the power which Parliament would not give them.

The jury with one exception, found all the accused guilty as libelled.

Mr. Morton, K.C., appealed on behalf of Fleming for leniency. The ends of justice, he suggested, would in his case be met by a pecuniary penalty. . . .

His Lordship, addressing Aldred, said he could not regard these seditious publications as otherwise than of a serious character, and he could not help regarding Aldred as the master mind and leader in that contravention of the law. . . .

(To be continued)

CARLILE BIOGRAPHY.

The *Literary Guide*, London, in its issue for September 1941, gives a very friendly review to *Richard Carlile*. Our contemporary says :—

Mr. Guy A. Aldred has now published the third and revised edition of his life of Richard Carlile. The work is a worthy reminder of the strenuous fight which a gallant Freethinker made long ago in behalf of Thomas Paine's "Age of Reason," a masterpiece which is still sold in tens of thousands. He may have lacked the culture and the graciousness of such successors as Thomas Henry Huxley and George William Foote, but he was possessed to the full of all their courage and steadfastness. When arraigned before Chief Justice Abbott (of execrable memory, similar to that of Mr. Justice North, who passed judgment in Foote more than half a century later), and in due course sentenced to a fine of £1,500 and two years' imprisonment, he simply bowed to the court and forthwith suffered his doom. Nearly the whole story of his subsequent heroic crusade is recorded by Mr. Aldred. . . .

In commending the new edition of Mr. Guy A. Aldred's "Life of Richard Carlile," Mr. Chapman Cohen, in the "Freethinker," reminds us that Mr. G. M. Trevelyan (who, by the way, was a Director of the R.P.A. for one or two years), in his "British History in the Nineteenth Century," pays a well-deserved tribute to Richard Carlile. . . .

The Trevelyan quotation appeared in these columns last month. We do not agree that Carlile lacked culture, but we thank our contemporary for its kindly notice.

Free Expression, London, in its issue for September 1941, also notices *Richard Carlile*. The reviewer, our Comrade, S. D. Frances, says :—

This is a book which will have a special appeal to readers of "Free Expression." Richard Carlile lived in the days when to publish the writings of Thomas Paine was to commit a crime punishable by imprisonment; when a tax was payable upon every copy of every publication which automatically prevented poorer people obtaining reading material of any description.

Carlile devoted his life to the cause of liberty and the rights of man; fearlessly he fought in the vanguard against the stunted mentalities of his time. Over and over again he went to prison, never flinching, maintaining steadfastly his right to publish the writings of others.

Readers will learn that Carlile was responsible for the liberty of publication that is enjoyed to-day. Deliberately challenging the Government, Carlile published Paine's "Age of Reason." An excellent report is given of the court proceedings of Carlile's defence, his insistence on the validity of Paine's writings and the sentence which he deliberately incurred in the cause of the freedom of the press. The imprisonment of Carlile did not seriously impede his self-imposed task. Carlile's wife carried on the work of selling Paine's writings. When she was arrested and sentenced, the work was carried on by Carlile's sister, who was in turn sent to gaol and succeeded by defiant volunteers. In all, 150 persons suffered incarceration for acting as Carlile's agents in his struggle. The Lord Chief Justice finally intimated that enough had been done in the way of prosecuting Carlile and his shopmen. The cabinet in council acknowledged Carlile invincible in the the course of moral resistence which he had taken.

While Carlile was imprisoned, a Press Act was passed imposing a stamp duty upon publications, which necessitated the finding of sureties before publication and the submission of MSS. Characteristically, Carlile entirely ignored these regulations, his policy being defined as resisting the "imposition of a duty on political information for the better preservation of ignorance among the labouring classes."

After reading this book you will be surprised that so little is known of such a man as Carlile; his name does not appear in history books or in the British Encyclopaedia. It has been left to Guy Aldred to undertake the valuable work of making available for the public full information on the life and activities of an agitator for freedom.

Guy Aldred writes not as a historian, but as a disciple of Carlile, believing sincerely in the ideas and aims for which Carlile fought. Aldred himself has deliberately challenged the Government by insisting on his right to publish the writings of others, and he served his first sentence in 1909 at the age of 22 after conviction at the Old Bailey.

Those who know even a little of the idealism of Guy Aldred will understand that this History-cum-Biography has been written by one who has complete sympathy and understanding of the facts of Carlile's life.

HENRY J. ADLARD.

In *The Word* for December, 1940, and January, March and June, 1941, we have published articles by, and studies of, the work of the Rev. Henry J. Adlard, a Unitarian and Socialist Minister, now of Trim St. Chapel, Bath, who was formerly Unitarian Minister at Duluth, Minn., U.S.A. As our readers are aware, Mr. Adlard is a radical thinker, who seeks to make the pulpit the centre of libertanian thought and vision.

From Duluth recently, we received the following letter, which describes Mr. Adlard's activity there. To many readers of this journal this letter will make interesting reading :

Dear Mr. Aldred,—I thank you for copies of *The Word*. I loan them to Mr. Adlard's friends to read.

From 1907 to 1928, I was not in Duluth, having left Duluth early in 1907. I was in Calumet, Michigan, from 1907 to 1917, managing a department store. The firm owning that store, and the one here in Duluth, then sent me to N.Y. City to manage its office there for 5 years, after which they had me go to Cleveland Ohio for 5 years. Then, in 1928, they transferred me back (to Duluth) to this, the Glass Block Store, where I am now employed. Therefore, it was in 1928 that I first met Mr. Adlard, who had recenty returned to the Unitarian Church here.

To me and others, Mr. Adlard was the most outstanding and progressive minister in Duluth. There was one other progressive minister here, a Rev. Dunnington of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and, strange to say, it was located at the other end of the same block to Mr. Adlard's Church.

I cannot give you any information concerning Mr. Adlard's work in Duluth between his first occupancy here and 1928.

Through the winter months, Mr. Adlard always had "Book Reviews" at the Church and was frequently invited to give these reviews to other groups.

The public saw in Mr. Adlard a person of clear mind and insight, and the rare accomplishment of transferring his ideas and thought to his lesteners in a clear cut manner so that they knew what he was talking about. As you know, there are prominent speakers who are sadly lacking in the ability to make themselves clear to an audience. We have all of us been bored by such. Mr. Adlard never left his audience in that frame of mind. They knew what he said and what was in his mind.

Yours truly,

GEO. T. MILLER.

Duluth, Minn., Junly 10, 1941.

UNITARIAN CHURCH
Hope Street, Liverpool
Minister—Rev. SIDNEY SPENCER, B.A.
Sunday Services:—11 a.m. and 3.30 p.m.

United Socialist Movement. National membership cards now ready. Statement of principles sent on request. Enclose 1d. or 2½d. for particulars. Socialist and Pacifist comrades are joining throughout the country. Address: **Ethel MacDonald**, Secy., 106 George Street, Glasgow, C.1.

OUR LETTER-BOX

Dear Friend,—I am a Christian Pacifist (C.O. doing Land Work) and a Socialist with a strong tendency towards Anarchism. Of the many publications which I have read, issued by Pacifist and Left Wing organisations, I think yours beats all others for actual *news*. Thanks also for your extreme tolerance for all approaches to Pacifism and Socialism.

Yours sincerely,

ALBAN LITTLE.

Broxbourne, Herts, July 14, 1941.

Dear Sir,—A correspondent, in this month's issue, airily makes the followin statement: "*I also have no interest in theology.*"

In a very varied experience in England, Burma, and British Guiana (my birthplace) I have been forced to see that at the back of all human history stands Theology—man's notions about God. Even the atheist is concerned, as his very designation indicates. He has been led to face the issue and he proclaims—"There is no God."

Have not all man's troubles resulted from ignorance of God? "*Forgive them: they know not what they do.*"

English-speaking people have, for centuries, based their laws on their notions of God. And, in this war, our "Fathers in God" (as they are called) have turned a complete revolution since the Lambeth Conference of 1930—which stated:

"The Christian must condemn war . . . but far more *because it is contrary to the will of God.*"

They owe it to the world to explain and justify, on Christlike grounds, their *volte face.*

Very few people seem to realise the trick played upon them by the issue of the "Authorised Version" of the (so-called) Bible, in 1611

Not only is this version erroneous, as a result of the pardonable ignorance of those days: It is erroneous, also, as the result of deliberate falsification. Intensive study of this subject has revealed the amazing extent of this.

And I see little hope for the world until the false theology of the cliché "*Almighty* God" is utterly destroyed. By its very character, Love is *unable* to coerce: Therefore Love can not be almighty.

Incidentally, the New Testament (in spite of the 1611 *English* version) nowhere claims, nor says, that God is almighty.

Together with (para.) God all things are possible.

Yours faithfully,

(Rev.) W. GRAINGE WHITE.

Haughley, Suffolk, September 23, 1941.

Dear Comrade,—Enclosed a P.O. in response to *The Word appeal.*

As a C.O. of Dyce Camp (1916) I appreciate your good work on behalf of C.O.'s, Anti-Militarism and Peace, and cherish a copy of *The Granite Echo* and photo group of Dyce C.O.'s.

Yours fraternally,

WILFRID BRUTON.

Mitcham, Surrey, September 21, 1941.

Dear Mr. Aldred,—I wish to acknowledge the receipt of *Richard Carlile, Agitator, His Life and Times,* 3rd Edition, 1941. It is placed with your books and booklets in the Labadie Collection Library, University of Mitchigan, and I thank you very much in the name of the Collection for it.

I suppose you knew of old Joe Labadie. He died in October, 1933. His collection is well known, now, by scholars of the labor movement. I have worked in it for many years.

I sometimes hear of your late wife's, Rose's, sisters, and of Rudolf Rocker, through Bertha F. Johnson. She lives on a farm in Pennsylvania.

My parents both came from Scotland, and I was there once—long years ago—passed through Glasgow and Edinburgh. My mother came from Straven, near Glasgow. I am 70 years of age. My mother was 43 years old when I was born, and she came over at the age of eleven, in 1839. That was the time of the introduction of the spinning jenny and the factory system one reads about in the histories of the Chartist movement and in the days of Robert Owen.

Sincerely,

AGNES INGLIS.

Ann Arbor, Michigan, U.S.A., August 6, 1941.

Dear Guy,—Since you published my letter in September *Word,* quite a few "Go to it" Communists feel peaved at me. Incidently, you will have noticed that "*Our* Wullie" apologised to Winnie, but not Winnie to Wullie! In other words Gallacher accepted the allies' comradely accusations!

I was pleased to read your reply to the editor of *The Enquirer.* Richard Lee is a stalwart, well remembered in Glasgow. Real men like him and John MacLean are too rare. D. Paterson on V for Victory, is pert and logically witty. C. H. Norman's survey is of outstanding value. All power to your press.

Yours in cold logic,

G. CALDWELL.

Glasgow, September 12, 1941.

Dear Comrade,—May I say how much I appreciate and await *The Word* each month eagerly. I do hope that you will be able to carry on your good work for Peace.

I am a conditionally registered C.O., and am doing forestry work. I refused to register for fire-watching under the local authority. As there is no conscience clause for exemption, I felt I could not register. There is one other here in the same position.

Most of the local pacifists did register, but say that they shall refuse fire watching at premises connected with the war effort. I think it would have been wiser and clearer to have refused to register.

May I add that I support the proposal that the Duke of Bedford represent the pacifist minority in the House of Lords. Although not in favour of the House of Lords, I do think it advisable to use any and every opportunity for expressing the pacifist views.

With Best Wishes, Yours fraternally,

S. STAY.

Salisbury, September 14, 1941.

[Comrade Stay was fined £5 for his refusal. Report in next issue.—Ed.]

Dear Comrade Guy,—I received *Rebel and His Disciples* and have disposed of them. Our party, the S.P.G.B., are holding good meetings in Hyde Park still. I saw Matt Kavanagh yesterday. The Anarchists were having a meeting.They have some new members, ex-P.P.U. members. F. A. Ridley writes in their paper, although he associates with the I.L.P. and the Secularists, as you know. The Anarchists have a hot time from the C.-Pers now, as you know, since the latter changed from war-resistance to war-support overnight. I hope you are keeping well in these days of stress.

Yours fraternally,

JACK LAW.

Kilburn, London, N.W., August 11, 1941.

Dear Guy,—The so-called Red Platform is out again after being in cold storage. It is all out for U.S.S.R. and Victory. What good acrobats the Trotskyists are! They rival the Stalinists in the rapidity of the turn overs, and seem even more jingoistic than the Stalinists. The Anarchist platform is the only anti-war platform in the park. Vicious, malignant opposition is offered by the C.P. The latter try to smash up our meetings but we are commanding enormous crowds. Quite a number of old comrades have started turning up at the meeting. The S.P.G.B. has a turn at attacking us, and seemed almost as annoyed as the C.P.

The C.P. must be spending enormous sums of money. They have expensive posters on all the Underground Stations. Pollitt and Bramley are speaking at the factories every day, urging militarism and patriotism.

You are being well attacked by some of your former friends over your friendship with the Duke of Bedford.

I met G. Cores, of the old Freedom Group, the other day. He thought all the Anarchist and Socialist Anti-Militarists ought to be jailed "because the Hun must be crushed." He asked: "Would *The Word* or *The War Commentary* be allowed to appear in Germany?" I told him that he was a real colleague of the late John Turner and that neither ought to have been associated with Anarchism. He was never very fond of me and my direct talking has not increased the affection. What a crowd the old Freedom Group was! Most of them are away. They are no loss to Anarchism, although I am not wishing those that remain personal ill. I write only of their pretence of Anarchism. Their dying off is a political gain and not a loss.

Yours as ever,

MATT. KAVANAGH.

London, N., September 6, 1941.

Sir,—All conchies who left prison to take alternative work, offered by the Government, were *not* defaulters or those who could not stay the course. I know one man who liked prison in preference to the alternative service he had accepted, yet he remained in alternative service. Prison has a terrible demoralizing effect on some and not on others.

Absolutists of those days would have had a puzzle if they were confronted with doing work or otherwise or Fire Watching as required to-day.

Voltaire said something about dying for your right to say it, but I can tell you of a secret—he was overheard to mutter—"Yes say it—but I'll sock you one on the jaw if you do it!"

Yours faithfully,

CHARLES E. BERRY.

Paignton, Devon, August 8, 1941.

Dear Sir,—

RE. THE RIGHT HONORABLE HERBERT MORRISON.

You will remember as vividly as I do in the last war every species of scurrility and vituperation was poured out upon the C.O.'s. And chief among the popular phraseology of abuse were the terms coward, shirker, and scrounger. It was only mildly allowed here and there that there could be anybody genuinely opposed to the organised wholesale slaughter of one's fellow creatures for any purpose, and least of all for imperialist aims and ambitions. But whilst we were indignant at this kind of attack, some of us were old enough and sufficiently experienced in human nature and affairs to realise that some of the shots must have found a mark. Every movement will have its imposters and shady characters. And what light do some of the events of to-day throw upon the past? Where are we to place the Morrisons, the Dollans, the Woodburns, and the rest? Are these people just plain imposters or do they belong to the very large crowd without any proper understanding of affairs? Certainly some of their writings and speeches of the past would at least suggest some small understanding. These particular gentry will know best themselves where they really stand—now or twenty-five years ago. But whether imposters or dunces is not either a good and sufficient reason for their expulsion from any kind of public office? If the former then public decency demands it and if the latter their place should be study, not the forum.

And what of the discredit such a choice collection of turncoats throw upon the C.O. to-day.

Yours sincerely,

V. WILSON.

Wittington, September 12, 1941.

Dear Guy Aldred,—Please send me *The Word* for a year. You are doing great work! Thanks for the copies of Duke of Bedford's latest, which I read with great interest.

Best Wishes,

Sincerely yours,

E. GRANT.

Aberdeen, September 23, 1941.

Dear Sir,—I am sending a Postal Order for 3/- as a donation towards the expenses of producing *The Word.* It is a small contribution but I hope it will help to ensure the continuance of a paper whose aim is to print the Truth.

Yours faithfully,

MARGARET B. BALFOUR.

Aberfeldy, September 25, 1941.

Dear Friend,—I have only just discovered your excellent journal. Enclosed is towards wiping off your deficit.

Best Wishes,

Yours sincerely,

HAROLD C. LANDER.

Welwyn, Garden City, September 19, 1941.

Dear Sir,—"Though they may forget the singer, they will not forget the song."

I quote this to show that the singer is not always forgotten; for, in my case, I well remembered hearing you in Hyde Park many years ago; and, although you did not burst into song, you certainly exhausted yourself in two of the best orations I have ever listened to—and I have heard some. To listen to you was like music in my ears. I speak of the time when Robert Forder and Wheeler and Pack, and G. W. Foote carried the flag in front rank and bore the whips of scorn of time" which, I hope, have not lacerated your constitution too much.

Seeing your name mentioned in my recently arrived *Literary Guide,* in connection with a revised edition of Richard Carlile, I thought I would write you and obtain a copy..

I have read *The Freethinker* off and on since I was 15 years old and now I am in my 73rd year. Of course, having been under the lash of labour's indignity for all that time (up to 65) fortune has provided me with an old age pension of 10/- a week.

Yours sincerely,

T. H. PERKINS.

Cullompton, September 9, 1941.

[We have held over our financial report and appeal to December. A heavy deficit remains. Please help.]

FACT VERSUS PROPAGANDA

By C. H. NORMAN

[The following interesting and factual study appeared in the " Railway Review " for July 11, 1941. —Ed.]

At the outset of the German invasion of Crete, Mr. Winston Churchill took upon himself the responsibility of stating in the House of Commons that the German paratroops had landed in the uniform of New Zealand troops.

The statement was later repeated as without doubt by other Ministers. Then, in the debate on the causes of the retreat from Crete, the Prime Minister admitted that there was no foundation for the report that the German troops in Crete had dressed themselves in New Zealand uniforms.

A general of the Northern Command not long ago said that there was no proof of any case in which the Germans had used this means of disguise since the war begn.

According to the English Manual of Military Law, this is a legitimate stratagem, but generally used when endeavouring to cross the opposing lines: so that all the Press hullaballoo on that particular point seems without foundation.

Going back to the beginning of the war, there was the "Germany starving" stunt, which was very noticeable in the Press in September and October of 1939. It was invoked as a supposed justification for setting going that boomerang weapon, the unlimited blockade. How absurd that piece of war propaganda was can be judged on a moment's reflection. 1939 was a year of specially good harvests in Central Europe. Germany has always produced 80 per cent. of her food supply. In September-October, 1939, when these stories were circulated, the harvests had only just been garnered. How, then, could the German food supplies have been so soon exhausted that the people were already suffering from privation or shortage? Had that story been put about in May, 1940, when the harvest store could be approaching exhaustion and the new crops not available, there might have been some sense in the propaganda; but, curiously enough, May, 1940, passed without any such suggestion being made by the Ministry of Information.

Then there is the case of Herr Hess and the outbreak of the Russo-German War. The English people have not been told much concerning the visit of Herr Hess; but what they were told was that Herr Hess had been strongly opposed to Russo-German collaboration and had fled to Britain because he was gainst a Russo-German military pact. That particular explanation seems a little wide of the mark in the circumstances of to-day.

Then all "our diplomatic correspondents," the gentlemen under the table and with their ears to the keyhole, told the listening world that the conversations between M. Molotoff and Herr Hitler in August, 1940, concerned increased supplies of oil and grain from Russia to Germany. It turns out that the interview consisted of quite definite inquiries on questions of the international policy of the two States as regards each other and their smaller neighbours.

This account of the interview is confirmed by the events which have taken place since on the international field.

" BATTLE OF THE ATLANTIC."

The situation in the so-called "Battle of the Atalntic" is further proof of the recklessness of some of Mr. Churchill's early propaganda. In his broadcast in October, 1939, denouncing any mediation at the instance of the King of the Belgians and the Queen of Holland, Mr. Churchill told the world that the U-boat campaign was well under control; yet in May, 1941, the losses of tonnage were very great and the total loss since September, 1939, on the British and Allied side has amounted to nearly 6,000,000 tons, which is hardly a justification of Mr. Churchill's rosy optimism of 1939.

Then there was the campaign run against the alleged treachery of the King of the Belgians. Sir Roger Keyes was recently able to expose the complete falsity of those charges; but the newspaper which was condemned stated it had received its information from the very highest sources in Britain. That malevolent campaign was no doubt induced by the desire to place the blame for the calamity on anybody's shoulders other than those really responsible, who were certainly not Belgian generals or politicians. The British propaganda machine at that time was worked at full speed against the King of the Belgians, as anyone who cares to look up the papers of those days can judge—not excepting the "Railway Review!" Anyhow, the lie had been kept going from April, 1940, till June, 1941, without authoritative contradiction by English responsible authorities or by the Press.

The only really efficient propaganda carried out by the Government machine and by the British Press during this war has been to keep hidden from general circulation what people are saying and thinking about the various wars and their conduct by the Government. At the moment, the clever statesmen of Britain and Europe have created this tragic and ludicrous situation. Britain and France, fervent allies of 1939, are now fighting in Syria.

Finland, the protege of both France and Britain in 1939-40 in the Russo-Finnish War, is being used as a base by Germany with no protest from Finland, and Great Britain has seized Finnish ships in consequence.

Poland, the ally of Britain and the primal cause of the whole trouble, is at war with Russia and to-day Russia is co-operating with Britain. Finally, Russia and Germany, the confederates of 1939, are now at war. What the state of parties will be at the present rate of progress in, say, 1943 all the astrologers and prophets might well hesitate to forecast. But there is certainly some ground for saying that Carlyle's bitter reference to the English as a nation of 27,000,000 " mostly fools " could be extended to the population of 400,000,000 Europeans and English engaged in the present fratricidal and incomprehensible war, and even the Marxian theory will not explain the present alignment of combatants.

Next we are told that the cause of the Russo-German War is the great need of Germany for oil and other necessities in the shape of certain metals. As Germany is likely to expend much more oil and metals in a campaign against Russia than a successful campaign could produce for a long period, that particular explanation of the Russo-German War is ridiculous on the face of it. If Germany had used all the material required for a Russian campaign in an attack on England, her alleged purpose in this war would have been more easily accomplished than by adopting the method of undertaking a vast campaign against Russia as a preliminary to a final attack on England.

NO ATTACKS ON CAMPS!

Another curious feature of this war, very beneficial to the men concerned, is the apparent reluctance shown by the respective high commands of the various air forces to bomb the military camps of their opponents. Hardly any report of the high commands even suggest that the air forces had been instructed to search out and bomb the military camps of their opponents.

A word also must be said about the series of operations in the air which took place over Britain from 6th September, 1940, till about mid-December, 1940, which have been dramatised by Mr. Churchill and his colleagues under the title of " The Battle for Britain." One has been asked to believe that that continuous air attack was intended as a kind of invasion by air which had failed. But another explanation of those operations is that the German Air Force was then being employed to engage the British Air Force continuously while certain important factories in Germany and France were bodily removed out of the range of British air attacks. This interpretation is supported by two facts:—

(1) That no attack of the kind was made immediately after Dunkirk, when admittedly the resources of defence in Britain were not well advanced.

(2) That the German production of war material during the winter months was hardly affected by British air operations, judging by the great superiority of material possessed by the Germans in the various campaigns in 1941, and by the fact that the Germans are so well equipped that they have been able to launch an attack on Russia while Britain is still active and American hostility to Germany is increasing in the form of despatching supplies to the Near East in protection of the American oil interests there.

Had the German Commander been contemplating invasion it is difficult to understand why the German victories in France and the Netherlands in May-June, 1940, were not followed up by an attack on either Britain or Ireland. One aspect of German methods would bring forth a strong doubt about there being any real intention of direct invasion. All the countries occupied or invaded by Germany have been not only self-supporting but have been exporting food countries. Why should the Germans take the risk of invading a country which is dependent for 40 per cent ?

F. W. JOWETT

ENEMY OF MILITARISM, POVERTY AND WAR

(*Continued from page 36*)

II.—THE WAR YEARS.

During the war years, Jowett made a splendid stand for Anti-Militarism and Free Speech. After the Conscription Acts were passed Jowett took up the struggle for conscience. His forthrightness in the House of Commons during the years 1916-1918 was evidenced by his severe questoning of the Government. We divide this study into three years.

1916 QUESTIONS

On Wednesday, August 16, Jowett directed the attention of the President of the Local Government Board to the case of two Norwich C.O.'s, Archie Victor Hobart and Cecil Arthur Hobart, who were arrested on June 9.

On Tuesday, November 28, Jowett asked the Home Secretary if he was aware that

on the 2nd March, 1915, the Attorney-General, speaking on behalf of the Government in a Debate on the Defence of the Realm Amendment Bill, gave the Committee of the House a definite assurance that the Government would not prosecute persons for statements of opinion, however foolish, but only for prejudicial and injurious mis-statements of fact; that, on the 7th November, 1916, the Public Prosecutor obtained the conviction of Mr.. Arnold Lupton under the Defence of the Realm Act for publishing and circulating a pamphlet headed 'What are we fighting for?' notwithstanding that no mis-statement of fact was charged or alleged; that the prosecuting counsel's speech was merely critical of phraseology; and that no evidence was called to show that the pamphlet in any way contravened the Defence of the Realm Act or the Regulations; will he say if the defendant has given notice of appeal; and, if so, whether, having regard to the assurance given for and on behalf of the Government, the Government will withdraw from the prosecution and ask the Appeal Court to allow the appeal?

Mr. Samuel's reply was unsatisfactory and need not be noted.

On the same day, Jowett asked the Prime Minister if he was aware that Mr. C. H. Norman had been in litigation since October, with Sir Charles Matthews and Sir William Nott Bower in connection with certain seizures of documents, the property of Mr. Norman, under the Defence of the Realm (Consolidation) Regulations; whether he was aware that the Committee on Employment of Conscientious Objectors had refused any opportunity to Mr. Norman to take further steps in this litigation, which Mr. Norman has had to conduct himself since his solicitor was arrested at the instance of the public authorties, who were defendants in this and other suits in which Mr. Norman was plaintiff; and whether he would take steps to put an end to these tactics by pubilc authorities, who were utilising

their powers for the purpose of preventing Mr. Norman exercising his rights as a citizen to obtain the audience, to which he is entitled, of the Courts of Justice?

Samuel replied on behalf of the Prime Minister and made the usual evasive reply.

The following day, Jowett asked the Home Secretary to state, in general terms, the powers, functions, and financial commitments of the Committee on Employment of conscientious objectors. Samuel replied in elaborate detail.

On Tuesday, December 19, Jowett asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether Mrs. Annie Carr, of 34 Lawson Place, Dundee, the wife of a conscientious objector now employed at Wakefield on work of national importance, is now receiving 11s. per week for herself and two children, aged, respectively: four and six; whether he is aware that, while she herself is earning 10s. per week, she has to pay 5s per week to have these children looked after, and has other heavy expenses for insurance premium, and rent and rates; and whether, in view of the distinct hardship thus created, he is prepared to make an additional allowance?

Sir G. CAVE: Mrs. Carr was originally granted separation allowance at the rate of 11s. a week. At that time she refused full information as to her circumstances. This was afterwards furnished, and she has been awarded an allowance of 17s. a week as from the 13th instant.

Our selections are made casually rather than deliberately, and only indicate Jowett's searching questioning. Most of the replies were formal and evasive and are unworthy of record. The interested readers can consult Hansard. Where two questions are recorded under the one date, they were put on that date.

1917 QUESTIONS.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 15.

Mr. JOWETT asked the Home Secretary whether he can inform the House of the state of health of G. C. Williams, a conscientious objector, whose last known whereabouts was Wormwood Scrubbs Prison; whether this man has been forcibly fed; whether he has been fed on bread and water for 25 days between the 25th November and the 23rd December; and if so, whether he will undertake that this sort of treatment of conscientious objectors in the secrecy of civil prisons will be put an end to?

Sir G. CAVE: The prisoner referred to has refused to undertake under civil control work which is unconnected with the war, and is accordingly serving his sentence of imprisonment. He does not suffer from any illness, but at one time he refused all food and had to be forcibly fed four times, after which he consented to take his food in the natural way. He has refused to work in prison, and has been punished by the Visiting Committee in the same way as other prisoners who refuse to work. There is no more secrecy in his case than in the case of any other prisoner.

Mr. JOWETT asked the Home Secretary under what powers two conscientious objectors, named Clay and Leathley, who have been found genuine by the Central Tribunal and have been engaged on work of alleged national importance at the Warwick Settlement, were arrested at Warwick on Friday, 9th February: whether the only offence alleged against these men is that of travelling on a railway; whether, on 10th February these two men were taken before a number of magistrates sitting in camera in the Chief Constable's office at Warwick, though the military and police authorities had been fully informed of the intention of the friends of these men to retain counsel and solicitors to defend them; and whether he will state the names of the magistrates who acted in this manner, and the statute, Order in Council, or Regulation under which a conscientious objector of civilian status may become liable to arrest for travelling on the railway, and the date when such statute, Order in Council, or Regulation, if in existence, was first promulgated?

Mr. JOWETT asked the Under-Secretary of State for War if he is aware that the regulations relating to detention barracks have been withdrawn from sale to the public; whether he will state the reason of this prohibition; and whether he will undertake that persons in litigation with the authorities for alleged ill-treatment at detention barracks shall be supplied with copies of these regulations for the purposes of preparing their cases for trial?

The same day, Jowett addressed a very exhaustive question to the Prime Minister, requesting full details as to the numbers and situation of conscientious objectors. Sir John Cave replied as follows :—

The total number of men who have been sentenced to imprisonment by courts-martial, transferred to civil prisons, and reported to the Central Tribunal as alleging that their offences were prompted by a conscientious objection to military service is, I am informed, 3,025. The Central Tribunal has reported 2,369 of these cases to the Committee on Employment of Conscientious Objectors, and of these 2,297 have been or will immediately be offered release from prison and from military service on condition that they perform work of national importance under the Committee. Of these, 265 have refused to accept release on these conditions, 1,731 have been released, and 284 are awaiting release. Of the 1,731 who have been released from prison to work 101 have subsequently refused to work or have broken the conditions on which they were released, and have accordingly been sent back to prison or to the Army. There are 339 men now in prison whose cases have not yet been considered by the Central Tribunal.

(To be concluded.)

MALCOLM MACCOLL.

The Rev. Malcolm MacColl was formerly a well-known figure in the Socialist Movement in Glasgow. He was an active Socialist Anti-Militarist and no one could have anticipated his entry into the Ministry. Today he writes from The Rectory, Ballachulish, Argyll. In February of this year he wrote in the *Scots Independent*, Glasgow, to protest against that journal's description of Emanuel Shinwell as a "Polish Jew." MacColl describes the phrase as being "offensive, unethical, and inappropriate" and complains of the Westminister Coalition not making use of Shinwell's truly first-rate services. With the first part of the complaint we agree. As to the second, being still an Anti-Militarist, we can say nothing.

MacColl proceeds to describe Shinwell's early early years in Glasgow and later association with the Lobour movement. The recollection is interesting and nothing to note, however much we may differ from Shinwell's development's since the war of 1914-1918.

MacColl writes :—

"I first set eyes on Shinwell when we were both boys in our early teens. It was in Glasgow Green where he was surrounded by such venerable men as Godfrey, Jamieson, and Matthew Glass, and it seemed to me he was taking those pundits out of their depths by quoting Spinoza. The comparison of Christ among the Doctors occurred to me then. I got to know him in the Labour movement later on. We were nearly always opposed in our views, as in the Seamen's Union dispute, the formation of the Advisory Council of the Labour Party, and on the general line of difference between the S.D.F. and the I.L.P. He beat me for the chairmanship of the Glasgow Trades Council, in the Executive Committee of which I learned to admire his practical grasp of the essentials of every question that came before us and to appreciate the fairness of his mind.

"He never seemed to me to be other than the pure root of a Glasgow Keelie. . . . I never thought of him as a Jew, still less did he suggest Poland. Like St. Paul, he was proud to be a citizen of no mean city, which has no reason to be ashamed of him."

This letter proves that MacColl is not afraid to recall his activities in the Labour Movement. He will have no objection, therefore, to the publication of the following letter of friendly criticism recently received from him :

Dear Comrade Aldred,—I was very greatly interested in the autobiographical pamphlets which show the road you travelled. Your John MacLean is splendid and it seems as if it must be the substitute for the MacLean biography promised by Maxton. Your study is in a certain sense dispassionate, you have no need to represent him as a member of the I.L.P. or of the C.P.B.G., *malgre lui*, as would be the case if Maxton or Gallagher were to write. Stalinism, like Romanism, seems to call for a reconstruction of the facts of history to suit the propaganda of the moment. I recall that MacLean looked upon Gallagher as a sentimental anarchist and not as a politically reliable scientific Social Democrat. Willie always showed a bias towards the anti-parliamentary position.

I shall be glad to have *The Word*—just like you to choose an almost blasphemous title! I need not underscore my disagreement with you, but I do wish your analytical and critical faculties were more directly effective in the service of the Labour movement today, that your gadfly stings could make the animal restive. We need the Daniels of the old evangelistic hymn: "Dare to be a Daniel, Dare to stand alone, Dare to have opinions firm, and dare to make them known." If to be a Daniel has been your destiny you are able to say with St. Paul, "I have fought the good fight, I have kept the faith."

Yours ever,

MALCOLM MacCOLL.

Ballachulish, September 3.

* * *

As we go to press, we have received a further and most interesting letter from Malcolm Macoll. He traces the evolution of his thought and explains that he was one of the first members of the No Conscription Fellowship in Scotland. Although opposed to the Great War of 1914-1918, he feels that he must support the Labour Party and the T.U.C. in this war. He is opposed to the guilty men of the Tory Party who betrayed Spain and the suppression of opinion. We hope to publish this long and interesting letter in our next issue.

The Journal of The MacColl Society for May, 1941, publishes a portrait and a very full account of the career of the Rev. Malcolm MacColl, in which a full account is given of his Socialist and also Irish Labour activities.

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18B: CITIZEN AND EXECUTIVE

Our contemporary, *The Patriot*, was founded in 1922, as a journal of Anti-Socialism, by the 8th Duke of Northumberland. We never expected to quote from its columns with approval. From its issue for November 6 last, we reproduce the following comment on *"The Liberty of the Subject."* Except that we prefer and insist on the term of "citizen" as opposed to "subject," we quote the passage with complete endorsemnt:

Judgment was given by the House of Lords on 3rd November in two cases involving the liberty of the subject. The appeal of Mr. Benjamin Greene, which was an application for a writ of 'habeas corpus,' was dismissed unanimously. The case of Mr. Robert William Liversidge likewise failed, on a majority decision of four Lords to one, the dissenting opinion being that of Lord Atkin. It is now made clear that in this matter of operating the Defence Regulations the decision of the Home Secretary is not subject to judicial review, and until Parliament, which, in the opinion of many, very unwisely granted these powers to the Executive, decrees otherwise, the British people will have to submit to the present limitation of their liberties. By the amendment by Order in Council dated 23rd November, 1939, whereby the wording that the Secretary of State can act "if satisfied that it is necessary so to do" was altered to "has reasonable cause to believe," Parliament thought that it had introduced a safeguard, but it is difficult to see that this is now so. It is interesting to note that, in disagreeing with the other four Lords in the one case, Lord Atkin was very emphatic on the point that words were being given a wrong meaning, a very common failing in these days, and, quoting from "The Times" of 4th November:—

"He protested, even if he did it alone, against a strained construction put on words with the effect of giving an uncontrolled power of imprisonment to the Minister. The words had only one meaning: they were used with that meaning in statements of the common law and in statutes. They had never been used in the sense now imputed to them; they were used in the Defence Regulations in the natural meaning."

Whether, in view of these remarks, the House of Commons will be content to leave things as they are remains to be seen, but that there is a growing belief in the country that these Defence Regulations, rushed through in an emergency, were approved without a full understanding of their implications, is not in doubt.

In *The Freethinker*, for November 16, Chapman Cohen commented vigorously on the judgment, as follows:—

Lord Atkin said he viewed "with apprehension" the present attitude of the Executive towards such cases. Generally speaking, 40 years ago, a British subject had the unquestionable right of appeal to the Courts against the rulings of any executive person or body. To-day that is very nearly non-existent. The subject is the legal slave of the Executive. If he is treated favourably, so much the better for him. If he is treated harshly or contemptuously, so much the worse. But it is the Minister of this or of that who decides, and against his ruling there appears to be no greater opposition than an Italian to a decree of the Fascist Council.

The following from Lord Atkin's protest should be studied by all who are not to be satisfied with mere talk about British liberties:—

"It has always been one of the pillars of freedom, one of the principles of liberty, for which on recent authority we are now fighting, that Judges are no respecters of persons, and stand between the subject and any attempted encroachment on his liberty by the Executive.

"In this case I have listened to arguments which might have been addressed acceptably to the Court of King's Bench in the time of Charles I. I protest, even if I do it alone, against a strained construction put upon words with the effect of giving an uncontrolled power of imprisonment to the Minister.

"I know of only one authority which might easily justify the suggested method of construction. 'When I use a word,' Humpty-Dumpty said in a rather

Duke forbidden travel to Eire

Duke Will Not Be Allowed to Go to Dublin

By the Parliamentary Correspondent

The Duke of Bedford, who was interested earlier in the

not go to Ireland without per it, and continued:—

whom I have not detained. I it him except that I am inter long as I am Home Secretary and so long as his opinion and activities are what they are, he will not go to Dublin. That is the Duke of Bed ford."

If there was to be no restric on it would mean that the uke of Bedford or any mem r of the House of Commons. hatever his opinion about the ar effort might be, would tomatically have the right to to Ireland, and that would dangerous.

Premier Protests

Mr. McGovern said that when he Duke of Bedford went to ublin he went for the express urpose of meeting the German mbassador, Lord Halifax gave im permission.

"I did not want to meet and iscuss anything with the Ger an Ambassador because I ave nothing in common with ese people.

"I made two perfectly raight applications, both were efused and I think both could e justified from the point of iew of national interest."

Earlier in the debate, Mr. faxton (I.L.P., Bridgeton) said he Minister regarded the re ention of his position as the ast word in national interest. nd Sir Archibald Southby (C., psom) declared that he was rrogating to himself the right o say what was in the national

'Peace' Duke Warned by Morrison

In Danger of Detention

By PERCY CATER, Daily Mail Parliamentary Correspondent

SENSATIONAL mention of the Duke of Bedford as a person in whose activities he was "interested" was made by Mr. Herbert Morrison, Home Secretary, last night.

Duke of Bedford.

PEACE DUKE WARNED

Morrison: I, am watching him

Express Staff Reporter

MR HERBERT MORRISON, Home Secretary, told the House of Commons last night that he is "interested in the activities" of the 52-year-old Duke of Bedford, who has

DUKE OF BEDFORD GETS WARNING

DUKE ASKED TO END LEASE

THE Duke of Bedford has been asked to terminate his tenancy

By H. R. S. PHILLPOTT

"THERE is one noble lord in whom I am interested, and as long as his opinions and activities are what they

'I AM WATCHING DUKE OF BEDFORD'

Morrison bans him from Dublin

Express Staff Reporter

MR. HERBERT MORRISON, Home Secretary, told the House of Commons last night that he is "interested in the activities" of the 52-year-old Duke of Bedford, who has just issued a 7,000-word peace-plan pamphlet called "What a Game!"

Mr. Morrison is watching me'

SAYS DUKE OF BEDFORD

Express Staff Reporter

"MR. HERBERT MORRISON may shut me up, but it's one of the risks I have to take," said the Duke of Bedford to me at his Scottish mansion at Cairnsmore yesterday.

DUKE'S DUBLIN VISIT NORTHERN LABOUR CONCERNED

At yesterday's meeting of the Northern Labour Party Conference in Belfast, a resolution was passed viewing with concern the statement in the British House of Commons that the Duke of Bedford met the German Minister at Dublin, through arrange-

DUBLIN VISIT BY DUKE IS BANNED

(From Our Parliamentary Representative)

WESTMINSTER, Tuesday.

THE Duke of Bedford, better known as the Marquess of

Yellow Paint On Statue Of Duke

THE statue of Francis, Duke of Bedford, in Russell-square, London, W.C., was splashed on the face and breast with yellow paint during the night.

"V" signs in paint and chalk had been printed all over it.

"TRAITOR" ON DUKE'S STATUE

THE statue of Francis, Duke of Bedford, ancestor of the

DUKE OF BEDFORD AGAIN BANNED FROM EIRE

The Duke of Bedford, the pacifist peer, has been banned by the Home Secretary from visiting Eire. A few months ago the Duke refused to continue to support the Church of England in general and specific parishes under his patronage in particular, because of the support given by the Church to the war.

MORRISON REVEALS BAN ON DUKE

THE Duke of Bedford was named in the House of Commons on Tuesday by Mr. Herbert

THE PURSUIT OF PACIFISM

Even in the days of Castlereagh and Sidmouth the press did not dare to carry headlines like those included in the above composite picture. We have another picture ready to publish next month. Fellow-countrymen of Thomas Paine and Richard Carlile cannot afford to tolerate such continued invasion of the rights of citizens. This journal supports Lord Atkin in his considered judgment and the sixty odd M.P.'s who have revolted against 18B Regulations. The powers of the Home Secretary are absolute and he has rejected the findings of his own Advisory Committee in 128 cases. Dukes should be prosecuted like dustmen, if necessary; but neither duke nor dustman ought to be denounced in irresponsible headlines like those produced above from the millionaire press.

scornful tone, 'it means just what I choose it to mean.' The question is,' said Alice, 'whether you can make words mean different things. The question is, which is to be master—that's all.'"

That is all. It was the question that Hitler put to the Germans, and which he decided by appointing his own judges and deciding the question beforehand. The late Lord Chief Justice published a book denouncing the destruction here, step by step, of the freedom about which we boast so much. The right of the subject to appeal to the Courts against even the most powerful Minister of State was never questioned until recent years. To-day it is being openly spurned. We are pleased to find one of our Law Lords reminding the world of what liberty means—or did mean.

Very many times in recent years we have called attention to the way in which the constitutional rights of the English people were being frittered away by successive governments. We now, not for the first time, mention but one phase of this destruction of individual freedom. For years Parliament, with the general public showing its customary sheep-like docility, has been frittering away civil liberty from the subject by a transference of almost despotic power to the Minister of this and that Department. We need not be conquered by Hitler to become a nation of robots—Parliament, unless watched, will see to that by its development of Ministerial autocracy before the war, its elaboration during the war, and—unless the English people act in an un-English manner — its continuation and establishment afterwards.

Lord Atkin is one of the most distinguished jurists of our time. He has been Lord of Appeal in Ordinary since 1928. Born in 1867, and educated at Magdalen College, Oxford, Lord Atkin became a Barrister in 1891, a Bencher and a K.C. in 1906. He was a Judge of the High Court, 1916-1919, and Lord Justice of Appeal, 1919-28. During the conclusion of the last war he was Judge of the Munitions Tribunals Appeals Court, 1918-19. Since the close of the last war Lord Atkin has occupied the following positions: President of Naturalisation of Aliens (Revocation) Committee, 1918-19; Chairman of War Cabinet Committee on Women in Industry, 1918-19; Chairman of Termination of the War Committee, 1918; Member of Committee on British and Foreign Legal Procedure, 1918-1919; Lord Justice of Appeal, 1919-28; Chairman of Irish Deportees Compensation Tribunal, 1924; Chairman of Committee on Crime and Insanity, 1924; President of Medico-Legal Society, 1923-27; Chairman of Council of Legal Education, 1919-34, etc.

We do not think that the citizens of Britain ought to set aside lightly the reasoned judgment of this jurist. Nor should the democracy put the aggressive utterances of the Prime Minister or the Home Secretary above the argued legal statement enunciated by Lord Atkin. In *The Word* for June, 1940, we reproduced the House of Commons discussion and Government's undertakings as to the nature and extent of its war defences. To every intelligent and reflective reader it must be clear that the present attitude of the Prime Minister and the Home Secretary violates the pledges then given and constitutes an *unpardonable* breach of faith.

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MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT VISITS TO IRELAND

HERBERT MORRISON ATTACKS THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

[. . . In the House of Commons on Tuesday, October 21, 1921, Sir Irving Albery raised the question of M.P.'s visits to Ireland. We have the OFFICIAL PARLIAMENTARY REPORT (Vol. 374, No. 110. Tuesday, October 21, 1941, vols. 1703-1754) before us. We regret that space does not permit the publication of full report and we ask our readers to obtain the full report from H.M. Stationery Office, post-free, for 7d. Meantime readers are asked to content themselves with this summary, which omits the trimmings. Unfortunately some of the trimmings are as tell-tale as the essence of the speeches, and make more delightful reading.

John McGovern's speech should be read in full. Summary does not do it justice and the more curious and entertaining passages are omitted from this record as being irrelevant. McGovern said that, at no time had he done anything to sabotage the efforts of the country or aid the enemy in any way. Some people think that the very fact of being an anti-militarist in war-time is sabotage. If McGovern meant to say that he had no sympathy with Nazism, the point could have been made better. Socialism has nothing in common with Fascism. It has nothing in common with Imperialism either. Eugene Debs on his famous trial in Cleveland, Ohio, in September, 1918, defined the Socialist attitude towards war in war-time in one of the most wonderful orations delivered from the dock. The function of the Socialist is to be opposed to ALL Imperialism and ALL Imperialisms equally.

McGovern reminded Morrison of the violence of his (Morrison's) Anti-Militarist declarations during the Great War. This point was sound. But when he related his conversation with Healy and proceeded to describe the Duke of Bedford's visit to Dublin in 1940, he was pitifully weak. McGovern said: "I DID NOT MEET THE GERMAN AMBASSADOR BECAUSE I HAVE NOTHING IN COMMON WITH SUCH PEOPLE." This is pandering to reaction, stupidity, and fear. Of course, McGovern ought not to have anything in common "with such people." BUT HE DID VISIT BOTH GERMANY AND ITALY. George Lansbury met both Mussolini and Hitler. Did Lansbury have anything in common with these people? And Labour Prime Minister, Ramsay MacDonald was photographed shaking hands with Mussolini.

The great facts overlooked in this discussion are: (1) A member of the House of Lords does not enjoy the same alleged representative position as a M.P.; (2) The Duke of Bedford has not asked to go to Ireland and his no wish to go there. The whole business is a question of an analogy, quite interesting and even sound up to a point, being pursued to an absurdity, to justify irresponsible powers being enjoyed by a single Minister of State.—Ed.]

Sir Irving Albery (C.—Gravesend), raising the question of the refusal of the Home Office to allow Mr. McGovern (I.L.P.—Shettleston) to visit Northern Ireland on what he considered to be one of his Parliamentary duties, said that it raised two issues. One was the right of the Home Office to prevent members going anywhere they wished in the United Kingdom, and the other was the refusal to allow a member to inquire into a detention under Regulation 18B.

The issues were raised by the stand taken by Mr. Peake, the Under Secretary for Home Affairs, on Tuesday, October 14. Sir Irving disputed the right of the Home Secretary to apply either veto. He also could not bring himself to believe that the Under Secretary in taking this position was accurately interpreting Mr. Morrison's mind.

Sir Hugh O'Neill (C.—Antrim) pointed out that the regulations governing the issue of exit permits to Ireland provided that a permit could always be granted in the case of a journey being undertaken on any point of national importance. He would have thought it was a question of national importance for an M.P. to exercise his rights and privileges by travelling to Northern Ireland to investigate the case of a person detained under Regulation 18B.

The only consideration which ought to weigh with the Home Secretary would be if he thought that the M.P. concerned was himself likely to do something prejudicial to the national security. If it were so, probably the M.P. should be arrested. At any rate the permit could then be properly refused.

Mr. Maunder (L.—Wolverhampton E.) maintained that unless there were overwhelming grounds of national security involved a member of Parliament should be allowed to travel to any part of the United Kingdom and to any British Dominion.

Squadron-Leader P. W. Donner (C.—Basingstoke) said that the principle at issue affected every member of both Houses of Parliament. He believed that one had to draw a distinction between M.P.'s and the general public, because M.P.'s had certain constitutional functions to fulfil, whereas the ordinary citizen has no such similar function. There were two schools of thought. One said that, in order to win the war, we must surrender a great number of liberties and much of our freedom. The other believed in making as few infringements on liberty as possible. He sympathised with the second view. "Dora" remained for 20 years after the last war and never disappeared.

Mr. J. J. Davidson (Lab.—Maryhill) asked why Squadron-Leader Donner had supported Franco, who suppressed Parliamentary representation.

Donner said he believed in parliamentary democracy in Britain, but held that it was corrupt and incompetent in a Latin country. He asked the Home Secretary to rescind his decision.

Mr. Herbert Morrison (Home Secretary, S. Hackney, Lab.) said that he had administered the 18B regulations fairly. He had released well over half the members of the British Union who had been interned.

It was a far more serious thing in one way to allow a man to go to Dublin than it was to allow him to go to Australia or Canada or even America. It must be remembered that in Southern Ireland there were friends of ours, but let us not hedge the fact there were enemies of this country as well, and moreover in Dublin, unlike the capital of Australia, of Canada, or of South Africa, there was a German Legation, and the fact of that German Legation being in Dublin was a material consideration which the House really must take into account.

Mr. McGovern's applications, one of which was written and one made by telephone, requested permission for a visit to Ireland generally, both Northern Ireland and Eire.

If the Home Office received an application from an M.P. it was always given careful and special consideration, and if there was any reasonable ground of public interest it would be their wish to say "Yes." They would much sooner say "Yes" than "No." That was the spirit in which they had sought to administer the regulations.

He was only asking that a member in making application should give reasonable grounds as to why, in the pursuance of his Parliamentary duties, it was to the national interests that he should go.

Mr. Morrison continued that the House of Lords had as much right to their privileges and liberties as the House of Commons.

Mr. Morrison added:—

"There is one noble lord whom I have not detained. I am not saying anything about him except that I am interested in his activities, and so long as I am Home Secretary and so long as his opinion and activities are what they are he will not go to Dublin. That is the Duke of Bedford."

If there was to be no restriction it would mean that the Duke of Bedford or any member of the House of Commons, whatever his opinion about the war effort might be, would automatically have the right to go to Ireland, and that would be dangerous. As Home Secretary he could not be party to giving the automatic right to any member of the Legislature to go to any part of Ireland.

Mr. Stokes (Lab.—Ipswich) asked whether it was in order for a Minister to impute wrong-doing to a member of the House of Lords when no charge of any kind had been preferred against him.

The Speaker: It would be better not to refer to a member of the House of Lords.

Mr. Morrison said he was obliged to Mr. Stokes for warning him off ground which it was better for him not to tread.

Continuing, Mr. Morrison said Mr. McGovern's first application was to go to Ireland as chairman of the I.L.P. for special observation and survey and in order to ascertain from various people in Ireland what they thought was the best means of defeating Nazism and Fascism.

Having regard to the nature and the policy of the I.L.P. he was not at all sure that it would be right for him as Home Secretary to give Mr. McGovern specific permission because it would mean that he was, so to speak, giving him some kind of recognition.

Within a few days Mr. McGovern went to him and raised a different reason for going—a reason unrelated to his first. He said he had seen Mr. Cahir Healy in Brixton Prison and that he wanted to go to Ireland to investigate Mr. Healy's case and to get further information so that Mr. Healy could lay it before the Home Secretary. He could not convince himself that a visit to Ireland by Mr. McGovern would affect one way or another Mr. Healy's case.

Mr. McGovern (I.L.P.—Shettleston) said he did not agree with Mr. Morrison's interpretation of the rights of members. He said he received a letter from Mr. Healy and saw him at Brixton Prison. There was no difficulty in seeing him and the officials were very courteous. Regarding his arrest, Mr. Healy told him that an interpretation put by the Home Office on one of his letters differed from that which he himself held.

Mr. McGovern said he told Mr. Healy that he might be able to assist if a wrong interpretation was being put upon his proposed acts. Mr. Healy expressed willingness that he should go and see the people in Ireland, find out from them what they were prepared to say on their honour, and place the information before the Home Office.

He told Mr. Healy that if he found out that he (Mr. Healy) or any of his associates proposed to do anything that was detrimental to the State he would wash his hands entirely of it, because he was opposed to war.

Earl Winterton (Horsham and Worthing, U.) said that he supported the Home Secretary in his contention that the restrictions must apply in some cases to members of Parliament. But he felt strongly that this case smelt of political discrimination. Other members had been allowed to go to Ireland. Why then drag in now the question of the neutrality of Southern Ireland?

Mr. Morrison said that he hoped he was not guilty of political discrimination. He was certainly not conscious of it.

Earl Winterton said that if the Home Secretary was going to say that Mr. McGovern should not be allowed to go to Ireland because he was a dangerous person, they were getting near to political discrimination. There might be a general rule that no member should go to Ireland, but the Home Secretary had propounded a new doctrine.

Mr. Churchill, Prime Minister (Epping, U.), said that a statutory duty was imposed on Mr. Morrison personally as Secretary of State, and he could not avoid it. It was a little unjust to put him in the dock for carrying out a duty which Parliament had imposed upon him.

Earl Winterton said that if it was argued that the regulations placed on the Home Secretary a duty to decide whether or not it was in the national interest that a particular member should go to a particular part of the country, the sooner the regulations were altered the better.

Sir A. Southby (Epsom, U.) said that any member could be locked up under 18B without the House being told why. The Home Secretary arrogated to himself the right to decide whether or not Mr. McGovern should go to Ireland.

Mr. Churchill.—The Home Secretary does not arrogate that right to himself. This duty has been placed upon him by the House. That may be right or wrong. If wrong, the House can change it. The House is all-powerful. But to say that the Home Secretary arrogates this right to himself is most unfair.

Sir A. Southay said that in the House and the country there was a feeling that Regulation 18B was passed in haste and should be, to some extent, amended.

Mr. J. Griffiths said that on the whole the Home Secretary had operated 18B to general satisfaction.

Mr. Maxton (Glasgow, Bridgeton, I.L.P.) said that the Home Secretary's statement was not satisfactory. He hoped the right hon. gentleman would get into contact with representative members of the House and put the matter on a basis satisfactory from the point of view of the national welfare and in keeping with the democratic right of members.

Mr. Churchill said that there was no part of the powers conferred on the Government in this time of trial that he viewed with greater repugnance than those of exceptional process against the liberty of the subject without the ordinary safeguards which were inherent in British life. Habeas Corpus, the Petition of Rights and trial by jury, were part of what we were fighting to preserve. They were determined that they should not be inroaded upon by anything except the need of self-preservation which arose in time of war.

He recognised that this legislation and the regulations were passed at a moment of great danger. It was possible that if in this lull—it was only a lull—the matter were considered the House would be in a different temper. He would feel very proud, very happy, if he could come to the House even while the war was going on and say that our position was so good and solid, the path before us so firm and clear, that the Government could, even in time of war, of their own free will give back to Parliament those special powers they had entrusted to them. Unhappily that was not the case at present.

In the meanwhile he could not conceive how Parliament could better get control of the exercise of those abnormal powers than by insisting upon their being exercised on the discretion of a Minister present in the House and accountable to them. The Minister had been made accountable to the House. He had explained in the greatest detail his use of the powers in a particular case. It must be a discretionary power. The manner in which his right hon. friend had explained the position had given the House a feeling, first of all, of the submissiveness of the executives to the Parliamentary institution, and, secondly, of the ease with which those powers were exercised.

He particularly resented the suggestion that they were adopting the methods of Fascist States. They were not. They were the servants of the House.

Mr. Bevan (Lab.—Ebbw Vale) said the whole issue was, did the Home Secretary exercise his powers in a judicial and reasonable manner? "I am not satisfied that the administration of the Home Secretary is impartial," he said.

Mr. Logan (Lab.—Scotland, Liverpool) suggested that the Home Secretary and Mr. McGovern might have a chat together over the situation.

The House rose.

BRITAIN'S CONCHIES

Many citizens will be shocked to learn that in spite of all assurances and protestations against the penalisation of conscientious objectors, there is now over 500 young men in prison for war resistance. Of these over one hundred are serving one year, the maximum penalty that can be imposed by Police Courts in England and Sheriff Courts, by summary conviction, in Scotland. Most of them, when released, will be liable to be prosecuted and imprisoned again and again.

Section 13 of the National Service (Armed Forces) Act, 1939, provides an opportunity for conscientious objectors who have been unsuccessful before the tribunals and have consequently been drafted into the Army to present their cases again to the Appellate Tribunal if they have been sentenced by court-martial to imprisonment for three months or more.

If the Appellate Tribunal considers that the offence which led to the court-martial was committed on grounds of conscience it may recommend that the man be transferred to non-combatant duties *or* that he be registered as a C.O. conditionally on performing civilian work *or* that he be so registered without condition. These recommendations are binding.

A concession allows a similar right to soldiers who did not register as C.O.'s before going into the Army.

Conscientious objectors who resist service in the Army are, therefore, entitled to have their cases reviewed after they have been imprisoned for their beliefs. This right forms a valuable safeguard against "cat-and-mouse" treatment.

Most of the C.O.'s now in prison are there because they refuse on conscientious grounds to be medically examined for the Army. They believe medical examination to be solely for military service and the first step towards that service which their consciences forbid them to perform. Upon that they have made their stand.

In no circumstances are C.O.'s who resist medical examination entitled to have their consciences re-examined at any time.

It ought to be the business of the Government to devise means whereby these may be accorded similar rights to those serving in the Army.

"Odious to the British people." That is how Winston Churchill, speaking in the House of Commons on March 20, 1941, described anything in the nature of persecution, victimisation, or man-hunting of conscientious objectors. In spite of this declaration, the imprisonment of upright citizens continues, because they have more conscience than the Tribunals supposed.

Some of the Court cases are a disgrace to democracy.

R. Elcock, 34 Goldsmith Road, Acton, W.3, came before the Middlesex Recorder, Mr. St. John G. Micklethwait, K.C., at the Quarter Sessions, Westminster, on September 25. He had been remanded for trial from Acton Petty Sessions on a charge of failing to obey a Court Order that he should submit to medical examination.

Prosecuting Counsel opened the case by saying *that this was the first case to be brought on indictment.* He briefly reviewed the legal position before the passing of the 1941 Act.

The Recorder: Can't they examine him if he refuses to agree?

Prosecuting Counsel: No, there is no power to examine if he refuses. Counsel then summarised the facts of the case. Defendant had been sent two Medical Notices and had failed to attend in response to either.

Counsel said that defendant refused to be examined unless he was guaranteed entry into the Medical Corps. He had been told that since he had been given non-combatant duties he would be put into a corps which fed the Pioneer Corps and the R.A.M.C.

Defendant, when asked whether he wanted to say anything, said that as a Christian he thought

it wrong to destroy life. He had no objection to service in the Medical Corps in order to save life.

The Recorder: But the Non-combatant Corps does not destroy life.

Defendant: It is allied to those who kill.

The Recorder: Is it—felling trees, and so on?

Prosecuting Counsel, in reply to a question from the Recorder, said that at the end of his sentence defendant would still be liable to be served with another Medical Natice and the procedure repeated, though he (Counsel) had not yet heard of any such case.

The Recorder then addressed the defendant and informed him that he had defied the Order of the Court. He had refused to do his duty; no decent Englishman would refuse. He (the Recorder) was glad to hear that defendant would still be liable to be proceeded against at the end of his sentence. Defendant would go to prison for one month.

William V. Sedgwick of Guiseley, and Frank Kershaw of Bradford, appeared before the Bench on the charge of failing to comply with an order of the Court requiring them to be medically examined.

Sedgwick was sentenced to *ten months*, and Kersham to *six months*, both in the second division.

The Bench was told that Sedgwick and Kershaw had been taken before the medical board at the same time.

Stipendiary Magistrate: "It was a psychological mistake to take them there together. They back each other up."

The prosecuting solicitor said he would draw attention to the suggestion.

On September 30, sentencing Joseph C. Slater, the Chairman of the Crewe Bench, said that the magistrates had no alternative but to send him to prison for 12 months. On October 9, the Tottenham Police Court, which had given many sentences of 6 months, sentenced Norman Blunsdon to 12 months' imprisonment. Their patience was exhausted.

Lambeth Police Court reversed its attitude. Previously it had sentenced "conchies" to 2 or 3 months. On September 12th it sentenced Jack Monk of Leeds, who was doing I.V.S.P. demolition work, to one day's imprisonment.

At Norwich, Herbert Storey, a schoolmaster, registered by the Tribunal for non-combatant duties, was prosecuted for refusing to attend his medical. First hearing was adjourned for five weeks; second hearing was also adjourned. At the third hearing, on October 4, Storey's solicitor pleaded the Probation of Offenders' Act. *By a majority, the Magistrates placed Storey on 12 months' probation (own recognizance of £5) on condition he took up ambulance work or similar work under the Society of Friends or P.P.U. or agriculture. This is the first type of decision in this war.*

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APATHY OR AWARENESS

By EVELYN DAWSON

Throughout the ages mankind has often been stricken down remorsely by the inexorable hand of nature in her various forms, and also by accidents caused by human negligence, but never until now has humanity been such a victim of sudden death and terrible suffering, nor been forced to face desolation and destruction through the wilful instigation of man. This has not descended on us as an unexpected catastrophe. For twenty years the Pacifists have predicted the inevitableness of the horrors of the present grim tragedy unless a complete change of international policy was effected, but the controllers would not hearken to our words, and the masses were influenced by them, or else were apathetic. The majority failed even to read the writing on the wall during those months of unprecedented frightfulness in Abyssinia, in Spain and in China, else surely the leaders would never have allowed the approaching avalanche to gain such momentum as to make it well night impossible to stop. If there had been any general proper awareness of the realities of modern warfare, and its after effects, it would have aroused a determination to remove the causes of the threatening calamity. Then, late as it was, there would have followed some constructive policies instead of that concentration upon destruction which was so predominant in those years of armed peace which preceded this war.

Undoubtedly, it is to the amazing lack of real active imagination, particularly during the last two decades, that must be attributed most of the responsibility for the precipitous descent towards our present state of existence, which is worse than barbarism. And it would seem that this same noticeable failure to understand with sympathetic awareness what is really happening, or to perceive the appalling possibilities of this hellish form of warfare, is preventing any widespread desire to stop the war.

The majority of people never even contemplate any alternative policy to the continuation of aerial reprisals attacks, which will by the very nature of war increase in intensity and diabolical inventiveness. Through the propaganda of the press and the B.B.C., which not only gives primary importance to the lack of military damage here, and the reverse with our exploits over Germany, but gives no proper idea of the casualties at the time, the full effect, significance and horror of the raids has not been realised by the nation as a whole. Personal sufferers have been tragically aware of their own loss and experience. The people of each town see the devastation, and some will know what has been involved in such havoc, but the realisation appears to be largely confined to this, except when the public imagination is stirred, for a short period, by a Coventry or a Fire of London. War always destroys the value and sacredness of human life, and this is particularly evident now, even when the casualties reach into the thousands for a month. Far fewer victims in peace time would have aroused active sympathy throughout the world, and called for inquiries and for drastic steps to be taken for the avoidance of the possible recurrence. One recalls the great world-wide reaction to the Titanic disaster, the Gresford Colliery catastrophe, the R.101, or "The Thetis." To-day far greater tragedies than these are regarded almost as something inevitable that we must endure, or "take it" for the sake of that "new world" ahead, which will be new, but not in the way that the masses are thinking—if they think at all. The outcome of this war is certainly not going to be the assured decisive victory that so many imagined in 1939, but whatever happens, all the countries concerned are going to be bereft of valuable lives, and filled either with physical wrecks, nerve-shaken and maimed, or with people dulled and lifeless through personal loss of friends, or of evertyhing that makes a home. The prevailing attitude towards the tragedy that has befallen us is being proclaimed as real courage, and rightly so in the cases of hundreds of individuals, but there is a grave danger of the general calmness leading to complacency. That is why the adaptability to shelter life—a sad existence for twentieth century civilisation, whatever steps are taken to ameliorate the conditions— is alarming because of its conscious and psychological effect upon the people. It is all tending to develop a static state of mass-mindedness with a consequent repression of individuality, which is an unhealthy condition for the present, uut, as well, is making the way ready for a totalitarian state when the war does finish.

Dare we continue to foster this apathetic mass atrophy of soul? It is vital for the sake of present humanity and of posterity, for civilisation and culture, comprising all the creative power of man throughout the ages, for the sake of the Eternal values of Life, that the imagination should be fully alive both to the realities of the appalling tragedy that people are experiencing, men and women of flesh and blood like ourselves, and of the state of the world afterwards. Also, it is equally essential that there should be proper realisation of the life for which we are preparing, if this holocaust of human life, this suffering, this wanton destruction and chaotic waste is allowed to go on and on. Once there is more awareness the living sap will begin to rise again, and we will emerge from this dark, almost dead winter that man has produced. The desperate need of the hour is the courage to start and stimulate this revivifying power, the kind of courage of pioneers, of the martyrs, of Gandhi, of Jesus of Nazareth, the supreme example for all time.

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" 28—No Meeting.

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THE EDITOR'S TRIALS
IN THE DOCK

II.—GLASGOW SEDITION TRIAL, 1921

(Continued from page 45).

. . . . Last month we reproduced the "Glasgow Herald" reports of the 1921 trial. In this issue we note passages from other Capitalist press reports. These cover incidents omitted by the "G.H." or reported differently. Where a report is quoted at length date of the paper is indicated above each report.—Ed.

VI.—"EVENING NEWS," GLASGOW.

MONDAY, JUNE 20, 1921.

GLASGOW'S HEAVY HIGH COURT.

Police Precautions at To-day's Sittings.

AUDIENCE SEARCHED.

A somewhat unusual calendar of cases was submitted at the sitting of Glasgow High Court which commenced at the Justiciary Buildings, Jail Square, to-day.

In all there are 29 cases, involving 74 persons. Two capital charges are included in the list, but most interest will centre in the trials in which a Sinn Fein element is introduced. Several batches of individuals are charged with one or other of the following offences:—Sedition; illegal drilling; contravention of the Explosive Substances Act; mobbing and rioting. The last named charge is brought against eighteen persons, the arrests being the sequel to the apprehension of Father McRory in Abercromby Street on the night of the Sinn Fein ambush on the police patrol van. . . .

GALLERY AUDIENCE SEARCHED BY POLICE.

Unprecedented interest was taken in the court proceedings. Hundreds of persons assembled outside the Justiciary Buildings—perhaps a record crowd in the recent history of High Court trials in Glasgow, but the police were more vigilant and alert than hitherto, and refused to allow them to linger opposite the court buildings. As a result the Saltmarket pavements were deeply lined with people. . . .

The demands for admission to the court galleries were heavy, and the police took the unusual precaution of searching every person who entered the court precincts.

Lord Skerrington presided in the North and Lord Hunter in the South Court. The Lord Provost and several Magistrates were present at the outset.

SEDITION CHARGE.
Guy Aldred in Court.

A long legal discussion heralded the commencement of the sedition charge against Guy Alfred Aldred . . .

Mr. Aldred, who was undefended, in a long speech, also held that there was nothing seditious in the statements. . . .

TUESDAY, JUNE 21, 1921.

CITY COMMUNISTS ON TRIAL.

Prisoner Cites Sir E. Carson's Speeches.

VERDICT AND SENTENCES.

Lord Skerrington at Glasgow High Court today resumed the hearing of the case in which Guy Aldred, London, the well-known English Communist and editor of *The Spur;* Jane H. Patrick; Douglas McLeish, and Andrew Fleming, all of Glasgow, were charged with seditiously printing, publishing and circulating a newspaper called *The Red Commune,* the organ of the Glasgow Communist Group.

As was the case yesterday, the police took the precaution of searching all persons who gained admission to the public galleries of the court. The new policy of refusing to allow crowds to congregate opposite the courthouses had the desired effect, and to-day, there were more police than public outside the buildings.

ALDRED AND SIR E. CARSON.

Aldred, who last night spoke for over an hour, to-day occupied another hour in his resumed address to the jury. He recalled the speeches made eight years ago by Sir Edward Carson and Lord Birkenhead, speeches which were so well calculated to incite to violence and sedition that they prevented a constitutional solution of the Irish problem and were responsible for the murders and outrages taking place in Ireland to-day. These men were now honoured judges in England, and what the workers felt was that if you preached seditton in a certain way you might be honoured by being invited to fill the highest positions in the land, but the workers who were without culture and University education, and said things bluntly, found that a different attitude was taken up in regard to anything they might say.

Continuing, Aldred produced the banner of the Communist group in Glasgow. Holding it up to the jury, he pointed out that it depicted the rising sun of Communism, the golden era of freedom, and the sword of militarism being destroyed by the working man. "Freedom our battleground" was their motto, and he submitted that this banner showed that they did not believe in violence. In conclusion, he said Communism might be wrong, but freedom of the Press must always be right, and he asked for a verdict of not guilty . . .

VERDICT AND SENTENCE.

The jury returned a verdict of guilty as libelled, only one dissenting from this decision.

Aldred pointed out to his Lordship that he had already served one hundred days in prison. He had only been guilty of a general kind of sedition, not pointing to anything immediate, and persons recently convicted of direct incitement had received sentences much less than the hundred days already served by the speaker.

Aldred later scored a point by protesting that the certificate relating to a previous conviction bore a different date from that which appeared in the list of productions.

Mr. McRobert, Advocate-Depute, acknowledged that a mistake had been made, and agreed that his Lordship should rule the evidence of the conviction as cancelled . . .

VII.—"EVENING TIMES," GLASGOW.

The *Evening Times,* Glasgow, for Monday, June 20, 1921, reported the trial beneath the following main heading and cross-headings:—

WHAT IS SEDITION?

A Communist Publication.
Foundation of Communist Group.

Scots Warrant in England.

This report covered much the same ground as the *Glasgow Herald* report, but expressed a little more colour. We quote the following passages from the *Times'* Monday's report:—

"The next case in the North Court was the trial of four persons, including Guy Alfred Aldred, the well-known Communist. All four accused were of respectable appearance. One of them, Jane Hamilton Patrick, was a lady of small stature, wearing a brown costume. The two other accused were Douglas M'Leish and Andrew Fleming, two middle-aged men. . . .

PHILOSOPHICAL IDEAS.

Ann Menzies Scott Donaldson, an attractive young lady from Dalmuir, gave her age as 22 years, and said she joined Glasgow Communist Group in May, 1920. She was examined regarding the meetings of the Communist Group of which she was for a time minute-secretary. The discussion after the business meetings were on philosophical ideas, and there were never any suggestions of violence or incitement. She never saw the accused Fleming at any of the meetings."

The *Evening Times* for Tuesday, June 21, gave the following headings and cross-headings to its report:—

COMMUNISTS SENTENCED.

Cases at the High Court To-day.

SEDITION CHARGE FOUND PROVED.

COMMUNISTS' DEFENCE.

Communist Banner in Court.

The *Times'* report again introduced a little colour. We make the following extract:—

"The closing stages of the sedition trial were entered upon this morning in the North Court before Lord Skerrington and a jury. Of the latter eight are women. When the Court met this morning the Clerk (Mr. Rae) read the names of the jury, and it was observed that one of the women members was absent. Shortly afterwards the absentee hurried to her seat. . . .

"When the Court adjourned yesterday Aldred, who was defending himself and Patrick and M'Leish (Fleming, the printer, was defended by Mr. Morton, K.C.), was engaged addressing the jury. His speech had extended to more than an hour when the Court adjourned. To-day he resumed his address. He had been in custody overnight, but the three other prisoners had been out on bail, and when they took their seats to-day it was observed that Fleming wore a 'buttonhole' of pansies."

(To be continued.)

LEIGH FISHER CONVICTED

In our June issue we reported the Tribunal hearings of our Comrade, Leigh Fisher. The Tribunals held that he was genuine in his views and statements, but that his objections were political, and not conscientious, within the meaning of the National Service Acts.

On Tuesday, November 4, he was convicted at the Sheriff Court, Hamilton. The *Hamilton Advertiser* report reads as follows:

C.O.s IN COURT.

Burnbank and Fallside Men Detained for "Medicals."

Two conscientious objectors were convicted at the Sheriff Court on Tuesday of having failed to comply with notices served in terms of the National Service (Armed Forces) Act, 1939. They were Leigh Fisher, 118 High Blantyre Road, Burnbank, and John Callaghan, 1 Sanderson Avenue, Fallside, Uddingston.

Ministry of Labour officers and others gave evidence. Both accused, it was stated, registered as conscientious objectors. They appeared before the local Tribunal, and their names were ordered to be removed from the register of C.O.s, and the Appellate Tribunal upheld those decisions. The notices referred to in the complaints were subsequently sent to them by registered post, but the accused failed to appear at the medical board centre in Motherwell, as required, on July 28 and August 21 respectively.

Neither of the accused asked the witnesses any questions.

Fisher, addressing the Court, said that he remained a conscientious objector and was not willing to engage in war. He had to square his conduct with his conscience, and he felt that he must refuse to acknowledge the right of the State to impose military service upon him. He was registering his protest, he added, with great respect.

Callaghan did not make any statement.

The Sheriff imposed on each a penalty of £5 or 30 days' imprisonment, and made an order that they be detained for medical examination.

EDDLEWOOD MAN'S ATTITUDE.

A plea of guilty was tendered by John Thomas Carracher, 53 Meikle Earnock Road, Eddlewood, to a charge of having failed to appear at the same centre on September 4.

The accused was asked if he was now willing to submit to medical examination.

"Yes," he replied, "under protest."

He was fined £1, with a month to pay, and undertook to go to the centre for examination.

CAROLINE TEAPE.

Comrades of the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship and the United Socialist Movement will regret to learn of the death of Caroline Teape, wife of our comrade W. M. Teape. Born on June 2nd, 1870, Mrs. Teape passed away on July 27, 1941. Mrs. Teape was an earnest pacifist and member of A.P.F.

NORTHERN RHODESIAN COPPERBELT

NATIVE CONDITIONS EXPOSED IN A STRIKING HOUSE OF COMMONS SPEECH

By

A. CREECH JONES, M.P.

(Parliamentary Private Secretary to the Minister of Labour).

(Continued from page 41).

Mr. Leslie Boyne (Gloucester): The hon. gentleman has informed the House that a large sum of money is paid annually by way of dividends. In order that the amount he mentioned might have some meaning, will he say on what capital it has been paid? I am not asking for any purpose except for genuine information.

Mr. Creech Jones: For some of the companies the average yield may be 5½ per cent. over a long period of years. The actual dividend in recent years is infinitely higher. The point I am making is that out of the Colony, something like £3,000,000 to £5,000,000 is distributed every year to shareholders in London. This wealth is taken from the Colony where the total African wages are £3,000,000 to £5,000,000. That disparity is completely unjustifiable. It is not a question of how much capital is invested. It is a question of the enormous drainage of wealth from the Colony which ought to be retained for the well-being and happiness of the people.

The poverty, ill-health and under-nourishment of this Territory have a bearing on the industrial problem. When the Royal Commission reviewed the situation a year or so ago they pointed out how thin was the whole economic apparatus of the Territory. They urged a policy of development in agriculture and subsidiary industries which, they said, should be vigorously pursued, even in war-time. Otherwise, the drainage from the villages will not be modified and the appalling social consequences stopped. Major Orde-Browne pointed out in his report that there were probably 280,000 adult tax-payers in the Dependency. Of these, 90,000 were involved in employment out of the Dependency, 48,000 were unfit for full manual labour, 67,000 were wage earners in employment in the territory, and only 60,000 earned their livelihood other than by wageearning employment. These figures reveal how far wage-earning has developed over a great section of this Territory. The fact that people are obliged to leave their villages to seek wage-earning employment which has brought them in turn into contact with Western influences has a most unsettling effect.

I cannot appreciate in these circumstances why the North Rhodesian Government cannot make up their minds, as is revealed in their statement attached to this Report, on the vital issue whether there should be attached to the mines a permanent labour force. The Report informs us that 18 months is the average time away from the village on the Copperbelt. Large numbers of persons who leave their villages never return. The mine-owners themselves submitted in their evidence the necessity for the presence in the compounds of the wives and families of the labourers, and they pointed out that if there were to be contentment, morality, health and well-being among their people, proper arrangements must be made for the wives and families of the labourers to come into the compounds. At the Roan Antelope Mine three out of five men who are employed are married. How far accommodation can be provided depends on the general policy of the companies, but, judging from the figures in Major Orde-Browne's report, it is reasonable to say that in all cases the percentage where wives accompany husbands has tended to rise in recent years and that there is also a corresponding increase in the average period of employment of each labourer. At the Roan Antelope Mine 35 per cent. of the African labourers have stayed more than two years, and 21 per cent. have stayed for six months to two years. At Mufulira 23 per cent. have stayed for two years or more, and 25 per cent. from six months to two years. At Nkana 27 per cent. have stayed for more than two years and 31 per cent. from six months to two years. These are significant figures showing a tendency to the creation of an industrialised class of labour among the Africans and the creation of an African who is steadily becoming detribalised.

I submit that that tendency cannot easily be reversed. In point of fact, so far as the Belgian Congo is concerned, it has been accepted as a fact that a system of family settlement should be established, and the deliberate aim in the Belgian Congo is that the second generation of workers should not drift in from the villages but be born on the spot. If you are to stabilise and develop the countryside, then I think some greater stability will also have to be found in the Copperbelt itself; but the Northern Rhodesian Government would seem to have no definite policy as regards stabilisation or the establishment of a permanent labour force, and seem sometimes to ignore the fact that a wage-earning section of the African community has now been created, because, as pointed out by the Commission itself, with the vast resources of copper in this region the industry cannot be regarded as other than a permanent one.

The present uncertainty in policy seems to hold up social improvements in the compounds and makes for unsteady industrial conditions, because a well-thought-out policy cannot be pursued if there is a continuously changing mining population. After all, many of those people have left tribal authority and all that is associated with tribal life behind them. In a recent count in the Copperbelt it was found that two-thirds of the children were actually born in the mining areas. They have no real tribal life, and so it seems futile to prevent permanent settlement in order to preserve the tribal system when the Africans are subject to all these disintegrating factors. The abnormal social conditions in the Copperbelt are generally recognised, and they are an additional argument for building up a permanent labour force around the mines. The irregular unions, the uncontrolled and undisciplined children, create for those who are administering in this area some very grave social problems. In those conditions you cannot hope to preserve very much of the structure of tribal life, with its predominance of tradition, as in the villages. I suggest that if the Government do not favour a permanent family settlement at least they should hurry on with proper arrangements in respect to repatriation and recommitment and there should also be better schemes in respect of deferred pay. Above all, there should be a policy for agriculture in the villages.

Now let us look at the question of accommodation as provided in the Copperbelt. Surely more should be done to provide the accommodation required by married workers and their families. In my submission, home-making ought to be encouraged and everything done to ensure a stable permanent nucleus. If a slump did overtake the Copperbelt in the future it would be unlikely that it would have very much effect on the permanent labour force established in proper proportions along the lines I have suggested. Accordingly, the compounds should be made much more attractive and less ugly, greater privacy should be available for the Africans, and, as is pointed out in the report, there ought to be more tree-planting to reduce the dust and the glare. More should be done for recreation and diversion, I submit, and facilities provided in the compounds for the wives and others to grow vegetables and have a little land to cultivate.

I have not the time to say much more about the social needs of these areas, of the problem of the children, the adolescents and the women, and the necessity for the extension of education, but all these are fundamental questions in those areas. May I, in passing, emphasise the danger of this industrial bleeding artery which is draining away from the villages the vitally necessary manhood of the country? In some way or other the evil ought to be controlled, certainly modified. The social consequences in Northern Rhodesia are disastrous. Large numbers of men never return to the villages, where the standard of life tends to get steadily worse. If we are to counteract in some degree the effect on native society of all these disintegrating forces a more vigorous agricultural policy is urgently and fundamentally necessary, difficult as the working out of such a policy may be.

Then the Commission recommend means of expressing grievances and negotiating with managements on the special industrial problems of the Africans. They suggest that an "elder" system might be established to bridge the way to trade unionism. One recognises the difficulty of establishing full-fledged trade unionism among an illiterate people, and a people who have not grown up in a long industrial tradition, but I would point out that the "elder" system is not generally operative in the Copperbelt. At best, it has only functioned for compound purposes, and when the dispute occurred it seemed to break down altogether. Obviously, with the flow of labour in and out of the Copperbelt, the forms of combination such as we are most familiar with in this country cannot be established very easily, but I hope that in the case of the permanent labour force, of the more experienced Africans established about the mines, the practice of combination may be allowed to develop and, indeed, encouraged in every way.

I would hope that the labour advisers will do all they can to give a guiding and helping hand to the Africans, and that they will as time goes on seek practical methods of bringing into operation a more effective form of combination than the Elder system for dealing with all the problems that arise out of industrialism. But I notice that the system of "elders" does not altogether recommend itself to the Northern Rhodesian Government, and I should like to know whether they are retreating from this recommendation of the Commission. I suggest also that the labour officers should make it their business to intervene or to help the Africans in their industrial relations by not waiting for grievances to flare up but by seeing that modifications and improvements are introduced into African conditions of employment and thereby prevent friction and greater grievances arising. I would make the suggestion that labour officers should not be appointed merely for three years, but should have, as far as possible, a proper avenue of promotion and of first-class work inside the Labour Department itself, so that we should not have in the Colonial Service these continual transfers in and out of the labour officers. There should always be experienced labour officers to deal with the problems of industry.

I also ask the Under-Secretary of State to say what the Government are doing in respect of the problems of recruitment and repatriation as are mentioned in paragraph 198 of the report. Also, is it intended that penal sanctions shall be completely abolished in this territory? If so, how soon? Will early steps be taken to improve the existing workmen's compensation law? It is true that a new Ordinance has been put upon the Statute Book in recent months in Northern Rhodesia, but it is not as generous as it should be in its terms. In the event of death, for instance, the calculation is based on a computation of three and a half years' life. There should be a nearer approximation to the methods which have been adopted in our own country, inadequate as they are.

My last point is in reference to the colour bar, which is of fundamental importance. The colour bar is practised in the Dependency. The Commissioners desire that it should be modified. I submit that the policy, as set out by the Northern Rhodesian Government, looks very much as though that Government desire to perpetuate it. This matter really is the

touchstone of British administration in Africa. The notice of the Commissioners was drawn to the bitter resentment caused among African workers by the terms of address and the sneering attitude frequently used towards Africans by Europeans. Africans are employed to a limited extent on certain supervising jobs, and frequently on work calling for a great deal of skill. When the Commission was in Northern Rhodesia the Africans challenged the Europeans as to the volume of work which they as a team could produce in comparison with a team of Europeans, and as to the quality of the work which they performed. In their proposals, the Northern Rhodesian Government seem to shugle over the whole of that question. They timidly refer to the conditions after the war and suggest that the revised wage scales to which the companies have agreed will afford very considerable advancement on the present lines and will offer to Africans reasonable satisfaction during the next few years.

I am amazed at the use of such words. What is the considerable advancement promised by the Report? What is this reasonable satisfaction, when the cost of living is rising and wants are increasing and when other influences are stirring the Africans to new aspirations? The use of language such as that is surely humbug in these circumstances. I suggest again that this is the touchstone of our liberal faith in Colonial administration, and some assurances must be given to the African workers on the matter. If the Africans cannot be admitted to the European trade unions, the Government must limit European employment and insist upon an increased quota of employment in supervisory jobs to the African workers. The entrance of European workers must not be permanently allowed, it should be controlled and the Government should declare that European employment must not prejudice the future prospect of the African workers in the industry. We cannot and dare not shut out the Africans in their own land. If he is to advance, the African must be allowed to exercise increasing industrial and political responsibility. It would be unfortunate for the British Government to accept the somewhat specious reasoning submitted by the Northern Rhodesian Government. Let me remind the House that the Africans regard this matter as one of cardinal importance in European Colonial policy.

I hope that our Colonial Ministers will come out boldly in their directions to the Northern Rhodesian Government on the matters that have been raised in the Report. I hope that the British Government will not delay action, and will not rest complacent. Northern Rhodesia is one of the unhappy lands in our Colonial Empire, brimful of perplexing problems. This Report ought to be used in order to repair the past and to give an occasion for a sounder policy, based upon the wisdom, science and experience expressed in the many important Reports of recent years which have been written on the problems of this important Territory.

[. . . This concludes Creech Jones' principal speech. It is impossible to conclude the discussion in this issue, as a virtual debate ensued between Mr. George Hall and our comrade. We shall conclude in our next issue.—Ed.]

(To be concluded).

Mr. Creech Jones is chairman of the Fabian Colonial Bureau. Dr. Rita Hinden is Secretary. We hope to publish, from time to time, a summary of the questions and speeches in Parliament on Colonial questions made by the Labour M.P.'s attached to the Bureau. We shall endeavour to publish Creech Jones' speeches in pamphlet form, because of their importance. Readers of "THE WORD" who wish to join the F.C.B., should write to the Secretary, at **11 Dartmouth Street, London, S.W.1.** Please enclose stamp for reply.

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IN EAST AFRICA

By

The Rev. HUMPHREY CHALMERS, M.A.

(Minister of High Cliffe Baptist Church Warrington)

The Colour Bar in East Africa. By Norman Leys. The Hogarth Press. 7s. 6d. net.

One hundred and sixty years ago William Wilberforce had begun his life's work on behalf of the negro slaves of the West Indies. It took forty-five years to rouse the conscience of this country to enforce the abolition of the wrong. In our days the cause of the native African population under the British flag, not now expatriated across the Atlantic, but none the less expropriated and exploited, has been pled by Leonard Barnes, Lord Oliver, Leonard Wolff and Norman Leys. How long will their task employ them? Can they succeed at all in times when moral principles appear to be invoked only for propaganda purposes against others?

Certainly Mr. Leys has pertinacity like that of Wilberforce. His leading book, *Kenya*, was published in 1924, and followed a few years later by *A Last Chance in Kenya*, but conditions there and in most of the newer African colonies have become worse. Mr. Leys attributes this to a loss of idealism on the part of the British people. On account of the ideals of the nineteenth century the colour bar is constitutionally and in practice non-existent in the British West Indies, and is scarcely to be found in our West African dependencies, but in the Eastern part of the continent it is rigidly enforced alike by law and custom. As Mr. Leys admits, the term colour bar is unsatisfactory. "Racial Discrimination" is better. It exists in the Rhodesias, Nyasaland, Tanganyika, Uganda and Kenya, being at its worst in the last named and least severe, as Mr. Barnes has elsewhere pointed out, in Tanganyika. The worst feature of the evil is that it scarcely is found in Africa except under British rule. In French, Belgian and Portuguese Africa natives may acquire land and property, learn and practise skilled craftsmanship and even enter the learned professions and the magistracy.

Mr. Leys proceeds to allege the systematic exploitation of the native. In the Kavirondo country the crops are bought cheaply by the white man in time of plenty and, in the fashion of Joseph's Egyptian premiership, resold to the native producer in time of scarcity at double price. All the land has been taken over by the Government and the natives herded into small reservations which are almost without water and fertile soil. Nemesis has come in the fact that European methods of cultivation are ruining the fertile areas and much of the land and many of the buildings are now being abandoned. Yet the native cannot return to save the situation, as he is forbidden by law to purchase or even to rent any portion of the land which once belonged to his people.

Europeans have made great profits and suffered great losses. Here is an example. A farm of 640 acres was granted to A for £85. Two years later he sold it to B for £640. B built a stone house and laid down 150 acres of coffee, spending in eight years £5,000 on improvements, during which time the income received repaid the capital expenditure. Then he sold out for £17,000. The estate is now worth perhaps £1,000.

The native must spend two-fifths of each year working for the white man. For this he receives about 48s. The sale of his own produce may bring him not more than 12s. in addition. To this may be added £4 10s. as the value of produce not sold but reserved for his own use and that of his family. From this total of £7 10s. in money and goods he must pay something between 29s. and 30s. in direct taxation. There are also local rates, but the receipts from nearly all taxation are spent for the benefit of the white settlers, roads being only made and maintained in their districts, while the subsidies to mission schools for the elementary eduration of native children have now been with-drawn. There are heavy customs duties on goods for native consumption as against free imports of motor-cars, tractors and other requirements of the settlers, while the railway rates on goods for native use are from four to ten times those charged on plantation products for export.

The book is well written and contains adequate references to sources of information, but—and this is a serious omission—it contains no index.

THE NEGRO CITIZEN

Our Comrade, E. N. McKenzie, commenced to publish in Birmingham, in May, 1940, an interesting monthly booklet, entitled *The Negro Citizen*. This claimed the inalienable rights of man for negroes. In the second number; under the caption, *"Sympathy From High Quarters,"* the editor wrote:

From the Duke of Bedford, a gentleman who, though highly placed in Great Britain, respects the rights of men, and himself the author of several pamphlets dealing with the present situation, came two pages of foolscap with comments on the pamphlet that served to encourage the work. It is, also, in this case regrettable that space is too limited to permit of the publication of those most interesting points he raised. The following concluded his remarks:—

The remarks quoted from the Duke's letters were as follows:—

"I fully sympathise with the desire of the West Indian negroes for a greater share in the government of their own country and for a voice in its disposition. It seems extremely unfair that they should be leased to, or bartered with, America, without being consulted. You might be able to get a certain amount of sympathy and support on this matter from Labour—probably more from the labour movement outside than inside Parliament—but with a corrupt and tyrannical government, fighting a desperate and what is probably a losing battle, I am afraid the chances of your receiving fair treatment appear at the moment to be by no means bright. I wish I could take a more hopeful view but, by a strange irony of fate, I feel that we both, in different ways and for different reasons, are under the heel of the same oppressor." ... ...

Workers will sympathise with the Duke's reference to the Labour movement outside rather than inside Parliament.

The Duke's attitude towards negro fellow-citizens and comrades is an answer to the suggestion that he has Nazi sympathies. Actually, he supports strongly the splendid struggles being made in the House of Commons by our Comrade, Creech Jones, and his Labour comrades, on the African question.

IGNORED SPEECHES

By Members of the Parliamentary Peace Aims Group, F.N.O.I., includes James Barr, M.P.; George Buchanan, M.P.; Rhys J. Davies, M.P.; S. S. Silverman, M.P.; A. Sloan, M.P.; R. W. Sorensen, M.P., and R. R. Stokes, M.P.

Ever since the early days of the war the national press has adopted the practice of ignoring speeches made in Parliament which represent the so-called "minority" view. In the belief that a vast number of people agree with the views expressed from time to time by members of the Parliamentary Peace Aims Group, all of whom are Labour Members, it has been decided to publish speeches made in Parliament since the outbreak of war by Members of that Group. At the end of the book will be found three of the memoranda issued by the Group, to the first of which is appended a list of the original Members.

Issued by the Parliamentary Peace Aims Group, price 9d. per copy (postage 1½d. extra) or 8s. per dozen, post free.

Send your order to R. R. Stokes, M.P., 32 Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.

Ignored Speeches can be obtained at the Strickland Press and at all U.S.M. meetings.

OUR LETTER-BOX

Dear Sir,—I have continuously seen your adverts, which appear to me to contain a wealth of information.

I am a C.O. of the last war, and to-day still take my stand with those who dare all for conscience sake. My friend has just gone to jail for refusing medical. I enclose 2/- in all to cover Periodicals and Bedford's Pamphlet. Wishing you every success in your work for the C.O.

Yours sincerely,
GEO. WATLING,
(Secretary Collier Row P.P.U.).

Romford, November 5.

Dear Mr. Aldred,—Shall be glad if you will send me a copy of your "Life of Richard Carlile."

Was very glad to see you were still active in the best of causes. I remember you many years ago. I have been very badly bombed, but managed to save a copy of "The Agnostic Journal," containing part of an article of yours, "The Passing of the Miraculous," 22-9-1906. Also a copy of Paine's "Age of Reason," published by Richard Carlile, and other pamphlets, including the "History of Freemasonry." All the best.

Yours sincerely,
ROBERT ROSE.

London S.E.1, October 31.

Dear Aldred,—We are old C.O. comrades of 1916, and I have a hazy impression that we had some correspondence either then or a bit later, when you were setting up your bookshop. Anyhow I want to say that recently (only) I have seen a few copies of "THE WORD," and it has been a great pleasure to read much of them. I like the good print, etc., and admire your generous tolerance both of the Christian witness against war, etc., and of men (like my old friend Creech Jones, not now (alas) pacifist, but with us on other vital matters. May you succeed soon now, with the help of Providence (or Destiny?) in clearing off the debt!

Incidentally I think (e.g., in your October issue article) that you should recognise that a number of things in the prison regime have changed much for the better since 1923 when Ruggles Brice went and Alec Paterson came in and our book came out. I believe the latter has quite good ideals, up to a point, and would like to do much more to make prison life more normal. E.g., now every prison has an "earning scheme," i.e., men can, I think, buy cigarettes, etc., for their work, which is less monotonous; and many, if not most, of the younger prisoners are not locked in cells at all, but live mainly in association, even in camp.

All good wishes,
STEPHEN HOBHOUSE.

Broxbourne, Herts., November 11.

Dear Sir,—In the last year or two I have seen several copies of "The Word," and I have just finished reading the current issue. I must have it regularly.

You may be interested to know that I am a pacifist of many years' standing; for about ten years I was Secretary of the New Zealand No More War Movement, and also Co-Leader there of the Free Religious Movement, which derived its inspiration from the work of the late Dr. Walter Walsh. In Portsmouth I am Chairman of the P.P.U. group and Secretary to the Advisory Bureau. I mention these personal facts just to assure you or my keen interest in the job you are doing through "The Word."

Last Sunday, November 9—Armistice Sunday—my church was crowded out for a United Service of Pacifist Witness, which was conducted by myself, supported by a member of the P.P.U. and of the F.O.R. In the congregation were members of these bodies and of Baptist, Methodist, Congregational and Anglican Churches and the Society of Friends. It was a great demonstration of Religious Unity, as well as an encouraging witness to pacifist conviction in this "Army and Navy" city.

Friendly greetings,

Yours cordially,
CHARLES H. COLE
(Minister High St. Unitarian Church, Portsmouth).

Cosham, November 10.

Dear Comrade Aldred,—You need have no fear about criticising me at any time; I am one of those who adhere to the full to Voltaire's dictum: "I disagree with what you say but will fight to the death for your right to say it."

The present international situation is literally distressing and I am appalled at the lack of imagination among those in authority as to the prospects for our Country and all the peoples of Europe in the immediate future.

With kind wishes, Yours faithfully,
RHYS J. DAVIES.

House of Commons, October 22.

Dear Comrade,—I find great pleasure in reading *The Word*. There is much food for thought and inspiration within its pages.

I was glad to see the article in *Peace News* by the Duke of Bedford this week and I look forward to the day when I shall see one in the *New Leader*. My allegiance is, at present, divided between the U.S.M., the P.P.U. and the I.L.P. In unity there is strength; and in the not far distant future that strength will be needed, if all we deem worth while is to survive.

A fortnight ago we had Stuart Morris at a meeting of the groups in Cumberland and Westmoreland. He gave an excellent speech, noteworthy for its commonsense and practicability. He spoke of the member's pledge renouncing war, the organisation of the P.P.U., and the necessity to preserve minority opinion. Surely a common ground of approach can be evolved between the P.P.U., the I.L.P., and the U.S.M.? Most Socialists must agree that violence is capable only of breeding a worse violence in whatever form it is used by man to attain an end, and, by its resilience, destroying the very end for which it was used.

I am tempted to compare the present crisis of civilisation with the crisis in a man's life when he is attacked by some such scourge as cancer or tuberculosis. In the past he has failed to hear the voice of nature, until, by wrong ways of living, he has collected toxins and poisons within his system and it takes this means of cleansing itself. If he has sufficient "clean matter" within his system he will survive. In the Strength of Unity and Truth must we prepare for the days when war and its hangers on of plague and pestilence are outlawed from society once and for all time.

I approve of Ruth Fry's amended charter.

Sincerely yours,
CUTHBERT LEIGH.

Keswick, November 2.

Dear Comrade,—I should like to express my appreciation of *The Word* and of your efforts towards sanity and justice.

I am a conchie forestry labourer, with a wife and baby to support, and since for my week's hard labour the kind and beneficient government is pleased to reward me with 48/9½, you can imagine that there is little money to spare.

We take no other publications but *The Word*, but we feel that the money spared for this purpose is well worth it.

I have been deeply interested in the Duke of Bedford's writings. He seems to me eminently suitable for the leadership of the large body of Socialist-Pacifist opinion with no outlet for expression at the present time. He impresses me as an extremely sane and reasonable thinker, with nothing to gain personally from his actions, and deeply sincere.

A few words on a subject which has interested me for some time, that of conchie land-workers blacklegging. There are many hundreds of C.O.'s doing land work now, most of them from families in a fairly comfortable financial position at least, and from jobs in offices where the boss and worker relationship is not a continual battle as in agriculture and industry. They do not realise that the worker has to be always fighting to maintain and improve his conditions, and the best way of fighting is through the trade union.

I know that many C.O.'s are awake and in the fight, but I also know that there are many, perhaps more, who through ignorance or lethargy are not only not helping, but perhaps hindering the fight by accepting bad, even illegal conditions. If we C.O.'s in agriculture could fight and succeed in bringing agricultural working conditions at least up to those in industry generally, we should have achieved something to be proud of. If we worsen conditions through war we shall have failed lamentably in our struggle for justice and peace and—Socialism.

The address of the National Union of Agricultural Workers is 63 Bushley Hall Road, Bushley, Herts. I wish you all power in the struggle.

Yours fraternally,
E. WILLIAMS.

Coniston, Lancs., November 2.

Dear Guy,—Do you get *La Protesta*, the Spanish paper. If not could you get it for some weeks back. Have been told that Rocker has an article in it boosting British Imperialism and supporting the war. He points out how generously India is treated by offering them Self-Government, and how well treated Ireland is by England.

Since I cannot read Spanish it is impossible for me to give you the full text. Ordinary Imperialists are bad enough, but when professed revolutionary anarchists take up the role of apologists for British Imperialists we have surely reached the limit. During the last few years we have had Rocker trotted out as the great anarchist theoretician. If the article is as it has been represented to me, it is time the bubble was burst.

I am only telling you what has been told me.

The few Spanish CNT-FIA men that I know are in support of the war against Hitler and Mussolini. They are not anti-war. They think that only the defeat of Fascism will enable them to get back home. They think that Hitler's downfall will bring down Franco. They run a little duplicated paper.

I have heard that there have been replies in *La Protesta* to Rocker. He may have been writing in the same strain in Yiddish. Most of the old Jewish comrades have lost their heads and their anarchism over the war.

I hope that Morrison does not rope you in because of your association with Bedford. It seems that he would like to silence Bedford. Might that mean you also as an Anti-Militarist? For a Duke and an anarchist like you to go down together in defence of Anti-Militarism would be history. But it would be unfortunate. Morrison, the ex-conchie, is, to my mind, just a little snipe. He has power and is out for blood.

Best wishes for November 5—and after.

Yours fraternally,
M. KAVANAGH.

London, November 3.

[. . . We have received "La Protesta," Buenos Aires, August, 1940, containing the Rocker article. This article is being translated and will be published. We would ask Comrade Kavanagh to suspend his criticism of Rocker till he reads this translation. Ed.]

Dear Guy Aldred,—My mind goes back these days, as I expect your does, to those of 1916-18 and after; let us hope that the time may come sooner than seems possible, when we shall be able to do some really constructive work.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely yours,
H. RUNHAM BROWN.

Enfield, Mdx., October 9.

[We hope to publish an essay on War Resistance throughout the world by our comrade, Runham Brown, at an early date.—Ed.]

Dear Mr. Aldred,—The recognition being given to F. W. Jowett pleases me very much. I was associated with Bradford Socialism from the beginning up to 1931 I then became disgusted with all passing as "polities" and have since conducted a campaign of my own. I believe that a sane monetary system would inevitably lead to the peace and plenty desired by all. I am no longer interested in equality of service or equality of reward. These things are useless in the world of overwhelming abundance we live in.

You will be aware that your sketch of Jowett's career is very condensed. I am struck with the sentence "In 1898 he became Chairman of the Health Committee." This sentence covers a long period of tireless activity, and during this time F. W. initiated innovations in town sanitation that were copied all over this country and have since been copied over a large part of the world. Without any doubt he was the most distinguished Chairman of the Health Committee this City has had.

I well remember you as a "stormy petrel" during the last war, but the Press is cluttered up with one stunt monger after another, and those who fought selflessly for others are elbowed off the stage, as is the case with F. W. Jowett.

I wish to thank you for your efforts to give recognition to my old friend—but the real story of his labours for the people is, I am afraid, beyond the space limits of *The Word*.

For your perusal when you have time, I enclose two items showing some degree of attention I have received, in preaching social unity in circles presumed to be hostile to such advocacy.

With best wishes for *The Word*.

Yours sincerely,
GLYN THOMAS.

Saltaire, October 19.

Dear Mr. Aldred,—I would like to thank you very much for the books received. The copy of *What A Game* has been passed on to our family doctor, who was very pleased to have it. The sincerity of John MacLean, which you have so ably recorded in your book, is most inspiring, and has moved me very, very much.

Yesterday, in the *Manchester Guardian*, was an extract from the absolutely splendid article written for *Peace News* by the Duke of Bedford. Needless to say how delighted we were in our home to read it.

Glasgow means a lot to us, because Dick Sheppard was elected Lord Rector of its University just before his death, and Winston Churchill was at the bottom of the poll.

The November issue is splendid as usual.

Yours sincerely,
ALICE GOODRICK.

Manchester, November 11, 1941.

Dear Mr. Aldred,—What is an Atheist?; an Anarchist?; and what is Communism?

My father could have answered these questions, but he died last year. He was a well-known pacifist in this town, called mad by some people, and loved by others. He hated war, and left the Church 25 years ago because he said the Church upheld war. I could not see eye to eye with him until this war started. I kept saying, why doesn't the Church stop this war. No one has the right to make human beings suffer like this.

Then I read Mr. Middleton Murry's book, *The Betrayal of Christ by the Churches; The Faith Called Pacifism* by Max Plowman, and 2 lots of other books. Then I saw *The Word* advertised in *Peace News*, and

JAMES DICK.

In this picture Comrade Dick is holding paper in front of banner. On other side of banner is Comrade William Dick, well-known for his Anti-Parliamentary and United Socialist and Anarchist activity. The two Dicks are not related. The banner is the famous A.P.C.F. banner, seized by the Glasgow Police at the time of the 1921 trial, and detained by them for nearly two years. Its picture was the cartoon discussed during the trial.

now I have a lot more books to read; even so, I still know nothing, because I do not know anything about Socialists or politics.

I notice that it is the church-going people that worry most about what the German soldier will do to us if they ever come here.

I have twin daughters, aged 14 years, and some friends said to me last week: "Arn't you worried about your girls, because you can just imagine what would happen to them if the Germans got hold of them."

I said: "I never think about such evil things, and I certainly do not worry. I've tried to teach my girls to hate no one, and to do all they can to help others."

I see that the hounds, in the shape of the daily press, are after the Duke of Bedford. A letter of his has been handed over to legal experts of the Crown.

Does it make you think of a long time ago when another man was being watched by the legal experts of his day, waiting for him to speak just one word that would betray him? Human nature doesn't change, does it? It seems that a man of peace will always be hated until people change, but while we who understand have men like you, the Duke of Bedford, Mr. Middleton Murry, and a few others who are faithful to a good cause, we have nothing to fear. The world will be a lovely place when others can see what we see.

I like these words by James Lowell: "Be noble; and the nobleness that lies in other men sleeping, but never dead, will rise in majesty to meet thine own."

I am, yours sincerely,

(Mrs.) MAY FARMER.

St. Albans, November 5, 1941.

HENRY J. ADLARD

We regret to announce the death of our comrade, Henry J. Adlard, Minister of Trim St. Unitarian Church, Bath, on November 10th last. Comrade Adlard had been in ill-health for some time past, and contracted a severe chill on November 1st. Pleurisy and double pneumonia supervened.

Last month, Mr. George F. Miller, of Duluth paid a tribute to the great activity of Mr. Adlard in that city. Articles by and on Mr. Adlard appeared in *The Word* for December, 1940, and January, March, and June, 1941.

An account of Mr. Adlard's great actfvity will appear in our next issue.

CONSTANCE LEE.

Constance, the eldest daughter of the Rev. Richard and Mrs. Lee, passed away on Wednesday, November 19, at the Towers (Coventry and Warwickshire Hospital), Kenilworth. She had been ill for several months and had been seven weeks in hospital.

Miss Lee, owing to her delicate health, took little active part in public affairs, but she had a deep interest in the social question, and in the problem of peace.

Poetry, music and drama occupied her mind. Her favourite writer was an Indian poet, Tagore.

To the intimate circle who knew her she was one who will be sorely missed by many friends in Glasgow, Dundee and Blyth, as well as Coventry.

GLASGOW ANARCHIST OBJECTOR

At the Glasgow Sheriff Court, on Tuesday, September 23, James Dick, of 36 Hoggs Road, Pollokshaws, was sentenced to the usual twelve months' imprisonment for refusing to attend medical examination. He received also an extra 14 days' imprisonment for contempt of court.

Dick appeared before the local and appellate Tribunals but was removed from the C.O. register, largely because he was deemed to be a political objector.

From the dock, James Dick made the following vigorous speech defining his opposition to war and militarism:—

"What I have to say may not be relevant according to the usual court procedure. I have no respect either for this court or the laws which it administers. This court is not a court of justice; it is a court of hypocrisy. You ask me to take an oath on a book, the Bible, which expressly forbids me to swear, either by it or its mythical God. A certain passage bids you to judge not lest ye be judged. Another states: "Thou shalt not kill." I am here before this court not because this collection of writings forbids me to do this or that, but because my own intellect, my own conscience, my own philosophy, which is the philosophy of Anarchism, bids me. I am here before you because I refuse to kill. Strange, isn't it? One day you are trying a man for killing, and the next you are trying a man for refusing to kill. Isn't it about time you were making up your minds which is right and which is wrong? For many years you have been denouncing the Anarchists as bomb-throwers. You have condemned them, prosecuted and persecuted them; and now, lo and behold, when the Anarchists refuse to throw bombs they are also condemned. You should at least try to be as consistent in your accusations as you are in your persecutions!

"I am accused of breaking an order signed by the Sheriff of Lanarkshire. That order might well have been signed by Herr Hitler himself. It is Fascist in concept and Fascist in practice. Who is the Sheriff of Lanarkshire that he should order me to submit my body for medical examination? If I submit to this order I would be submitting to Fascism. Such orders are totally incompatible with democracy. On a previous occasion when I was present in this court, persons who appeared before you were sent to prison for not supporting their wives and families. To-day, you are going to send me to prison, where it will be impossible for me to support my wife and family. In condemning me, you are also condemning my wife and family to starvation. Does this not hurt your Christian conscience? No doubt however, it is your intention that they should starve, because if there were no starvation there would be no illegal crime, and if there were no illegal crime this court and its satellites would be out of a job.

"You want me to submit to medical examination so that my body will be used at your discretion for the restoration of Fascist Poland with its Jewish progroms, its lowest standard of living in Europe, and its mines, which are owned and controlled by the Prudential Assurance Society; for the restoration of Fascist Greece and its bloody dictator; for the restoration of Fascist France; for the defence of the Soviet Union and Stalin, which was described by Beverley Baxter, M.P. (now safely in America) in the Glasgow "Evening News" of January 28, 1941, as being not a system for human beings, but a system for human cattle, like its bastard offspring Nazism and Fascism.

"You want my body to be used for the defence of those in this country like Churchill, who helped to build up Fascism and praised Hitler and Mussolini for the grand work they were doing for civilisation! To-day, in the first case of conscientious objection before this court, after the speech by the defendant you stated that you were helpless and had to administer the regulations. If you were a man at all you would refuse to administer these regulations. That is all I have to say."

Comrade Dick is a glazier by trade. He was turned down by the Glasgow Local Tribunal on September 9, 1940. His appeal was dismissed by the Edinburgh Appellate Tribunal. Yet Dick put forward a perfectly reasonable case before both Tribunals. It is unfortunate that, somehow, his associations with the Labour movement, his membership of an Anarchist group, his Tolstoyan ideas, rather than his conscience, were discussed by the Tribunals. Once these were expressed, it seemed impossible to get back to the question of conscience.

Dick's statement to the Glasgow Local Tribunal was as follows:—

"I have a conscientious objection to war. I do not base my belief on any special grounds, my objection like a man's character has not been formed by any one factor, but arising from all sides to overwhelm me. My father served in the last war, was invalided home from France, physically a broken man, eventually succumbed to tuberculosis contracted in France. He could never bear to have war mentioned in his presence; his attitude, more than speech could have done brewed with'n me hatred and horror of this thing so politely called war. I would not have any human being tortured as he was tortured, and as for myself, I prefer death."

No remarks were made on this quite reasonable statement. Questions somehow sidetracked the issue to Anarchism and Socialism.

ALAN MORLEY SENTENCED

Our readers are familiar with the stand made against war by our Newcastle comrade, John Morley, and his son, Robert. Their cases have been reported fully in these columns.

On July 9, Alan Morley, the second son, was instructed to appear for medical examination. He refused to do so and was summoned to appear at Newcastle Police Court on September 30. He refused to appear but remained at home and continued to go about his work. On November 3 he was arrested at work and taken direct to the police court.

We now quote the Newcastle *Evening Chronicle* reports, omitting only the headings, and duplicate descriptions:—

November 3 report says:

Alan Morley (21), "Rosslyn," High Field Road, Westerhope, was remanded in custody for a week at Newcastle to-day, on a charge of failing to attend for medical examination when ordered for military service.

Mr. Percy L. Frankham said that Morley had been difficult to trace, and had even ignored the summons.

Morley appealed for bail, and said he disagreed with the calling up act.

"I don't know of the difficulties Mr. Frankham talks about," he said. "I have come home at the same time every night. I suggest that the police have not even bothered, and what Mr. Frankham says is just not so."

Morley's father said that his son was opposed on principle to military service.

Mr. Frankham said he strongly objected to bail. An Army officer supported him.

November 10 report says:

"I am not here because I committed a crime, but because I refused to commit one," said Alan Morley, motor worker, when he was fined £5 at Newcastle to-day for refusing to submit himself for medical examination. He now refused to plead. . . .

Mr. Joseph Robinson (chairman) commented that Morley disbelieved the laws of England although he accepted privileges under them.

He was remanded in custody to be taken for a medical examination.

November 11 report says:

Sentence of 12 months' hard labour was passed at Newcastle to-day on Alan Morley for refusing to comply with the order of the Court yesterday to submit to a medical examination.

Mr. Percy L. Frankham, prosecuting, said Morley was fined £5 at the court yesterday for failing to submit to a medical examination and he afterwards refused to be examined as ordered by the Court.

Morley in Court said he did not submit to the order because he refused to join the Army.

Mr. J. Robinson (chairman) said he hoped the sentence would deter others from acting as foolishly and defiantly as he had done.

Under the title, "SANITY IN POLITICS," the Rev. Reginald Sorensen, M.P., discusses the political foundations of peace, in "NEW VISION," for Autumn, 1941. This journal is published at 4d. (post free, 5d.), and is obtainable from the publisher, at 22 Seafield Road, London, N.11.

Our deficit has been reduced considerably. But we would like to be able to close our appeal and publish a complete list of subscribers next month. Will you help?

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD

WHAT READERS THINK

[. . . Since we published our interview with the Duke of Bedford in the August "Word," readers from all over the country have written demanding that the Duke shall become the voice of pacifism and Socialism in the House of Lords, and shall lead the common people of the country towards political and social sanity. We publish more correspondence below.—Ed.]

Dear Mr. Aldred,—In the last war, George Lansbury stood for Christianity and Truth. In this war, the Duke of Bedford is standing for exactly the same thing; and thousands of people, like myself, thank God that there is still an Englishman who has the courage and the wisdom to speak the Truth. It would seem that, in the Duke's leadership, lies the only chance of salvation for those remnants of the youth of Europe, who have not been crucified already. Crucified through the mistakes of politicians, "irresponsible people with bad records."

If, as is admitted, "war is the bankruptcy of statesmenship, why do we allow the delinquents of 1939 and even 1918, still to function in the politics of democracy.

Northam, Oct. 22. C. E. PAYNE.

Dear Guy Aldred,—I received a copy of *The Word* which you sent to me. I think that everything in it is excellent—plus! You deserve praise and warm thanks from all who have the privilege of reading it, for your wonderful capacity of being able to discover the Truth. You may have an equal as a well-informed orator and writer, but I can assure you that you have no superior! I consider that your statements in the October issue regarding War and Politicians should be broadcast through every street of every town! By which means the apathetic members of every community could have a chance of learning the Truth!

I think your writings in *The Word* are an eye-opener and an example of pure intelligence! It would be a country worth living in if there were thousands like you! Legalised murder would then be a thing of the past! There are a lot of cultured humane people your staunch supporters.

I join all others in saying that I believe that the Duke of Bedford is the most capable man in this country who has the capacity for Leadership! His insight into the affairs of the country —Financial, Administrative, Economical, etc., is in my opinion very great. He is a lover of humanity, a deep sincere thinker, and an enlightened Christian! When he begins to act in the House of Lords, the day of Universal Brotherhood will be within the sight of poor suffering human beings, in every country!

I hope, Mr. Aldred, that the Duke of Bedford and yourself will be spared to reap the fruits of your earnest activity! With my sincere thanks for all you are doing in the cause of Justice.

I am, Yours most sincerely,

(Mrs.) AGNES RITCHIE.

Glasgow, E.2, Nov. 6.

Dear Mr. Aldred,—I have read with great appreciation the Duke of Bedford's "Towards Peace: What can be done?" in *The Word*.

It seems to me that, at last, there emerges a foundation plan towards Peace and sanity. What a contrast is presented between this sincere high-principled, balanced, Christian, knowledgeable statement, and the crafty, self-righteous, arrogant, hypocritical, selfish hysterics to which the public is subjected from government spokesmen and supporters! On the one hand we have a Man, a Human Being, and on the other merely a crowd of the crudest materialists, and unprincipled self-seekers the world could produce.

The article by C. H. Norman is also very valuable, and it has seemed to me for some time that more prominence might well be given by workers for Peace to the degrading, sub-human caricature of life to which the masses everywhere have allowed themselves to be subjected, down to a grossly inadequate standardised food ration (*e.g.*, one egg per week!) in a world of abundance.

So cunningly is attention focussed on Hitler and his misdeeds by those who do not themselves appear to be "without sin," and therefore privileged "to cast stones," that the people have lost all sense of proportion, and fail to appreciate the condition of slavery, and loss of personal freedom and initiative in which they are enmeshed.

Best wishes for your good work.

Yours sincerely,

J. CYRIL PAGE.

Dymock, Oct. 7.

Dear Comrade,—I would ask housewives to awake. I would say to them: "Do not wait for halls or public meetings—have friends and neighbours to your homes for discussion and plan the future *you* want. Let us support the Duke of Bedford in his magnificent stand."

Various groups are meeting in this city, groups which I only heard of recently: fireside groups: *really* Socialist.

In the struggle,

I. KNIGHT.

Aberdeen, Oct. 23.

Dear Mr. Aldred,—A friend has sent us the 3 last copies of *The Word*, which my sister and I find extremely interesting. Will you please send another copy of October issue as it is very good and useful for lending to those who believe every word o f the Daily Press and the Radio.

In our opinion the Duke of Bedford would make a splendid leader. We have heard him many times in London and admire him immensely.

Yours truly,

L. & M. ALLPORT.

Forwood, Oct. 18.

Dear Sir,—We find the facts in *The Word* very interesting. I will enclose a letter of support for the Duke of Bedford from the Stamford F.O.R. next time I write.

Yours fraternally,

G. E. DARTNELL.

Stamford, Lincs., Oct. 10.

Dear Sir,—Very pleased with your November issue. Duty impels me to communicate to you my view on several points.

(1) I should much like to see the Duke of Bedford as Parliamentary Leader of a Peace Movement, agreeing also with Lady Stalbridge's remark that close co-operation with Mr. Middleton Murry is highly desirable.

(2) My wife and I heartily approve A. Ruth Fry's scheme regarding "The Atlantic Charter."

Doubtless more unity and aggregate and individual success will come to the Peace, Social and Humane Movements in general, as the world chaos grows and deepens.

Yours sincerely,

ALFRED Hy. HAFFENDEN.

Green End,
Manchester, 1/11/41.

Dear Comrade Aldred,—After reading the encouraging letters in *The Word* regarding the Duke of Bedford's Articles, and also his wish to serve the common cause, I decided to sign the membership form of the U.S.M. and wish it every success.

Bedford will be a leader worth the following, because one can *feel* his sincerity. Knowledge alone will not do; man must be converted to the cause.

I have come to the conclusion that we must have better men first, and then all things will be added unto him.

Good cheer, Yours fraternally,

W. H. JOHNSTON.

Ashton-in-Makesfield, Nov. 6.

Dear Comrade Aldred,—A few weeks ago you were kind enough to send me some literature concerning the U.S.M. and your own personal views, and I have also subscribed to *The Word* since then. I would like to congratulate you on your courage, public spirit and broad-mindedness in giving publicity to the efforts the Duke of Bedford is making as the champion of peace. As a pacifist of some twenty years' standing, I am proud to stand by the Duke. Although I do not necessarily accept all your views or his opinions, we are all agreed that the brotherhood of man and human liberty, safety and happiness are destroyed by a state of war. Please count me as a supporter of the efforts that you and the Duke are making for peace.

I enclose a donation to help with the expenses.

Yours sincerely,

E. W. PATES.

West Acton, W.3.
10/11/41.

[. . . The reader should turn to OUR LETTER BOX for further references to the Duke of Bedford.—Ed.]

BEDFORD PARALLELS

From two very interesting letters addressed to us by the Rev. Malcolm MacColl, from the Rectory, Ballachulish, on November 5, we make two extracts concerning the Duke of Bedford.

In one letter, our comrade, MacColl writes:—

My Dear Aldred,—Please don't imagine that I am imputing any inconsistency to you because you give space to the Duke of Bedford and allow him untrammelled freedom of expression. I was imagining what others would say—indeed repeating what I had heard said. I have never known you refuse a hearing to anyone. You will allow, however, that there is an irony in the fact that an avowed Christian like Bedford finds his freest expression in the organ of an avowed atheist! A Duke finding a mouthpiece in an Anarchist Communist! "Che sara, sara," as the Bedford motto goes.

These circumstances reflect only honour upon you and the Duke, an honour perilous in your case, as the authorities would not think it scandalous to attack you, but might be tender to His Grace, not for his sake, but for the sake of the Order to which he belongs.

There are not many parallels to Bedford. Byron, perhaps, but how unlike they are; or the famous Earl-Bishop, Hervey, Earl of Bristol and Bishop of Derry, who backed the Irish Volunteers, and was feared and hated by George III.; but Hervey was hardly a Christian though a Lord Bishop.

Bedford makes excuses for Adolf Hitler, but he does not eulogise him as Byron praised Napoleon. Has anybody ever traced the "little Englanders" and "detrimentals" of the war against the French Revolution? We know about Hunt, Carlile, Muir, Fish, Palmer and other similar prosecutions, and what about Shelley, Byron and others who were too high to be prosecuted?

There is scope there for some of our British Museum bookmakers—a Hutchinson volume with portraits at 18s. 6d.

To come down to more recent times, Why is there no current edition of Jack London's "THE IRON HEEL?" Or of Winston Churchill's glorification of dictatorship in "SAVROLA?" That book is never mentioned in the lists of the P.M.'s writings. It was once a popular "DAILY MAIL" sixpenny novel. Both novels are almost topical. Have they been forgotten—or too well remembered."

I am,

Yours faithfully,

MALCOLM MacCOLL.

In his second letter, referring to an earlier private letter from which we wanted to quote, MacColl writes:—

"My Dear Aldred,—I do not remember all that I wrote in what you propose to publish. As Bedford is the object of attack in last Sunday's "SUNDAY TIMES." I would like to be sure that my reference

to him does not imply a criticism that might encourage his enemies. Kemsley's rag is dirty, the leading article reminds me of that in the "IRISH INDEPENDENT" which "spotted" James Connolly and Sean MacDiarmid and led to their execution after the rest of the leaders had been shot.

I would have no hesitation in signing a warrant for the internment of Kemsley, Camrose and Iliffe for the duration of the war on account of their pre-war pro-Hitler record, when their kept man, Beverley Baxter, was snarling at those who wantonly libelled foreign statesmen.

It seems only too possible, however, that the Duke is pushing himself into attitudes difficult to defend because his appeals for peace are meeting not with the consideration they deserve but with unreasoning abuse.

Alas—the years have passed away and we can remember occasions on which we have been led to take up positions we never thought to accupy because the controversies went that way.

But I never had a conscience so sensitive as Bedford's or so generous an imagination. Giving the Devil his due is all very well, but Bedford credits his own good heart to Hitler, who has abundantly proved himself unworthy of credence and trust—and not only is this the case, but Hitler himself has told us in the oft cited passages from Mein Kampf, which are even more impressive in their context.

This second letter was unfinished.

Malcolm MacColl's accounts of the old Socialist Movement in Glasgow, and its worthies, make interesting reading. We will publish them as soon as possible.

BEDFORD AND MOREL

RAMSAY MACDONOLD ON WAR-TIME PATRIOTISM

The denunciation of the Duke of Bedford for his stand as an Anti-Militarist and enemy of war reminds us of the stand adopted by E. D. Morel, afterwards M.P., during the last war. Everyone knows how he was victimised and imprisoned on a trumped-up charge.

In the *Labour Leader* for September 13, 1917, Ramsay MacDonald addressed an Open Letter of congratulation to Morel. Unfortunately our copy of this issue of the *Labour Leader* is torn and the opening passages of the letter are lost. We reproduce in full the text that remains.

MacDonald writes to "My Dear Morel":—

"You have been a sore offence to every blackguard who has been making holiday and cash upon the top of the wave of popular passion and credulity. They knew they could go to any length in their attacks and slanders. During a war, thrice is he armed who has prejudice on his side. I know how often you considered a prosecution and how often you were advised to treat the scoundrels with indifference. I also know how the Intelligence Department has been laying snares for you; how you and I once shared the charming smiles of an AGENT PROVOCATEUR, paid for from our own taxes, and how the poor thing whom we pitied came to grief when she found she could not ensnare us; how your letters have been opened, read, returned to their envelopes, and then delivered; how officers have tampered with your staff and offered them appointments if they would give information against you; how, in short, you have been living in a glass house for years where there has been no privacy, with every action spied upon and reported, and running the risk that your most innocent and ordinary conduct might be converted and perverted into a criminal one. You have come scathless out of it all—and you have been trapped because you wished to send a pamphlet to Romain Rolland and some of his friends! Sneered at as a naturalised Frenchman you are now in prison because you obeyed the instincts of an Englishman and not the regulation of a Prussian official. That is the best that a Government with unlimited cash to employ spies and agents, unlimited powers and no scruples to pry into every act of yours, and an unlimited desire to get hold of you, could do against you. Such a charge as that preferred against you is, under the circumstances, the most magnificent testimonial to probity, honesty, and single-mindedness that any Government has ever given to a citizen who holds liberty in greater esteem than law, and independence of thought in greater value than departmental orders, who honours the fine motives that are making our soldiers willing to die so much that he is determined to vindicate them against all the powers and principalities which range themselves against them.

The reason for your imprisonment reminds me of the traditional French sportsman. He starts in the morning in spick-and-span hunter's garb, a bag bulging with cartridges on his back and a prodigious gun on his shoulder. That is the Government. All day he blazes away turning sparrows into eagles in his imagination, and succeeding by sunset to knock over nothing but himself. But he cannot return to supper and glory in the bosom of his family without some prey, so he "shoos" a chicken into the corner of a farm yard and puts a bullet through its head. With that he returns in triumph. That was the skinny little thing that the Bow Street Attorney, under the admiring eye of the Public Prosecutor, produced as your crime from the bag of the intelligence Department of the War Office, the livery of which has so appropriately and with such unusual honesty been chosen as green.

You are serving six months in Pentonville. Before being condemned you were refused bail. That was the scourging and the spitting process. Though your crime was political you were sent to the second division. They had to try and insult and humiliate as well as punish you. Thus they have only secured the completeness of your triumph and opened for you the higher orders of the knighthood they have conferred upon you.

The highest service that adversity does to a man is to sift his friends for him. The Congo was the crime of another ruler, and we could apply morality and righteous indignation to that. In that the Church blessed you and the mighty ones patronised you. But even then you discovered our Foreign Office. Now you are fighting a different fight, and I know how surprised you were at first that what was so plain to your Congo principles was so deserted by your Congo colleagues. You were very innocent of the world then. You will remember, perhaps, what a friend said to us one night three years ago: "I opposed one war, and I am not going to oppose another." With you the opposing of war was an incident; the supporting of truth was the concern. You were troubled, I thought, when I remarked of friends that "they will be fewer yet," but you left me without a reply when you observed that it was our families who bore the brunt of these things. That is only too sadly true. The children suffer with the fathers and for them. Never mind! The day will come when your Pentonville papers, framed and displayed with pride, will be valued by your children and your children's children as the most precious heirloom that your uprightness in character and conduct has enabled you to hand down to them."

An appreciation of E. D. Morel is overdue. When it is written MacDonald's bold words of challenge, penned in war-time, ought to be reprinted in full by way of introduction.

In 1922, Morel became M.P. for Dundee. He died in November 12, 1924. His Congo exposures and his magnificent work for the African natives is known to every lover of mankind.

We suggest to the Duke of Bedford that Morel's enemies are his enemies and for the same reason. He is denounced in the same press, owned by the same interests, by a second generation of hireling day-labourers, miscalled journalists. Unless we translate "journalist" as meaning a day-labourer, scribbling to order. The Duke might do worse than atone for the failure of the Labour movement to honour Morel by producing a tribute to the memory of this able and sincere enemy of war and exploitation of the Colonial peoples.

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CHILD MURDER

WHAT WAR MEANS

By

The REV. RICHARD LEE, M.A.
Minister of the Great Meeting House, Coventry

[. . . In the course of an address delivered at the Great Meeting House (Unitarian), Coventry, on Sunday, November 2, our Comrade, Richard Lee, said that one of the primary objects of the beligerents was to starve millions of children in Europe. That was one war-aim to which many pious war-supporters turned a blind eye. It was one aim which was being achieved by the mutual efforts of those who made blood their argument. War-mongers posed as realists, but many of them were blind to the realities which faced Europe as the result of the mad quest after victory.

Richard Lee's address was entitled: "The Future of Europe: The Problem of Food." We quote the conclusion.—Ed.]

Let us look, for a few moments, at:—

(a) What is being done.
(b) What we did twenty-two years ago.
(c) What might be done, if we are not daft.

You think of the horrible bloodshed on the Russian front. So do I. Do you also think of the terrible sufferings of hunger and starvation all over Europe?

In one country the people are allowed a few ounces, not one half the ration for bare subsistence, of dark stocky bread made of flour and potatoes.

In 8 months there has not been one ounce of butter or margarine for many millions. Meat very rarely is seen. Milk is extremely scarce and when it is obtainable the civilians get one-sixteenth of the soldier's ration. There is hardly any coal for the average household.

These are the conditions which obtain over a good part of Europe. The other day I saw in one of our British hospitals a babe who seemed a month old. The child was actually 17 months old. I asked the reason and was told "malnutrition." The mother was helping to make the weapons of mass-murder.

"Can a woman's tender care
Cease towards the child she bare?"

It can. War will make people callous, brutal, crueller than beasts. That exceptional child in Britain you can multiply by thousands in Europe as this war goes on.

You say: "Hitler, he is responsible." I say war is responsible. If you support war this horrible starvation and massacre of children is your aim. Not Hitler alone but you are the criminal.

(b) WHAT WAS DONE 20 YEARS AGO.

Twenty years ago I went into hospitals in Central Europe and saw three-year-old children weighing 8 lbs.; seven-year-olds weighing 22 lbs. Towards the close of the last war in Germany, in Austria, in Czechoslovakia, in Hungary, the people lived on cabbage and turnip soup. They had no fat and no flour. They lived in cold rooms full of pestilential air. Tuberculosis was rampant. New-born babes had to be wrapped in newspapers. The official British Report after the Armistice said that raw materials were only 40 per cent. of what was required and fifteen million Germans should be transferred to other countries.

Yet against Germany and Russia we kept up our senseless and inhuman blockade for long after the Armistice. What War is doing to-day and will do to-morrow, Britain and France did with ruthless cruelty over twenty years ago. Whether under Hitler or Lloyd George or Churchill or the Archangel Gabriel, war is this monster devouring the lives of men, and killing them by the wickedest, cruellest method on earth, the slow torture of starvation.

No, the statesman-prophet would go to Hitler—to Churchill—to Stalin—and to Roosevelt—

and would say :—

Stop your insane and brutal murder. Forget the struggle for power and territory.

Get together and plan with all your strength and genius how to feed the hungry in Europe.

In planning this which is your proper work you will find yourselves. You will cease to be what you are now—

"Creatures that once were men."

All the ingenuity, the wealth, the skill, the courage you show now in the massacre of men, you can use in satisfying the needs of men and women and children.

(C) FOOD THE WAY TO PEACE.

There is a better way and if we had a statesman who was a prophet of humanity he would choose that way.

Amos or Hosea or Isaiah would choose this better way. They would never have stained their hands with the blood of children.

And the other prophet, greater than Amos or Isaiah or Hosea, would plead with us to follow the way of peace by feeding God's children.

I do not mean that we should begin to share out the food when we have had another year or two of futile destruction.

History is never antiquated.

Humanity, sweaty with labour, is always hungry for bread, struggling to wrest from nature and from hostile men bread, the bread of God.

That is why the prayer, "Give us this day our daily bread," is fundamental.

If there were a Christian nation or a Christian Church it would set a child in the midst and declare to those who choose the dastardly method of murder and destruction.

"When will you draw out your soul the hungry and satisfy the afflicted soul? Then shall your light rise in obscurity and your darkness be as the noonday?"

There is not pity enough in heaven or earth.
There is not love enough, if children die
Like famished birds, or less mercifully.
A great wrong's done when such as these go forth
Into the starless dark, broken and bruised,
With mind and sweet affection all confused,
And horror closing round them as they go.
There is not pity enough.

THE EARLY CHURCH AND WAR

Preaching at Hope Street (Unitarian) Church, Liverpool, on Sunday afternoon, November 9th, the Rev. Sidney Spencer said that 300 years after Christ, a certain Christian, called Maximilian, refused to accept the soldiers' badge. "I cannot serve as a soldier," said he, "I am a Christian." Maximilian's attitude was not one typical of the Christian Church throughout the centuries. Was it one typical of the outlook in his own time?

Even after the days of Constantine the Church was by no means unanimous in its acceptance of war. Martin of Tours refused to engage in an impending battle, and offered to go in front of the troops, unarmed. After the death of Constantine participation in war was definitely condemned by the Churches of Asia Minor. In the third century, many Roman soldiers who had enlisted as pagans, left the service on becoming Christians. Origen, perhaps the deepest thinker amongst the early fathers, wrote, "We do not serve as soldiers of the Emperor, even though he requires it." In the third century a church order laid it down that soldiers must abandon their calling before they could be baptised. Up to the time of Marcus Aurelius, no man could remain a soldier after he had accepted Christianity.

Justin Martyr, in the second century wrote that the prophecy of Isaiah, about beating swords into ploughshares was being fulfilled by the Christians. The positive motive that, in the early centuries, led men to reject the way of war, was not something secondary or incidental to religion; it was the direct outcome of their Christian faith.

As the Christians grew in numbers, the issue presented itself to them more and more in regard to foreign wars, and in the administration of Roman law. The main fact about the early Christians was not a belief in a speedy end of the world. Their repudiation of war, and the barbarities of the penal system was not bound up with any such belief. Christians stood aloof from the Roman gladatorial games, but by the end of the third century the inhibition was breaking down. The repudiation of war, and the barbarities of the penal system, arose out of what was most vital and essential in the Christian way of life. Origen, who did not accept the general view of the Second Coming, based the repudiation of war on the law of love, as Christ Himself had preached and lived it. In the history of the early Christians they would find emphasis constantly laid on the adoption of a new and distinctive method in dealing with evil. Stress was laid on the necessity of doing what was new, of meeting hatred with love, and evil with good. "The early Church liberated the mind of man from the fetich of revenge." It was this new way of meeting evil that led to the rejection of war. It was the tragedy of the Church that this creative spirit in the face of evil and wrong came to be so largely forgotten, and denied. The Church fell away from the vision and faith of Jesus Christ. It fell into a state when increasing emphasis was laid on creed and dogma, and there arose an increasing tendency to bitterness, intolerance, persecution, a willingness to accept prevailing standards, traditions, and ideals. For them there could be no return to the forms of life and thought that prevailed in the early Church, but there could be a rediscovery of that essential and inmost fact, of that love of Christ which goes out to all men, and which, in the end shall conquer all the evil which stands in its way.

NIGHT BOMBING

The Committee for the Abolition of Night Bombing forwarded the following petition to the Prime Minister on October 31 last :—

"Recognising that all bombing from the air increasingly involves suffering to the civil population, we believe there is a widespread desire that night-bombing, as the most indiscriminate form of such attack, should be abolished.

"The undersigned, therefore, urge H. M. Government to seek a convention for the mutual abolition of night-bombing. Alternatively, they urge the Government to announce that as from a stated date they will discontinue night-bombing, reserving the right to reconsider their decision if the German Government thereafter continue the practice."

The signatories to this petition included the following :

The Bishop of Chichester, Bishop of Birmingham, Bishop of Bath and Wells, Rev. James Barr, M.P.; Dr. A. D. Belden, Miss Vera Brittain, Dr. J. C. Cadoux, Rev. Henry Carter, Roger Clark, Clifford Curzon, F.R.A.M.; Rhys Davies, M.P.; Miss A. Ruth Fry, Lady D. Gibb, Laurence Housman, Professor C. E. M. Joad, Stuart Morris, J. Middleton Murry, Sir Hugh S. Roberton, Alfred Salter, M.P.; Dr. W. B. Selbie, R. W. Sorensen, M.P.; R. R. Stokes, M.P.; Dame Sybil Thorndike, Cecil Wilson, M.P.; Dr. Alex. Wood, Lord Ponsonby, and Lord Faringdom.

This petition reminds us that, at beginning of the war, the Duke of Bedford, then Marquess of Tavistock, issued a manifesto, addressed to working women, headed: *"There Must Be No Bombing."*

This manifesto stated :—

"Fortunately the dread prophecies of death and destruction from the air have not yet come to pass. German planes have not rained death on London—British planes have not slaughtered German women and children.

This manifesto stated that the wealthy were prepared to sacrifice the poor in war, and made these two quotations as from "bloodthirsty old men."

Rt. Hon. Leopold Stennett Amery, P.C., M.P. (a prominent Conservative leader).

"Our air policy should be to force on the German air arm a war of wastage, to compel the enemy, by continual raiding, to use petrol and machines in defence, **and provoke him to retaliatory measures against Britain.** Determination of our people to resist the aggressor would only be intensified by air damage. . . ."

Mr. H. G. Wells. Famous writer and war propagandist and lifetime supporter of the Labour Party.

"The Germans have insisted on being a nuisance to all the world . . . I am convinced that **vigorous bombing, bombarding, wrecking towns, and the like** would be an entirely wholesome and chastening experience for them. . . ."

For this humanistic protest and appeal the Duke of Bedford has been denounced as a traitor and a wealthy member of the ruling class by persons who have built their fortunes on the oppression of the people, squandered thousands of pounds on racing stables, and hired scribbling journalists to "write down" pioneers of freedom and upholders of human liberty.

To "THE INQUIRER" for November 15, the Rev. Sidney Spencer contributes a powerful letter in defence of pacifism, to which the editor makes an unsatisfactory reply.

F. W. JOWETT TODAY

—"Yorkshire Observer" copyright.

The above photograph of our veteran comrade was published in our contemporary on November 10. The previous day, Jowett ha. delivered a vigorous address in Bradford under the auspices of the Fire Brigades Union. Our biography will be resumed next issue. Articles by our comrade will apear every month.

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IN TIME OF WAR

even more than in time of peace it is necessary for Socialists to maintain their independence of thought and of action. The troubles confronting the world to-day are almost wholly economic in their origin, and the Socialist solution is still all-important. The demands of the workers of all nations are moderate, and ask only for social justice and a distribution of the economic necessaries of life on the basis of the right to live and not subject to the accident of heredity.

THE FIGHT FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NEW SOCIAL ORDER

must be continued without relaxation, even under present War conditions, and Socialists have a responsibility in ensuring that their Socialist principles are not put into cold storage for the duration of the War.

"THE EDINBURGH CLARION"

was founded by the West Edinburgh Divisional Labour Party, at the outbreak of War, as a Monthly Newspaper for the expression of the Socialist viewpoint on day to day problems arising in wartime even as in time of peace. The general policy of the paper is to support the principles of Socialism and Peace for which the Labour Party should stand.

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WORLD WAR

By The Duke of Bedford

Without troubling to consult the wishes of the people beforehand, or giving them full information on all the important factors of the situation, Mr. Churchill and the Government have involved us in a new batch of wars in addition to what one might have thought were already our more than ample commitments.

The declaration of war on Hungary, Finland and Roumania was particularly foolish as well as morally indefensible, as none of these countries were threatening to do us the slightest injury. The people of Hungary have always shown themselves friendly and hospitable towards British visitors and they only became involved in the last war through having at one time come to be included, much against their will, in the Austrian Empire. By the Treaty of Trianon they received extremely bad treatment, contrary to the hopes that they had formed of Britain's fairness and generosity.

Both Finland and Roumania have been recent victims of Russian aggression, yet Mr. Churchill has declared war on them for refusing to do the very thing which he himself always refuses to do—negotiate with an enemy before the latter has been completely defeated.

We seem to have been let in for the grave evil of war with Japan through Mr. Churchill associating us closely with an American quarrel, in regard to which, before the commencement of hostilities, we were given no detailed information. We could not even be certain that President Roosevelt was not trying to interfere and lay down the law in a matter which was not really America's business. More than a month, however, before the final crisis, Mr. Churchill uttered the threat that if hostilities broke out between America and Japan, he would declare war on Japan within the hour. British politicians might surely have learned by now that it is not wise to threaten powerful totalitarian countries, as a threat is likely to be followed by a blow without further warning being given.

Japan for many years past has certainly been behaving in an aggressive and indefensible manner in China, but in condemning her for what, after all, were more or less our own tactics during our Empire-building days, we should not forget that her country is barren and over-populated and that the Empire and the United States have done

little to help her to solve her problems in a peaceful manner. They have on the contrary put up barriers against her emigrants and against her export trade, partly from race prejudice and partly from adherence to a faulty monetary system and the "work-complex." Although thrifty and hard-working Japanese emigrants would have added to the output of goods of the country in which they settled, it was feared that they might increase unemployment among white citizens, the government of the country concerned lacking the intelligence to create and issue new money to unemployed as well as employed persons to enable them to buy the products of the Japanese settlers and any other goods for which a shortage of consumer purchasing power existed. Much the same thing happened with regard to trade. Although cheap Japanese exports would be an addition to the supply of goods in the country receiving them, they were feared as a possible cause of unemployment in home industries and were therefore excluded with the result that the Japanese found it harder to obtain imports in exchange. Obviously, however, it would have been better to accept the exports and, as before, to create and issue money to the unemployed as well as to the employed, in order to make it possible for the Japanese goods to be purchased and consumed.

Now that we are at war with Japan we need to keep our heads about the Japanese people, as we need to keep them about the German and the Italian people. As in Germany, there is undoubtedly in Japan an unpleasant element, hard, ruthless and self-seeking, but that should not blind us to the more encouraging fact that British visitors to Japan have usually found the ordinary people a merry and friendly race with distinct possibilities when they are approached in the right spirit.

Dr. Alfred Salter, in spite of the handicap of serious ill-health, recently delivered in the House of Commons a touching and beautiful speech naturally unreported in the Daily Press. In this speech from beginning to end he spoke the purest and plainest Christian truth about war, reminding the House that Christ's message was that any creed, however brutal and bestial, could only be overcome and finally eradicated by spiritual weapons and never by destroying men, women and children indiscriminately. His teaching was to meet evil with good and hatred by love and sympathy.

Now Christ's opinion of a matter is also God's, for which reason, as I have sometimes pointed out, those who adopt a different policy are thinking that they know better than God and, because God is always right, disillusionment and disaster must be their portion.

Nearly all the world is now engaged, or is preparing to engage, in an orgy of mass slaughter, but all the time there is a perfectly simple and infinitely preferable alternative, an alternative in harmony with the will of God. Put into simple language, that alternative is to say, "This policy of mass-slaughter is folly and madness. The world, if its resources are properly developed and fairly distributed, can provide comfort and happiness for all its inhabitants. Let us, therefore, stop killing one another

and get together for the first time in history and see how the resources of the world can be utilised fairly for the benefit of the people of the world, those nations which are at present in possession of the richer areas, recognising their responsibility to assist in making adequate provision for the people living in the poorer areas, no matter what their colour or political opinions may be. We do not very much mind who the statesmen are who meet together to conclude the preliminary peace because we believe that once a sane world objective is clearly perceived and honestly and whole-heartedly adopted, the peoples of the different nations will display sufficient good sense and good feeling to control their respective leaders and restrain them from any policy likely once more to plunge the world in the fury and desolation of modern war."

German propaganda continually asserts that the democracies are controlled by Jewish International Finance. We can disregard the anti-Semitic part as we know that there are many decent Jews who are not financiers and many anti-social financiers who are not Jews; but the remainder of the charge, although but a small percentage of the citizens of the democracies are aware of it, is unfortunately only too well-founded. The governments of the democracies are, in their economic policy, undoubtedly advised and controlled by those who make the interests of producers and consumers subservient to the interests of money-lenders, currency-speculators and Big Business monopolies which restrict production or sabotage new inventions, and their financial system makes it quite impossible for wealthy countries to assist poorer ones without getting into debt to themselves or involving others in debt.

It is an unpleasant fact that we in this country are now living under a double tyranny—the tyranny of the State over the individual which, for the prosecution of the war, we have copied from our enemies; and the tyranny of orthodox finance which the totalitarian States, in spite of their shortcomings in other directions, have been wise enough to cast out. A nation living under a double tyranny can scarcely hope to achieve victory against one which is encumbered only by a single tyranny.

A reformed financial and foreign trade system is the bridge on which the democracies could meet those with whom they are at present at war and thereby save mankind from further destruction. They could say to the totalitarian States—" In the interests of humanity we are prepared to abandon the tyranny of international finance which you declare to be your chief enemy and which we feel to be the enemy of our people also. This is the contribution we are willing to make in advance as proof of the sincerity of our desire to join with others in the building of a new world. We invite you, on your part, to make a similar contribution by restoring a greater measure of freedom than you now permit, both to nations and to individuals."

If agreement were reached along these lines, each side could claim to have secured victory over that feature in the other's régime which had appeared most obnoxious and most to justify war.

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THE DUKE OF BEDFORD AFFIRMS

HOUSE OF LORDS.
WEDNESDAY, DEC. 3.

The Lord Chancellor took his seat on the Woolsack.

The Bishop of Ripon took the oath and subscribed the roll. His sponsors were the Bishop of London and the Bishop of St. Albans.

The Duke of Bedford signed the roll and made affirmation, having a conscientious objection to taking the oath.

—*Times* report.

Describing the scene, the *Daily Telegraph* for December 4, says :—

The Duke of Bedford took his seat in the House. The Bishop of Ripon had just been introduced with two bishops at his side, and the customary bowings and raising of hats to the Lord Chancellor. The Duke, wearing a grey lounge suit, with a soft white collar, stood alone at the Clerk's table.

The Bishop had taken the oath with the words, I swear by Almighty God . . . .' The Duke declared his conscientious objection to that form and used the words, " I do solemnly and sincerely declare and affirm . . . ."

Then he stepped to the Woolsack, shook hands with the Lord Chancellor, and passed out of the Chamber.

Actually, the Duke wore a dark blue suit.

The *Parliamentary Debates, House of Lords, Official Report* (Vol. 121, No. 7), for Wednesday, 3rd December, 1941, Col. 159, makes strange reading when read in conjunction with the above reports :—

The House met, The Lord Chancellor on the Woolsack.

LORD BISHOP OF RIPON.

Geoffrey Charles Lester, Lord Bishop of Ripon—was (in the usual manner) introduced.

The Duke of Bedford—Sat first in Parliament after the death of his father.

Why the headline for the "Lord Bishop of Ripon?" Why "the usual manner?" Why no reference to affirmation? And why "sat" when the Duke of Bedford left the chamber at once?

The debate in the House of Lords on November 18, when Lords Ponsonby and Viscount Cecil of Chelwood defended the Duke of Bedford, and Lord Crewe and Lord Simon denounced him, will be reproduced at an early date, because of its great interest.

The Duke of Bedford is the first duke to affirm.

Commenting on the history of "the great house of Russell," *The Western Independent*, Plymouth, for November 23, remarks that the Duke of Bedford is its head. It recalls that the first Duke entered politics as M.P. for Tavistock in the Long Parliament. He fought for Parliament at Edgehill, changed his views, and changed them back again. He became Governor of Plymouth and a supporter of William of Orange. His son, Lord William Russell, was also M.P. for Tavistock. He was executed on Tower Hill for alleged treason against a regime that afterwards fell. The 6th Duke was also M.P. for Tavistock. He defended the French Revolution and was a member of the famous Society of the *Friends of the People.*

THE CHRISTIAN AND WAR

By RHYS J. DAVIES, M.P.

(Translation from the Welsh by Mervyn Ll Turner)

[Block kindly lent by the N.U.D.A.W.

[. . . Born in 1877, in Llangennech, Carmarthenshire, Rhys Davies was brought up in the Welsh tradition, and for the first fifteen years of his life, could speak but little English. During early years his health was indifferent, so that his attendance at school suffered. Three years spent on a farm, however, seemed to improve his physique, for he spent the next ten years of his life as miner in the Rhondda Valley.

He was dissatisfied with mining conditions and devoted himself to the cause of his fellows in the pits. At 22, he failed by two votes to gain election as a local official of the South Wales Miners' Federation. This led to a break-away from the colliery; he became cashier of the Ton Pentre Co-operative Society at 26/- a week, and married on that wage. None of his fellow-employees was in a Trade Union, and his success in organising them took him to the permanent staff of the National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers at Manchester, in 1907. His election to the City Council as Labour member eventually followed; he also served on the City's Education Committee.

In 1918, he was defeated as Parliamentary candidate at West Salford, but was returned for Westhoughton for Labour in 1921. He was Under-Secretary of State for Home Affairs in the first Labour Government, in 1924. A serious illness prevented him from taking part in the 1929 election campaign.

Rhys Davies is now a member of the Opposition Front Bench in the House of Commons. It may be that it is his Welsh tradition that makes his opposition something real and refreshing to pacifists; his beliefs may not be popular with Members, but his sincerity and earnestness claim respect. Only a man of his courage could have spoken so fearlessly at the 1940 Labour Parliament Conference in London. His speech was so telling that the B.B.C. and the "Daily Express" thought it worthy of sarcastic and sometimes bitter attack. The Westhoughton Labour Party still supports Rhys Davies faithfully.

He specialises in Social Insurance. He did pioneer work for widows' and orphans' pensions.

Rhys Davies is an eloquent speaker and an amateur singer and musician. He has acted as Sunday School teacher, a choirmaster, and a local preacher with the Welsh Congregationalists.

His social and political utterances may not have won for him general support, but his sincerity and thoroughness have secured for him the respect of men and women of all shades of opinion.

Our Comrade Davies was one of the 42 M.P.s who voted, last month, in opposition, for conscription of wealth. He also moved and spoke strongly against the conscription of women.—Ed.]

There is nothing like war for presenting the Christian with difficulty and perplexity; he knows where he stands on almost every question but this. There is no doubt in his mind concerning lesser evils; his judgment is unwavering on thieving, intemperance, adultery and untruthfulness. Indeed he is emphatic enough in his denunciation of war—until the holocaust comes. But once the massacre is begun, most Christians follow their national Government; they clamour for the defeat of the enemy as if Church and Chapel were non-existent and the rudiments of Christianity unborn. With the advent of war the funeral of Reason is announced, and Truth shares the tomb with Christian principles.

Every Britisher, German and Italian abhors the lesser sins and violently denounces any man who kills his neighbour. Though he may have just cause for complaint against the unfortunate whom he slew, yet the murderer is hanged. But in time of war, a man in soldier's clothes is decorated and carried shoulder high by the crowd because he has killed a dozen nationals of another country whom he had never seen. War is the most diabolical folly of all!

There is hardly a Christian prepared to justify any war when the conflagration is over. It is exceptional to find any Britisher justifying the South African War, or the last Great War. The reason is that every Government, on declaring war, so sublimates its appeal that it convinces the Churches that the fight is for Religion, Freedom, Morality, and the Higher Life. But mid-way through the catastrophe, the truth comes to light, and the unfortunate Christian who has eyes to see, realises that far baser motives than he anticipated drove his country into the chaos. This holds good all the world over. Even Hitler protests that the present war is a campaign for freedom for Germany. And for every success, he, just as we do, renders thanks to the same God.

Here are two example of what happens amongst present-day Welsh Christians. One man was for over twenty years treasurer and deacon of a dignified and important Church in the North. The members decided recently to loan £100 from Church funds to the Government to buy war weapons. As a protest he resigned from his positions, withdrew his memberhip, and no longer frequents any place of worship.

The treasurer of another important Church in the South severed all his Church connections for entirely different reasons. He was exceedingly enthusiastic that the flock should collect towards a war weapons fund. When the minister refused to contribute, he left in high dudgeon, and he too never attends a place of worship. Which of the two came nearer to interpreting the principles of Christianity in relation to war?

There are in Germany more than thirty million Roman Catholics, and millions of Protestants. It is said that almost a million copies of the Bible were sold there during the twelve months prior to the war. Why, therefore, do the Catholics of the various countries kill one another? And why do Protestants do likewise? That question confuses even those who never attend Chapel or Church, and creates a difficulty for thousands who profess Christianity.

Think of the millions of Christians who live in Italy and of the millions too in this country who profess the same faith. How is it that these people shed one another's blood? That is the problem which presents itself to every man of reason. It will be borne in mind, of course, that the Pope and the Vatican are in Rome, the metropolis of Italy.

It is obvious that no Government could, in a so-called Christian country, on any pretext, declare war if the Churches refused to support

the campaign. Unfortunately, however, although their consent on this important issue is never sought beforehand, the Church leaders are usually readily prepared to condone what is done by their Government. Even Members of Parliament are not asked to vote for or against war; it is also equally true that they are neither given the opportunity of voting for or against peace. Every Government, even in this country, arrogates to itself the sole right of declaring war, as well as arranging the peace afterwards.

As the Christian in time of peace is so unswervingly opposed to war, why is it that when his Government decides to shed the blood of its people he is so violently in favour of fighting? Do the principles of Christianity allow it? Or must it be confessed that those principles become impracticable? After 2,000 years of preaching and praying, is it premature in the history of man to translate Christian ethics into practice? Has man yet risen above his barbarity? The historian records that for the first three centuries of her history, the Church flatly refused to support any war in any country, and preached peace even when Governments persecuted her for it. Why the change?

The organised Church is guilty of rejecting the gospel that man is man wherever he dwells. She is not quite sure of the commandment, "Thou shalt not kill," while she forgets the Golden Rule except when peace flourishes.

THE GOOD AND EVIL.

The Church has fallen into the error of spreading the fallacy that all Germans and Italians are devils, and all Britishers saints. But there are good and bad men and women in every country throughout the word. It is not geographical and racial differences that separate mankind; it is the good and evil on all Continents. That would be the Christian's standard if he understood the Gospel.

One of Hitler's failings is that he has pronounced judgment on all Jews, protesting that there is not one good man in their midst. But the amazing thing is that many Britishers too believe the same about all the people in Germany and Italy. They say that it is the Good and Evil that are at war, and, of course, all the Good must be on our side.

Such ideas are entirely contrary to the Gospel of Christ. That Gospel teaches us that the evil and the good, in various degrees, flourish in all countries alike. "Seventy million malignant Huns," declares the Prime Minister, "millions curable and millions killable." The stubborn fact is that Good and Evil are battling for mastery within each individual, wherever he resides.

It is hardly necessary to dwell upon the consequences of war—murder, famine, disease, lunacy. Think of some of the consequences for us of the Great War of 1914-18. The following are the most recent statistics, published at the end of March, 1939: 125,125 widows and orphans; 31,850 soldiers minus a leg or an arm; 5,600 in asylums; 28,900 suffering from neurosis; 24,700 consumptives; 2,730 paralysed; 1,935 blind; 1,900 not actually but bordering on insanity; 2,200 soldiers unclassified sufferers. In this country alone, apart from one million killed, there are still over 600,000 pensioners from the Great War.

We must therefore consider the all-important population problem. If we go to war every time our temper is ruffled, in another fifty years or so there will be hardly enough men left here to fight at all, nor to safeguard our homes. The problem France had to face recently was one of population as much as that of military strategy and morale!

War as a means of settling any dispute between nations is a complete failure: it leaves more problems at the end than it set out to solve. Had there been a negotiated instead of an imposed Peace at Versailles, it is quite probable that we would never have heard of Hitler or Mussolini, and might also have avoided this present war as well. In order to destroy Hitlerism we must eliminate the poison that created it.

It is said that Hitler made the present war; but the question is, who made Hitler? Some insist on beginning to write the history of Europe as from 1933 or 1934. That will not do; it is of no avail removing milestones thinking that by so doing you abolish all scales of measurement.

The Church lost ground in Britain because she supported the South African War. By supporting the Great War she lost still more. The statistics of our British Christian Churches suggest that this country is now almost pagan.

What will the position of the Church be at the end of this war? Her fate will be decided then by her behaviour now. The Pope alone ventures a counsel of reason to-day, and even he in his condemnation of war uses his words sparingly.

It is unfortunate that more Christians are ready to die for their Government than suffer for Truth. And let us remember that Truth is not the prerogative of any one nation or country; there is no chosen race. It is the Good that is universally chosen by the Almighty.

A "UNITED" FRONT.

What is most surprising in time of war is the boast made by Governments that all their people support them. They punish their critics; they bully newspaper editors; they cast their opponents into prison; only the sycophants may whisper over the Radio; and then they loudly proclaim a "United" Front in support of war.

There are those who declare that the only way to reach the goal of peace is to shed innocent blood. Such an assertion is as foolish as it is to say that the surest way to temperance is through inebriacy. It is not sufficient for the Church to exist merely for christening, marrying and burying people. It is not enough to create a desire for peace when all nations are of one accord, and then unsheathe the sword when Government calls.

Has the Christian Church in Europe to-day something better to offer the people than talk of final victory? When workers strike, sensible people insist that the best way of settling differences is for both parties to meet round the table, and if at all possible, to arrive at a compromise. Is this at all possible in time of war?

Some time ago the Pope submitted Five Peace Points which met with the unanimous approval of the leaders of the Churches in this country. The Pope was not asking for peace, but seeking to influence the rulers of the warring nations to eliminate malice, hatred, and jealousy from the peace terms when the day came to settle. He took that step believing that the present tragedy was engendered by the Versailles Treaty. That is at least one step that the Churches can take at the present time: to prepare the people to cease talking of "hanging the Kaiser" as was done in 1918. We wonder what is the reply of the Churches to the Five Peace Points. It is obvious that these are difficult times in the history of the Churches. What would be the Saviour's answer to the present challenge? If I am not mistaken, He would declare Himself a conscientious objector in whatever country He dwelt. And did I believe otherwise, I would not direct my steps to any Chapel or Church ever again.

It will be remembered that the Saviour lived under the Roman yoke; the laws of the Roman Empire were quite as cruel as may be found in any other country to-day. But He protested against them, and it is certain that He would never join the Forces of His country to fight for any cause, whatever the attitude of the Government of His day.

Everybody is agreed that bombing civilians is of the devil; but as is the custom in war, each party blames the other; it is always the other side that offends. And both sides, through their clergy, pray to the same High Power for victory; and God laughs when He beholds their childishness.

It is strange celebrating Christmas, the festival of the Prince of Peace, in the midst of war. We sing carols to cherish the memory of the Angels' Song with its thoughts of "Peace on earth and goodwill to men" when the greatest and the most absolute Conscientious Objector of all times was born. The European Continent is too wicked to welcome the dove of peace, whilst the statesmen Europe has produced are ill-suited to receive the Gospel of Him who rejected the philosophy of Force. The angels weep to witness men killing one another; they are sad when starvation looms in the distance. Fortunately they may not read our Press; theirs is a different tongue. But they are familiar with our spirit and our way of living. What, we wonder, do they think of our Christian Churches in these dark days?

There is no reason for the existence of the Church unless it has something better to offer mankind than Spitfires, Messerschmitts and Capronis. And why is it that we find the clergy, who themselves are not expected to fight, supporting their Governments in all wars? It is impossible that all Governments can be right; if it were so, they would not be at war.

That is the problem the Christian has to face to-day, and it is on his attitude now that he will be judged when the catastrophe is over.

THE NEW AGE.

By the New Age, we do not mean the German, Indian, Russian or British systems of politics or economics. You may have more than one system in any one age; systems depend on the mind and spirit of those living at the time. Naturally it is the people who are responsible for the age in which they live, and not the Governments.

We need not unravel the past with its mistaken ideas and its shame, but rather to look into the future to catch a glimpse of what might well happen when the present brutish war is over.

Let us hope that the black-out, the gas-mask and the ear-plugs will be superfluous in that new age. Everybody then will be able, we presume, to buy and eat cheese and butter freely. That will be an age when it will be possible to sleep in bed rather than in an Anderson shelter; an age when the church bells will ring once again, calling the devout together as of yore.

With that New Age will come great changes. Some foresee cottages of stone and brick being built again; houses far better than the old are promised. Then will new bridges cross streams and rivers great and small, and aeroplanes will transport the millions to the end of the earth through cloud and mist and clear sky, without showering fire-bombs on innocent women and children on their flights. Then, too, man shall be free to express his opinion on the problems of the day without fear of being tripped up in the niceties of the law. And then, we hope, the Radio will be accessible to those whose voice for a time has been silenced.

Perhaps in this New Age every infant shall have his fill, every child a better education than his parents, and every adolescent his fair and just rights from Authority. Some will have it that no-one will be idle in that age; mechanical power will pull every cart on the highway, and the plough will turn the furrows by the same process. It will no longer be necessary to work eight hours a day for six days a week; everyone will have enough and plenty if he works for four hours on four days out of seven, and every worker shall have leisure to do as he will, as if he were a gentleman of means. And no more will be heard

"Dwyn ei geiniog dan gwynaw;
Rhoi angen un rhwng y naw."
(Winning his pence through suffering;
Sharing the needs of one between nine.)

Has the Church a mission for the common man everywhere to hurl at the oppressor and all who love war? Or is it content to believe that peace is but a slumber between wars; that it is no longer possible for nations to live in amity and friendship? In the New Age it is to be hoped **that war is obsolete.** It will not be possible to attain a New or a Golden Age until humanity is ready to sacrifice and work as much for peace as it does for war. To live in that Age would indeed be a joy.

POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION

By The Right Hon. LORD SNELL C.B.E.
(Deputy Leader of The House of Lords)

[*Summary of An Address Delivered before The South Place Ethical Society, Conway Hall, London, W.C.1, on September* 14, 1941.]

It should be understood that this summary is a reporter's condensation of a lecture that took 50 minuets to deliver. The report is disturbed in its sequences, but it represents what Lord Snell said. It adds nothing: only condenses.

[. . . The following report was reproduced from the "Monthly Record" of the South Place Ethical Society by "The Literary Guide" for December, 1941. It seems to us to be a reasoned and pacific approach to the tragic situation of the world from the standpoint of one who believes the war to be right. If peace is to come to the world, militarists and anti-militarists have to enter into discussion; men of all races must confer and put aside antagonisms and hatreds: even Social Revolutionists and Social Reformers must meet and consult in some spirit of fellowship. We welcome Lord Snell's statement as a basis of discussion and consideration, in the progress towards wisdom that humanity must make.

The South Place Ethical Society has given permission for this report to be reproduced in "THE WORD," after consulting Lord Snell, who raised no objection. The reference to Lord Snell as deputy leader of the House of Lords is added by us, to emphasise the importance of his views. He spoke at Conway Hall, naturally, as a private individual, but his views are not inconsistent with his position.—Ed.]

Whenever and however the war may end, we shall be face to face with a world that is economically, politically, socially, and even morally, disorganised. There will be a clamour for the immediate solution of problems at present insoluble. This will include territorial, imperial, and diplomatic problems, and the consequences of wrong decisions will be so grave that everybody should even now be thinking about the shape of the new world. Civilisation cannot again afford to lose by the peace. Let us beware of the national vices of complacency and drift, and neither under-estimate the importance of the problems which await solution nor delay such preparations as we may have to make for them. The mind of the nation has to be made aware of the dangers of any mistaken action. Certain steps are already being taken. The British Cabinet has set up a special department, with Mr Arthur Greenwood at its head. Learned societies are undertaking detailed examination of these problems. Each of the three major political parties has set up a special Committee, and Chambers of Commerce have also got busy. The other Governments now established in London—the Polish especially—have research committees. All this is immensely to the good, but not sufficient. The responsibility must be shared by the people as well as by the experts and the Governments.

When the war is over we shall find ourselves living in a new psychological world, with new and intensified problems and prejudices. It is almost inevitable that there will be a kind of automatic desire on the part of languid people to return to old ways and thoughts. It is natural to feel that you can go back to things as they were. We tried to do that in 1918, but we have learned much since then. We must endeavour to get a true understanding of the mind of the German people and of their future place in the world. We dare not misapprehend a second time. We are inclined to think that other people are just like ourselves; but the German people regard themselves as different and superior. They never conceive that a position of equality with other nations would be entirely satisfactory, and they take a deliberate pride in this deeply-rooted prejudice. From Fichte to our time this difference has been asserted. Western standards of culture and righteousness have been denied. They repudiated the cosmopolitanism of Adam Smith and the English economists, and proclaimed a national State based on racial community; they also believed that war was better than peace because it led man to be most like himself. Now, if we are to co-operate with the German people we must really try to understand the philosophy which shapes their minds. It is not democracy, for Germany never was a democracy, and to that extent may therefore be excused at the present time. We have had hundreds of years of preparation; but the Germans have been taught and have followed a philosophy which extols the virtue of power and success. They held they could get all they desired by force, which is their first principle of State. That philosophy is quite different from our own; we have felt that our good would be most assured through the good of others. We have never felt that it could be obtained by trampling down other people. It is dangerous to assume that Germany, after the war, would be willing to approach the world in our way; there is nothing in her history or present temper to justify that belief. The Germans are intelligent, industrious, courageous, aggressive, and at times highly sentimental, but they have the souls of slaves. They are obedient to authority, and willing to do wretched things when ordered to do so. That represents a difference from our own outlook on the world. When Hitler says, "Do that," all the people say "Amen." We must learn that he is the personification of the German philosophy. There has always been a noble minority in Germany: Goethe, Hegel, Kant, Lessing, Bach, and Beethoven did not accept the Nazi philosophy; those great spirits knew the weakness of their own people. We must try to solve this difficulty. It is necessary to assume that the Allies will be successful in order that we may be able to plan the future. The problem is whether we can get psychological unity between Germans and the rest of the world.

One proposal is that Germany should be split up into small principalities. That is purely repression, and we must not waste time in examining it. Then there is the pacifist view that we must risk everything for pacification. If that should prove wrong our children will suffer just as we are suffering. There is the problem of disarmament. It must take place, as it is essential for the security of the world. We must ask whether our Allies will stand by us in the reshaping of a new Europe. That would depend in part on the peace proposals, and we must devote our minds to the realisation of the facts and of the work before us. We must hope that the present understanding with the U.S.A. will continue after the war, and that until the world can be re-shaped there may be a peace guaranteed by the almost invincible combination of the English-speaking world. That would give us time to think out the form in which a new Europe can be started. While we must try to understand the Germans, the fact remains that we have got to live in the world with them, and if we can shape a world in which they will co-operate it would be better than to suppress them; but we dare ont take any risks on this occasion. There must be nothing like revenge, but there must be precaution.

Our problem is what is going to happen to Germany itself. Order must be kept there or chaos may result. Perhaps there would be danger if Germany were handed over to the Army leaders. There is the possibility that the Nazi party and Hitler might remain in power after a military defeat. I am not saying that these things will happen. I am trying to paint a picture of a possibility we may have to encounter. Another problem is whether a sufficiently strong opposition movement with staying power can be created in Germany. It takes years to build such an organization even in an atmosphere of freedom, and it is a question whether an improvised opposition could stand without outside help. Remember the submissive character of the German people—physically brave, but not mentally brave in standing up for individual rights. There can be no spontaneous ideological revolution in Germany as in Russia in 1917; the tendency will be to do as they are told and to bow to authority. It may be that in Germany and elsewhere there will be a party of lawlessness to encounter, and our choice may be to leave Germany to the torment she has prepared for others. The difficulties of outside responsibility for order may be great, but if we can get the goodwill of the German people for five years, during which they can re-shape their institutions, it might be a blessing to the world.

Then there are the economic and commercial problems. Are we ready to face them in our of Europe as a whole. Men will be demobilized and available for industry in millions far in excess of the supply of raw materials, most of which will be in the wrong place. We should, therefore, already be preparing to bring people and raw materials together. In many materials there will be a world shortage. There may have to be international rationing, and perhaps a scheme of priorities. Old factories will have been destroyed, or have become out of date. There will be a house shortage, although camps may afford some measure of relief. European credit will have gone, food production will have own country? Reflect on the probable condition been decreased, land will be spoiled, inflation will threaten, and almost certainly vitality will be lowered. Unemployment may be great, and we cannot exclude the grim possibility of famine. How do we stand as a nation? Notice the enormously increased capacity of the U.S.A. and of the Dominions during this war. Each has built up vast secondary industries and productive power.

Is it to be supposed that when the war is over America will abandon this increased power, or that the Dominions will abolish their secondary industries? Shall we attempt to defend ourselves by industrial tariffs and intensify economic nationalism? There is the problem of India, with three hundred and fifty million people being brought into industry at a very low level of social life. Our duty is to preserve our standards as far as we can. If we could satisfy the demand which exists in Africa, the West Indies, and in India for an improved standard of living a demand for our exports may be created. That would help. We must have increased efficiency as to new processes, and be ready to start new industries. We must beware of a return to an era of cheap sweated products in order to be able to undersell Asiatic goods. The way out is to secure economic security on an international scale. We must preserve our standards through the International Labour Office. Not only is this the best of the instruments created after the last war, but it still exists. State control will have gradually to be extended during the reconstructive period. Then there is the question of finance and debt. It represents a staggering burden. The loan services may frighten many of us. Do not despair. Look at what really happens. A nation lives on its current production, and if we can so organize our production as to meet day-by-day expenses, colossal as the burden is, capital debt will then be manageable, and I think we can emerge without any serious deterioration in our standard of life. Much depends on the quality of leadership. The forces of democratic society cannot survive unless our leaders are enlightened and enduring. The influence of leadership may be seen to-day in Britain, China, South Africa, and America. We must encourage men with creative gifts whose attitude towards life will be progress without disorder or reaction.

I believe, though the times are dark, that we need not despair. We do not always see the coming light, but it will surely come. The leaders, too, will appear if we desire them. Who knows in what school or in what society to-day young leaders may be receiving their strength? One of our chief duties is to prepare the way for them, and to know them when they come.

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4—**Professor J. C. Flugel, D.Sc.**—"Wishful Thinking: Its Use and Abuse."
11—**Lord Snell**—"The Outlook for the New Year."
18—**Professor G. W. Keeton, M.A., LL.D.**—"The Meaning of Christendom."
25—**C. E. M. Joad, M.A., D.Litt.**—"Goodness and Freedom."

IN THE COPPERBELT

CREECH JONES V. GEORGE HALL

(*Concluded from page 55.*)

[. . . Creech Jones's Commons speech (April 10, 1941) in defence of the native workers engaged in the Northern Rhodesian Copperbelt has been reproduced in these columns for November and December, 1941. In the November issue (page 40) we detailed the trade unionist and political career of Mr. George Henry Hall, the present Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State to the Colonial Office. Below we summarise the discussion that followed the speech made by our comrade. Then came Hall's apology, which almost resolved itself into a debate between Creech Jones and George Hall. Space difficulties has compelled us to reduce Hall's apologies largely to his factual statement. This is a pity, for his qualifying phrases and modes of approach spoke volumes. Hall revealed himself as an apologist for Government, functioning as the executive committee of the absentee financial exploiting class, and its agent on the spot. Creech Jones challenged from the standpoint of the workers' rights, and the need for useful administration and development.—Ed.]

Mr. Ernest Evans (University of Wales) followed Creech Jones. He defended the Governor of Northern Rhodesia, and declared that its policy was liberal. He spent some time in the Copperbelt in 1938.

Mr. Evans is a K.C. and was Liberal M.P. for Cardiganshire from 1918-23. He has sat for the University since 1934. He is the son of a late Town Clerk of Cardiganshire and is B.A. of Trinty College, Cambridge. It is not surprising that he should be wanting in the proletarian realistic understanding of our comrade Creech Jones.

Mr. Edmund Harvey (combined English Universities) spoke next. His speech was a poor, compromising affair, full of pious good will that lacked any suggestion of translation into worth-while reality, and concluded by expressing every confidence in the Under-Secretary and the Secretary of State.

The Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. George Hall, spoke next. We can only make extracts from this amazing speech, which ought to be read in full in the Official Report.

Hall referred to the death, the previous day, of Sir John Maybin, the Governor of the Territory since August, 1938: spoke of his capacity as an administrator, his 25 years experience of Colonial affairs, and added: "He had great charm of manner and his outstanding qualities of tact and sympathy and his sterling character won him the esteem and admiration of those who knew him."

Hall proceeded to pay a tribute to the Commission responsible for the Report that Creech Jones had discussed. Hall considered **"the Commission, made up of Sir John Foster, Sir Walter Buchanan-Smith, and Mr. Dagleish, a well-balanced Commission."**

This brings us to the passage of arms between Jones and Hall.

Mr. George Hall stated that "my hon. Friend, the member for Shipley, was perhaps a little critical." He developed his factual reply to Creech Jones' critical challenge:—

The Copperbelt was first discovered only in 1925. From then until 1929, there was progress. There was a setback owing to the world depression of 1931-32, but from 1934 there has been considerable progress. . . . In 1935 the copper exports from the Copperbelt were to the value of £5,000,000; in 1937 they had increased to £11,000,000; and during the first six months of 1940 the total amount exported was to the value of £6,000,000.

Seeing that my hon. Friend has raised the question of the contribution of this industry to the Territory, it is well that we should take note of the fact that, whereas in 1925-26 the revenue of Northern Rhodesia amounted to £370,000, it had almost doubled by 1939, while this year the revenue for the territory is estimated at £2,500,000. It is interesting to note that of that amount the Income Tax is expected to yield £1,500,000. In 1938 the Income Tax receipts from the mining companies alone amounted to no less than 79 per cent. of the total tax collected. There has been a tremendous development, not only with regard to output and revenue, but in the number of people employed in the Copperbelt. In 1930 the number was 15,000. . . . In 1932 the number slumped to 7,000. At the present time the number is from 26,000 to 28,000. That, of course, does not include the Europeans employed. They vary between 3,500 and 3,800—in other words, at the rate of one European to every 10 Africans in the Copperbelt. The importance of this industry can be judged from the fact that the amount of copper at present being produced in Northern Rhodesia is about 300,000 tons a year. . . The Territory has overtaken Canada, which was formerly the greatest producer of copper in the world. The reserves of this valuable high-grade ore in the Territory amount to about 750,000,000 tons, so the source of the Territory's prosperity may be regarded as permanent. . . .

It was because of the strike of 1940 that the Commission was appointed. My hon. Friend referred to the delay in the publication of the Report. The delay was largely due to communications having to pass between Northern Rhodesia and this country. I might add that had the Commission been appointed by the Colonial Office here there would have been a certain amount of delay, for the same reason. My hon. Friend will realise the difficulties of communication and of transport. We have the Report before us. The Colonial Office, in addition to submitting the Report, have submitted a statement, giving the recommendations and dealing with the result of the negotiations between the Northern Rhodesian Government and the mine managers.

. . . When you examine the changes which have taken place, you find that the companies have not only conceded almost everything asked for in the Report of the Commission, but in some cases have gone a little farther. The acceptance by the mining companies of the recommendations, and what they have done in addition, are, in my opinion, proof of their co-operation. My hon. Friend dealt with the cause of the dispute and also with the wages question and other attendant questions. . . .

I shall therefore not go back into its history, but come straight away to the question of wages. There was one thing to which my hon. Friend did not refer when he complained about the amount of wages paid in the compound. He did not mention the fact that, in addition to wages, houses were provided, and food, not only for the worker, but for members of his family, and also a certain allowance for the renewal of clothes, all of which, of course, are an addition to the wages which are paid to the African workers.

Mr. CREECH JONES: I took the allowances for granted; everyone knows that they are made. I was merely trying to get a contrast between the total cash wage bill and the other income from the industry.

Mr. HALL: I agree that people who know the conditions of the Copperbelt know that, in addition to the wages that are paid, there are other allowances given, and when one comes to balance the wages and the value of what is given in addition, I am not sure whether that which is given in addition to wages does not exceed the amount of the wages that are paid. But I want to put it on record that, in addition to wages, there are these other outgoings. Far be it from me to say that I am entirely satisfied with the amount of wages paid even in accordance with this recommendation, but I am sure that my hon. Friend, as the hon. Member for the University of Wales (Mr. Ernest Evans) has already done, will see that you cannot relate the wages paid to all Africans in the Copperbelt to the wages paid to Europeans, nor the wages paid to Africans in Northern Rhodesia with the wages paid to the people in this country. The only way in which you can relate wages is to relate them to those which are paid in the territory itself.

Mr. CREECH JONES: Not altogether.

Mr. HALL: I am not suggesting that they should be entirely related and kept down to the level of the wages which are paid, but we have to take into consideration the relationship as between the one and the other. I would call the attention of my hon Friend to paragraph 26 of the Report, which points out that until 1926, when industrial development on a large scale commenced, there were very few Africans who had been employed in semi-skilled work, and a large number who had done nothing but rough labour, for which only 5s. per month, plus food, was paid.

Mr. CREECH JONES: Scandalous.

Mr. HALL: I agree, but even at the present time the Commission report that, relating the wages, previously given in the Copperbelt to those which are paid on the railways, in agriculture and in secondary industries, they are not excessive but are in excess. Let me take the wages as they have been fixed in accordance with the recommendations of the Commission. I am not going to say that substantial increases have been agreed to, but increases have been agreed upon. If my hon. Friend or any hon. Member in this House will look at the statement which was issued with this report, he will see that the maximum has been increased, in some instances, from 50s. per ticket to 100s. per ticket. The surface maximum has increased from 40s. per ticket to 80s. per ticket. The minimum has increased by 2s. 6d. per ticket, which is not very much. As my hon. Friend has said, it is about a penny a day. That is so, but he himself got confused in connection with the payment of these wages, and I can understand it. I had for many years some experience in dealing with the pay tickets of South Wales miners, and the way in which these wages are assessed and arrived at is almost as complicated as was the case in South Wales. He said that the 2s. 6d. per ticket cost-of-living bonus was regarded as an efficiency bonus and was only paid in accordance with the wishes or at the discretion of the compound manager. May I assure him that that is not so. The cost-of-living bonus is paid because of the increase in the cost of living.

Mr. CREECH JONES: May I point out that the suggestion was very clearly made that the compound manager may deduct from that bonus in the light of his views as to indiscipline or inefficiency on the part of the worker.

Mr. HALL: I feel sure that my hon. Friend is under a misapprehension in connection with that bonus. It may be that, with regard to other efficiency bonuses the compound manager has the power which he has ascribed to him, but as far as that bonus is concerned, it is purely a cost-of-living bonus. I have stated that, in addition to wages, there are free rents, house accommodation for the married, with free rations for the family, and there is a bonus system for efficiency and other purposes, and then we come to the question of clothing.

Mr. CREECH JONES: This is purely on a question of fact. The Commission recommended the deduction from bonus for disciplinary purposes but this was unacceptable to the Northern Rhodesian Government.

Mr. Hall concluded the debate. The reader is referred to the Official Report for his apologies. Creech Jones's indictment and plea stand. They are unanswerable.

INTERN LORD VANSITTART

By GORDON STOTT

(*Advocate; prospective Parliamentary Labour Candidate for West Edinburgh*).

[. . . The following short editorial by our comrade, Gordon Stott, appeared in the Edinburgh **"Clarion"** for November, 1941. It is interesting to note that the same issue of our contemporary publishes a letter of greeting from Herbert Morrison, dated October 27, 1941.—Ed.]

Imprisonment of a British citizen without trial is an odious business at best. The *Clarion* has alway urged that wherever possible an internee should be furnished with a clear statement of the charges against him and have the right to answer them before a properly constituted court. But if people are to be interned we should see to it that they are the right people—not the innocent and harmles, but those who constitute a real danger to the community.

The *Sunday Times* is conducting a campaign for the internment of the Duke of Bedford. The Duke is a Christian pacifist. He believes that there is a spark of goodness in every man, even the worst. He believe that there may be some good even in Hitler—and he has been rash enough to say so. The Duke may be quite wrong. His opinion may be absurd. But it does no harm to anyone. There will always be room in the world for the expression of charity and loving kindness—even towards those who least deserve it.

But what of the *Sunday Times* itself? Week by week, this influential newspaper publishes an article by Lord Vansittart. Lord Vansittart has no understanding of the economic and social causes which lie at the root of war. He knows nothing of the struggle of the working people in all countries. His views are based on a fantastic racial theory, which is nothing else than inverted Hitlerism. They are backed up with half-truths and unsound generalisations. Even if he were right in his pretended "diagnosis," he has no remedy to offer, but is content simply to stir up hatred and bitterness and despair destroying the effect of the Russian propaganda of social justice for all, and doing Goebbels' work by implanting in German minds the certain fear of a peace worse than Versailles.

If there are to be internments at all, why not Vansittart and the editor of the *Sunday Times*? They and their like are far more dangerous than any pacifist Duke. They—however well-intentioned—are helping Hitler. They are prolonging the war.

THE STRANGE CASE OF MR. TOM JOHNSTON

By F. W. JOWETT

[Reprinted from the "Bradford I.L.P. News," Sept. 26. This essay will be read with interest by all Socialists living in Glasgow who recall Johnston's one-time "Socialist War Points," and his exposure of Lloyd George's Parkhead meeting. Ed.]

In years which are now far away in the dim and distant past I read in one of the novels of Charles Dickens about a person of queer character who in the most appallingly distressing circumstances could always be cheerful. Mark Tapley was the name Dickens gave this perennially cheerful person. Mark had been led by alluring prospects to settle in a remote region of America but found when he got there he had to build his home in a swamp on the road to nowhere. But, in his mind's eye, Mark could see the sunny side when really there was no sun, so to speak, for there was absolutely nothing on which to base his optimism.

I remembered this queer character in the Dicken's novel when I read the report of a speech made by Mr. Tom Johnston, Secretary for Scotland, in last Monday's *Yorkshire Observer*.

Mr. Tom Johnston, formerly editor of the Glasgow *Forward*, and a merciless critic of all contentedly comfortable politicians, in or out of office, has now become the Mark Tapley of politics. He is no longer a critic but a purveyor of assurances in a world bristling with injustice and black with peril for the common people for whom he previously used his pen so vigorously.

Speaking last Sunday to Civil Defence workers in Stirlingshire, Mr. Johnston is reported (*Yorkshire Observer*, Sept. 22nd) as follows:—

". . . . it could be said beyond all doubt that any air attack on Britain would now be at least one-third less in intensity and strength as the result of the destruction of German aircraft on the Russian front. . . ."

"On the subject of food and this year's harvest, Mr. Johnston stated that for the first time in the history of Great Britain there were no empty stomachs in the land."

"From a financial aspect, too, there was reason for quiet satisfaction in that the worst perils of inflation had been avoided because we were now allied to two of the most important nations in the world."

Here are three statements, one of which is dangerously questionable: the other two are distortions, which, in my opinion, are clearly intended to give aid and comfort to the class of people which Mr. Johnston previously savagely opposed but with whom he is now in comfortable partnership.

To deal with the dangerously questionable statement first. On what ground does Mr. Johnston make the alluring, but, as I believe, *illusory* statement "that any air attack on Great Britain would now be at least one-third less in intensity and strength" than previous attacks? Because, he says, "of the destruction of German aircraft on the Russian front."

This statement, I affirm, is dangerously questionable. One cannot say more in challenging answer to it because the next and future air attacks on Great Britain have not happened yet. That Hitler's Nazi Germany has lost heavily in aircraft in the aggressive war against Soviet Russia is true. The loss may even be as much as one-third of its previous strength. This we do not know.

What wo do know is that whatever Hitler's Nazi Germany has lost in aircraft, the vastness of its operations shows that it is still a force so formidable that if a large proportion of it can be swung over to renew the air attacks on Britain, the attacks may be expected to be greater in intensity and strength than before.

And, in this connection, there are two considerations to be taken into account. One is that, whereas the series of attacks last year in which the German losses were so heavy compared with ours, were attempts at precision bombing at definite targets in daylight or bright moonlight, the change-over afterwards to night bombing was intended quite as much to destroy life and property with the object of destroying the morale of the civilian population.

To this latter form of air-warfare Prime Minister Churchill has challenged Hitler's Nazi Germany, and for months, whilst the German air force has been held in deadly combat by Soviet Russia (to our very great relief) the British press and the British radio have been *boasting of the losses of life and property inflicted by British night-bombing raids on German towns.*

There is nothing so sure as that the next great change in German war strategy, when the expected winter stabilisation of the battlefront far into the interior of Soviet Russia can be effected, will be that *Churchill's challenge will be answered* and reprisals in kind will follow.

If Mr. Tom Johnston had been the same man as he was in the last war, with the same outlook as he had then, he would have been warning the people of what is to be expected of this mad night bombing competition and indicating the Party leaders who lend themselves to supporting it instead of making every possible effort to stop it.

Nor would he fail to warn the people of the madness of political leaders who talk of *disarming Germany and keeping Germany forcibly disarmed for twenty years* or some undeclared period by means of *Anglo-American military domination.* Anything more sure to keep the war going for many more years yet could not possibly be imagined, for *it means the invasion of Germany with sufficient force to occupy it, at least for some considerable time.* An adventure that could only be regarded as a possibility by the most extravagant stretch of wishful thinking.

Of Mr. Johnston's two distorted statements the one about food is not only misleading, but insultingly ridiculous. *"For the first time in the history of Great Britain there were no empty stomachs in the land,"* said Mr. Johnston.

Under the heading "New Jap Note to Roosevelt," I read an account in the *Daily Herald* on Tuesday (Sept. 23rd) of the rapid decline in living conditions in Japan which are said to be inducing the Japanese Government and President Roosevelt to continue negotiations for peaceful agreement between the United States and Japan. This is the point chiefly stressed in the *Daily Herald's* report on the decline in living conditions in Japan:—

"Living conditions," reports the *Daily Herald*, "are said to be declining rapidly. *There is a shortage of fresh vegetables and other vital foods.*"

Mr. Johnston himself may have no personal experience of what foods are just as completely out of reach of a large proportion of working class families by reason of the prices of them as if those foods were actually non-existent. One may reasonably assume, however, that at least Mr. Johnston reads his own Party's paper, the *Daily Herald*, in which Mrs. Ayrton Gould's articles have appeared, and in which unimpeachable medical evidence on malnutrition has been reported. He therefore ought to know that *here, as in Japan*, for ordinary working class folk there is a *"shortage of fresh vegetables and other vital foods."* And the Tom Johnston of the last war if he were using his pen as effectively now as he did then would be flaying mercilessly the Ministry of Food and everybody else bearing any share of responsibility for the prices ramps which fill the bank balances of the big profiteers (not forgetting the big business men in the key positions controlling supplies and prices) and keep lean the diet, and empty the cupboards of ordinary working people.

As for Mr. Tom Johnston's quiet satisfaction that the worst perils of inflation have been avoided. Here again he endeavours to create the impression that there is nothing to complain of in the matter of financial chicanery as there was in the last war by making a comparison, very vaguely and insidiously, which is not only misleading but insultingly ridiculous, as his comparison was in his statement about food.

Of course we have avoided *the worst* perils of inflation. We are not yet in the position Macdonald and Snowden described at the 1931 election to frighten the people and help Montague Norman, as agent for the Bank of England and New York's Wall Street, to crucify the British people on the golden cross of the Gold Standard. But we are heading straight for a £20,000 millions debt and a large part of the debt already recorded is for the loan of bank created credit money—*counterfeit money—inflation.*

If Mr. Tom Johnston had been the same man with the same outlook as the Tom Johnston of the last war he would not only be attacking the thimble-rigging methods of the financiers but he would be exposing the share pushing speculators and the war munitions profits scandal. So far from encouraging people to hope for a financial tie-up with Wall Street as a guarantee of post-war security, he would be warning them that this tie-up is a danger to be avoided. The wealth and resources of this country will pass in pawn to Wall Street, with the Bank of England and British finance as agent and our ruling classes as bailiffs, if the British people can be induced to accept the complacent attitude of the new Tom Johnston, the contented and comfortable politician of to-day.

FROM NEW ZEALAND

We have received an interesting letter from our comrade, S. Wignall, Hon. Organiser of the Rationalist Association of New Zealand. The declaration of this Association states:

"The Rationalist Associations of New Zealand have similar objects to the Rationalist Association of Great Britain.

The headquarters of the Association are situate at 315, Victoria Arcade Buildings, Shortland Street, Auckland, C.1. Perhaps our New Zealand readers will note this address. From here they can obtain the writings or orations of Thomas Paine, Richard Carlile, Robert Ingersoll, etc.

Under date of October 14, Comrade Wignall writes:—

"Dear Mr. Aldred,—Very many thanks for the literature sent.

A Mr. Sam Anderson, a member of this Association, of Araouni, says he knew you in the early days.

As a political paper I consider your "WORD" of very high standing, and the people of Britain are very fortunate in having such a paper available for the small sum of 3/- per annum. The quality of the paper is only exceeded by the reading material thereon. However, from this Association's standpoint it is necessary to avoid the political view and approach and consider from the religious aspect.

The Life of Mr. Thomas Paine is very ably written indeed and to one who, like myself, finds satisfaction and sources of emulation in biographies, it is highly appraised and appreciated. Have not yet read the Life of Richard Carlile, but I sometimes feel disgusted to find his name omitted from certain encyclopaedias while so much attention is devoted to Thomas Carlyle, who without a doubt is hopelessly behind the times notwithstanding a good command of English.

Of course, we have to face many difficulties as all struggling minority efforts have to; none will know this better than you. Still we are glad to report a steady trend in our direction and there can be no letting up on the struggle if the forces of progress are to triumph.

In conclusion please accept our admiration for the courageous stand, the unflinching determination and steadfast work you are doing, even though we may not all agree in every way with your viewpoint. The Rationalist outlook teaches us that all progress sprang from those, like yourself, willing to suffer imprisonment and persecution, in order that posterity might reap the benefit and follow in your footsteps.

Believe me, yours fraternally,

F. S. WIGNALL."

The Thomas Paine reference is to Richard Carlile's "life" of Paine, which is circulated at 2d., post free, 3d.

MONEY AND PROGRESS

SOME LESSONS FROM AMERICAN FINANCIAL HISTORY

By

THE DUKE OF BEDOFRD

History provides no parallel, either in point of view of duration or extent, for the exploitation of the people of the world by international financiers operating an anti-social monetary system. The exploitation of labour by capital is mere child's play by comparison!

As the exploitation of nations by their financiers is still going on in most of the so-called Democracies; and as the methods employed are much the same in different parts of the world, episodes connected with the early history of Finance in the United States are neither devoid of interest nor out-of-date for the student of monetary reform.

In the early part of the eighteenth Century, Pennsylvania, then, of course, a British Colony, adopted a monetary system which, though not absolutely ideal from the point of view of modern progressive economists in that it did not effect a careful adjustment between the supply of money and the supply of goods, had nevertheless some excellent commonsense features and was attended by most satisfactory results.

The Pennsylvania Government created new paper money and lent it to settlers who were desirous of clearing land for productive purposes and putting up buildings. David Hume, an English Historian, describes the method as follows:—

"In Pennsylvania the land itself is coined. The planter immediately after purchasing land can go to a public office and receive notes to the amount of half his land, which notes he employs in all payments. No more than a certain sum is issued to one planter and he must pay back each year into the public Treasury one-tenth of the notes. When they are all paid back, he can repeat the operation. This caused a prosperity that Burke said was unparalleled."

Benjamin Franklyn wrote:

"Abundance reigned in Pennsylvania and there was peace in all her borders. A more happy and prosperous population could not perhaps be found on the globe. In every home there was comfort. The people generally were highly moral and knowledge was extensively diffused."

"In every home there was comfort"—some of us, before the war at any rate, were inclined to feel sceptical when references were made to "the good old times," thanking our stars that we did *not* live in what we were inclined to regard as an age of semi-barbarism! It is true that the "good old times" had their bad features. Savage penalties were inflicted for very minor offences; superstition was rife; medical knowledge was almost absent; and people seldom or never washed themselves! On the other hand, if we go back far enough in the history both of this country and of America, we really do reach a period when, in certain most important directions, the "good old times" were really good. Members of the weekly-wage earning class had far more comfort and security than many of them have been able to enjoy for many a long year and, if penalties for infringement of the law were foolishly severe, adequate protection by the law of the rights of the citizen was in certain directions better established. In some ways we have not progressed through the centuries but have actually gone back, various causes contributing, of which, in this country, the chief were the neglect of the old Common Law with its just fundamental principles and the substitution of frequently inferior Statute Laws put into operation by Acts of Parliament; the appearance of the financial tyranny; the increasing ignorance and corruption of Members of Parliament; and the failure of the people to take an intelligent interest in public affairs and maintain proper control over their elected representatives. Many of our modern social evils have been attributed to mechanisation and the industrial era, but had it not been for the more fundamental factors already alluded to, the industrial system would have been properly directed and controlled and would have been a benefit to all instead of a curse to many.

Reverting to the American Colonies, the subsequent history of Pennsylvania was extremely sad and teaches a lesson from which we can well profit to-day. Peter Cooper, one of the early American patriots gives the following description of what took place. "When Franklyn was brought before the Parliament of Great Britain and questioned as to the cause of the wonderful prosperity growing up in the Colonies, he plainly stated that the cause was the convenience they found in exchanging their various forms of labour, one with another, by paper money which has been adopted; that this paper money was not only used in the payment of taxes; but in addition it had been declared legal tender. It rose to two or three per cent. above the par value of gold and silver, as everybody preferred its use. One of its advantages was its security against theft as it could be easily carried and hidden on account of its having no bulk, as all kinds of specie (coin) must necessarily have. After Franklyn explained this to the British Government as the real cause of prosperity, they immediately passed laws forbidding the payment of taxes in that money(!). This produced such great misery and inconvenience to the people that it was the principal cause of the Revolution. A far greater reason for a general uprising than the Tea and Stamp Act was the taking away of the paper money."

John Twells, of London, tells much the same story. In describing the Pennsylvanian experiment and its fate he says:

"This was the monetary system under which the American Colonists prospered to such an extent that Burke said of them 'Nothing in the history of the world is like their progress.' It was a wise and beneficial system and its effects were most conducive to the happiness of the people. Half the value of his land was advanced to the head of the family in notes which circulated as money. With these notes he could hire labour and purchase instruments of husbandry and cattle, and thus, where without these notes one acre could be cleared and stocked in a year, ten would, by the assistance of the paper money advanced, be reclaimed from the forest and rendered productive. In an evil hour the British Government took away from America its representative money . . . Now mark the consequences. Ruin seized upon these once flourishing Colonies: the most severe distress was brought home to every interest and every family."

After the United States became independent, the Government for a time issued its own paper notes which were known as "greenbacks." Although the plan was a sound one and was described by Col. Edward Taylor in 1864 as "the greatest blessing the people of the Republic had ever had," it aroused the determined opposition of the financiers, who obtained no tribute of interest from a kind of money which they were not able to issue for their own profit in the form of loans. The battle, unfortunately successful, which they waged to secure control of the issue of American paper money, produced some most revealing documents in the form of a correspondence carried on in 1863 between the London banking firm of Rothschild Brothers, and the firm of Ikleheimer, Morton and Vandergould which had its headquarters in Wall Street, New York. The following are quotations from the correspondence. Rothschild Brothers wrote:

"A Mr. John Sherman has written to us from a town in Ohio as to the profits which are to be made in the National Banking business under a recent Act of your Congress (an Act which had the ultimate effect of getting rid of the State Bank notes just referred to). Mr. Sherman declares that there has never before been such an opportunity for capitalists to accumulate money as that presented by this Act and that the old plan of State banks is so unpopular that the new scheme will, by mere contrast, be most favourably regarded, notwithstanding the fact that it gives the National Banks almost a complete control over the national finances. 'The few who can understand the system' he says, 'will either be so interested in its profits or so dependent on its favours that there will be no opposition from that class, while, on the other hand, the great body of the people, mentaly incapable of comprehending the tremendous advantages that capital derives from the system, will bear its burdens without complaint and perhaps without even suspecting that the system is inimical to their interests.'"

In the above, Mr. Sherman is using the term "capital" in the restricted sense of bankers' capital, as the system which he advocated was often to prove as inimical to employers in industry as to weekly-wage earners.

The reply of Ikleheimer, Morton and Vandergould, praising Mr. Sherman and drawing the picture of the perfect politician from the financiers' standpoint, is really a gem:

"The fact that Mr. Sherman speaks well of such an investment, or of any similar one, is certainly not without weight for that gentleman possesses in a marked degree the distinguishing characteristics of the successful modern financier. His temperament is such that whatever his feelings may be they never cause him to lose sight of the main chance. He is young, shrewd and ambitious. He has fixed his eye upon the Presidency of the United States and is already a member of Congress. He rightly thinks that he has everything to gain both politically and financially (he has financial ambitions too) by being friendly with men and institutions having large financial resources and which, at times, are not too particular in their methods, either in obtaining Government aid or protecting themselves from unfriendly legislation. We trust him here implicitly. His intellect and ambition combine to make him exceedingly valuable to us. Indeed, we predict that if his life be spared he will prove to be the best friend that the monied interests of the world have ever had in America."

With this letter Messrs. Ikleheimer, Morton and Vandergould enclosed a circular, describing the new banks they hoped to found and the profits they hoped to make thereby. Two items in this circular are worth quoting:

"The interest on the bonds, plus the interest on the currency which the bonds secure, plus the incidentals of the business ought to make the gross earnings of the bank amount to from 28 to 33 1/3 per cent. The amount of dividends that may be declared will depend largely on the salaries the officers of the bank vote themselves and the character and rental charges of the premises occupied by the bank as a place of business. In case it is thought best that the showing of profits should not appear too large, the now common plan of having the directors buy the bank building and then raising the rent and the salaries of the President and Cashier may be adopted."

"National Banks are privileged to increase or contract their circulation at will and can, of course, grant or withhold loans as they see fit. As the banks have a national organisation and can easily act together in withholding loans or extending time, it follows that they can, by united action in refusing to make loans, cause a stringency in the money market and, in a single week, or even in a single day, cause a decline in all the products of the country. The tremendous possibilities of speculation involved in this control of the money of a country like the United States will at once be understood by all bankers."

Readers may not be altogether surprised to learn that the letter ends: "Requesting that you will regard this communication as strictly confidential!"

On one occasion when, during their drive to financial power, the banks succeeded in getting a measure passed which subsequently aroused the resentment even of the ignorant American public and of their representatives in the Legislature, the banks adopted a very cute dodge when the time came for the enactment of another measure with the same objective. *They opposed it*, calculating that the members of the Legislature, being suspicious of their activities but too ignorant of Finance to understand the purport of the new law, would conclude that, as they opposed it, it must be in the national interests and should therefore be passed. The ruse succeeded perfectly and the American Legislature passed it!

One or two prominent American statesmen whose honesty exceeded their knowledge of the financial system, realised too late the evil character of the measures they had been induced to support. Mr. P. Chase, the Secretary of the Treasury, who had urged upon President Lincoln and upon Congress the passing of the National Banking Act which was instrumental in doing away with the State issue of paper money, is said to have made the following statement:

"My agency in securing the passing of the National Bank Act was the greatest financial

mistake of my life. It has built up a monopoly which affects every interest in the country. It should be repealed."

Abraham Lincolm who had taken Mr. Chase's advice, realised shortly before his death the evil effects which were to flow from the creation of the National Banking System. In a letter written, in 1864 he says:

"I see in the near future a crisis approaching that unnerves me and causes me to tremble for the safety of my country. As a result of the war, Corporations have been enthroned and an era of corruption in high places will follow and the money power of the country will endeavour to prolong its reign by working upon the prejudices of the people until all wealth is aggregated in a few hands and the Republic is destroyed. I feel at this moment more anxiety for the safety of my country than ever before, even in the midst of war. God grant that my suspicions prove groundless."

Alas, subsequent history has proved that President Lincoln's fears were only too well grounded. An able American monetary reformer has written of the present Administration:

"President Franklin D. Roosevelt went into office vowing to drive the money changers from the temple; but instead of doing so, he turned the 'temple' almost completely over to them. He has given the usurers more tax-free securities than any President, during peace time, in history. He has printed Bonds instead of currency at a time when there has been as great a need for more currency than at any time in history, if not greater. (Bonds are pieces of paper issued by a government which give the holders the right to interest obtained from taxation. These Bonds, within the wide limits set by their loans and cash reserves, the banks can buy with new money created by merely filling-in cheques. In this extremely simple way they obtain a substantial income at the expense of the taxpayer.) It seems doubtful if the President was ever in actual sympathy with the legislation (legislation making possible the issue of more money.) To quiet those who sponsored the legislation he permitted it to be enacted, but reserved the power of making use of it and has then just failed to do so. His administration has made a record for producing one inconsistency after another. He has played the part of a typical politician who kids and tries to please everyone, but in the end, satisfied no one. He has temporised, qualified, and impotentized almost everything that held forth some real hope. Having been born with a gold spoon in his mouth and in a banker environment, it is difficult to see how much could have been expected from him which could have worked for the benefit of the masses."

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD

The *Scots Socialist*, Glasgow, for December, 1941, published the following editorial on the Duke of Bedford:—

The heresy hunt against the pacifist Duke has commenced, with all the swinish ferocity usually associated with Goebells. The hate and vindictiveness oozes out of the English press, and persons like Morrison, the pacifist of the last war, when he was of military age, use every opportunity to attack him with a display of savagery equalled only by Streicher, the Jew baiter. We note in passing, however, that no respectable Scottish newspaper has joined the heresy hunt; only the English fifth column press in Scotland has sunk to the level of the Nazi press.

We are glad that Lord Ponsonby has rushed to defend the Duke, at the risk of himself being included in the hunt, and his reference to Morrison and his gestapo was amply justified.

This display shows just how democratic England is and how much of the Nazi philosophy has been absorbed. That the Duke is entitled to his opinions and the right to propagate them is unassailbable and any attempt to prevent him from exercising his fundamental rights as a free citizen will be strenuously opposed by all who still believe in and are determined to preserve real democracy.

We have been overwhelmed with letters concerning the Duke of Bedford's attitude. Also we have a considerable number of interesting press comments. These will be dealt with fully next month.

WHAT MADE ME A SOCIALIST.
By F. W. JOWETT.

Reprint of a Famous Pamphlet.

2d.——————Post Free, 3d.

Duke Defends His Peace Terms Move

IF the opportunity of investigating the chances of a ...rmany had been taken last ... on his "peace plan" visit, ... her Allies would be very ...vas at present, declared the

"I AM NO QUISLING"

Says the Duke of Bedford

Evening Standard Reporter

The Duke of Bedford told me to-day that he resents as a "reflection on his loyalty" the statement about him made in the House of Commons yesterday by Mr. Herbert Morrison, the Home Secretary.

"I am no Quisling," said the Duke. "I am pro-British, and I am acting in all sincerity in what I believe to be the best interests of the country."

The Duke, who is one of Britain's richest landowners, has just issued a 7000-word peace-plan pamphlet called "What a Game!"

Mr. Herbert Morrison, in a debate in Parliament, referred to him

Duke of Bedford

Federal Union's Disclaimer

THE Federal Union, in a statement yesterday, dissociates itself "in the strongest possible terms" from the Duke of Bedford's letter to a Government official in Liverpool.

The statement declares that

DUKE OF BEDFORD'S LETTER

A LETTER written by the Duke of Bedford to a Government official in Liverpool has been sent to

Crown & Legal Position

Evening Standard Reporter

Peace duke may lose his railings

Express Staff Reporter

IN one square mile of Bloomsbury, London, there stand today enough useless iron railings to make 10 medium tanks for Russia—or the British Armoured Corps.

Big beautiful railings of wrought and cast iron enclosing quiet London squares with flower beds, play

Duke Speaks of 'Peace' Letter

The Duke of Bedford said yesterday that the letter written by him which Councillor George Keakes, former Mayor of Wallasey, had sent to Mr. Herbert Morrison, the Home Secretary, was probably one he had written to a Federal Union supporter in Liverpool.

PACIFIST DUKE AND HITLER

"Rather amusing," —SAYS THE DUKE

Express Staff Reporter

WHEN I told the Duke of Bedford yesterday that the statue of his ancestor, the fifth duke, who died in 1802, had been daubed with paint and covered with slogans during the night, he said, "Rather amusing."

Duke To Quit Moor

(By Our Lobby Correspondent)

The Duke of Bedford has been given notice to quit the grouse moor and deer-forest of Bargaly

Home Secretary and Duke of Bedford

Reference was made to the Duke of Bedford by the Home Secretary in a lively debate in the Commons on Tuesday night. He was speaking on whether Members of Parliament should be allowed in war time to say where they liked on what they deemed to be public duty.

Mr. Morrison indicated that

Duke of Bedford

'QUISLING' LEGEND ON DUKE'S STATUE

PAINTED SIGNS

"V" signs and other inscriptions were found yesterday painted on the 250 statue of Francis fifth Duke of Bedford, [illegible] March, 1940.

'Traitor' Slogan On Duke of Bedford Statue

Duke's Scots Tenancy to Be Terminated

Following the references to the Duke of Bedford by Mr Herbert Morrison, Home Secretary, in the recent Commons debate, the Duke has been asked to terminate his tenancy of the Kirkcudbrightshire

STATUE SPLASHED

Ancestor Of "Peace Duke"

THE statue of Francis, Duke of Bedford, in Russell Square, London, was splashed on the face and chest with yellow paint during the night.

V signs in paint and chalk had been printed all over it.

On bronze figures on one side of the panels was written, "Melt me."

On the pavement at the other side of the square was chalked, "Give us these railings."

PAINT ON DUKE'S STATUE

Demand: "Give Up These Railings"

The statue of Francis Duke of Bedford in Russel Square, London, was splashed on the face and

State can take my railings, says duke

The Duke of Bedford writes to the Editor of the Daily Express concerning his railings round [illegible] Square

'I am no Quisling' —Duke of Bedford

"NEWS" LONDON SERVICE

THE Duke of Bedford to-day that "reflection the statement made in Commons Mr. Herbert ...me Secretary.

MORE HEADLINE SENSATION

In last month's issue we reproduce some of the headlines from the sensational millionaire press. Above is another composite news picture. The idea is to present the Duke of Bedford to the readers of the daily press as a person devoid of dignity and therefore an individual whose views must not be considered. He is a person to be shunned because hooligans have daubed a statue with yellow paint, etc.

REQUEST TO READERS.

We will make a report on our appeal against the heavy deficit under which we struggle next month. Despite last month's response, we are considerably short of the sum needed. Would every comrade really make an effort this month and not leave the task of assisting as a burden on a few? Apart from the cost of printing our postal mission entails heavy expenditure. Your response means an end to this begging.

The Socialist Standard, organ of the S.P.G.B., in its issue for November 1941, publishes a letter from the Duke of Bedford on the question of monetary reform and cheap imports. Also an editorial reply. This paper can be secured (post free, 4d.) from A. Bowley, 64 Caverleigh Way, Worcester Park, Surrey.

The Duke of Bedford contributes a letter to **"The New Leader,"** for December 13, 1941, replying to the I.L.P. veteran, William Stewart, entitled: **"Should The Money Problem Be Solved First?"** The **N.L.** can be obtained, post free, 3d., from 318 Regent Park Road, London, N.3.

The Duke of Bedford contributes an interesting article to **"THE CHRISTIAN PACIFIST"** for December, 1941, entitled **"MEMORIES—AND A REFLECTION."**

Comrades can obtain this paper direct from the F.O.R., 17 Red Lion Square, London, W.C. 4d. in stamps should be enclosed, when ordering.

By The DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Why Have This War? 2nd Edition. **New Foreword.**

Parliament and Peace. Review of **Peace Discussion** in the House of Commons on I.L.P. **Amendment.** 2nd Edition.

Where There is No Vision. 2nd Edition. **New** Appendix.

Diplomacy and War Guilt. Bedford's new pamphlet, dealing with E. D. Morel's pioneer struggle.

What A Game! 3d., post free, 4d. Other pamphlets, 2d.; post-free, 3d.

THE EDITOR'S TRIALS
IN THE DOCK

II.—GLASGOW SEDITION TRIAL, 1921

(Continued from page 53).

VIII.—"EVENING CITIZEN," GLASGOW.

The Evening Citizen, for Monday, June 20, 1921, reported the trial beneath the following headings:—

SEDITION CHARGE.

3 Men and a Woman,

PUBLICATION OF THE "RED COMMUNE."

Chats on Philosophy.

The report detailed items of the charge and evidence not included in the reports quoted already as follows:—

Three men and a woman appeared before Lord Skerrington in the High Court of Judiciary to-day on a sedition charge. . . .

One article is alleged to have stated that the platform of Communism consisted of the following five planks, namely . . . .

It was also stated that the Glasgow Communist group takes its stand on a platform of constructive revolution.

The paper was also alleged to contain an article by G. L. Malone, M.P., in which he said—"The People's Army must have its own flag, and not deceitfully salute the flag of the enemy as a preparation for striking it. . . ."

Detective-Lieutenant McGimpsey, of the Central Division, Glasgow, stated that the Glasgow Communist group was founded about 1912. . . He went to the house of the accused Jane Hamilton Patrick, whom he described as secretary of the Glasgow Communist group, and there he found 51 membership cards.

Cross-examined by the accused, Aldred, he said he had no personal knowledge of the date of the founding of the Communist group and its fusion with the Anarchist group, but had his information from an advertisement in the "Forward." . . .

A girl of 22 years of age one Menzies Scott Donaldson, who said she was at one time minute secretary of the Glasgow Communist . . .

Cross-examining on what happened at the meetings of the group, Aldred asked: Did we not sit round and have cups of tea and talk?—Yes.

Is it not a fact that our conversation turned on philosophy?—Yes.

FLEMING'S DEFENCE.

Giving evidence for Fleming, the Rev. Mr. Strang, minister of Sandyhills U.F. Church, Shettleston, said he had known accused for over 12 years. . . .

Mr. A. M. MacRobert, advocate-depute, prosecuting—You say accused is a strong Christian. Would he be a party to printing a paper showing a picture of the Bible being smashed up? Witness (examining a picture on the front page of the "Red Commune")—No.

Cross-examined by Aldred—Could there be two interpretations of the picture, one the destruction of the Holy Bible and the other not the destruction of the Bible but only the destruction of the idea of making a fetish of the word "Bible"?

Witness—Possibly.

The Evening Citizen for Tuesday, June 21, in its headings merely contented itself with descriptive statements:—

DEFENDANT'S LENGTHY ADDRESS TO JURY.

Great Public Interest.

In its final edition, the *Citizen* had a banner headline across the front page: "*Sentences in Sedition Case.*"

Describing the final scene, the *Citizen* said:—

THE JURY'S RETURN.

After an absence of twenty minutes, the jury, by a majority of fourteen to one, returned a verdict of guilty against each of the accused. . . .

Aldred made an objection, relating to a previous conviction alleged in the indictment, and stated that the certificate of conviction was not produced. The certificate produced was of a different date from that of the alleged conviction. . . .

Aldred said that, as far as the other accused were concerned, he was the inciting person, and if there was to be any differences in the sentences, it should be passed on him.

Miss Patrick and McLeish said that they did not wish to shelter behind anyone else. . . .

As the prisoners were being taken down to the cells, Aldred was seen to kiss Miss Patrick. Miss Patrick afterwards waved her hand to some friends in Court.

IX.—"DAILY RECORD," GLASGOW.

The Daily Record, Glasgow, for June 21, 1921, reported the case beneath the headings:—

COMMUNISTS ON TRIAL.

Glasgow Sedition Charge.

The report was full and fair and summarised the speech for the defence as follows:—

Aldred, in a lengthy address, said that in vain would the Crown look through the "Red Commune" for any suggestion of violence.

Aldred had not finished his address when the Court adjourned till to-day.

The following day, Wednesday, June 22, *The Daily Record* introduced considerable viciousness into its record. We quote its headings and part of the report:—

"RED COMMUNE'S" SPONSORS.

Sedition-Mongers Sentenced.

After a trial lasting ten hours, the jury in Glasgow High Court, yesterday, returned a verdict of guilty in the case of all four persons tried in connection with the charge of sedition arising out of the publication of "The Red Commune."

Lord Skerrington passed sentence as follows . . .

Aldred's address to the jury lasted for over two hours.

ALDRED'S ADMISSION.

Before sentence was pronounced, Aldred asked his Lordship to consider the fact that he had already been in custody for 100 days.

At the same time, he confessed he was mainly responsible for the production of the "Red Commune," and should receive a heavier punishment than the others. . . .

It would be obvious to any decent journalist or editor that we made no confession. We did not ask the court to consider the 100 odd days we had been jailed on remand. We complained of illegal arrest, without a warrant, which was a trickery of law by an act of legal violence, and we complained of a vindictive imprisonment, through being denied bail on a purely theoretical political charge. Our acceptance of responsibility was simply a straightforward declaration, the intention of which is clear to every thinking person. Such a statement is not confession in any sense of the term. We had nothing to confess. Note also the second day's headings. That was the *Daily Record* view of "Communism" and "the Reds" in 1921. That might still be its view of genuine Communist activity. But it would persuade its readers to-day that somehow, "the Reds" and the Capitalist Imperialists are united in a common democracy against Fascism. What were these 1921 headings but Fascism?

X.—"BULLETIN," GLASGOW.

The Bulletin, Glasgow, in its issues for Tuesday, June 21, and the following day, publish condensed but very clear factual reports, beneath sober and responsible headings.

On the Tuesday, the report was headed:—

"THE RED COMMUNE."

Sedition Charge Against Glasgow Communists.

The text referred to "*Mr. Aldred, who was undefended, in a long speech*," etc.

On the Wednesday, the report was headed soberly:—

SEDITION TRIAL.

Glasgow Communists Sent to Prison.

The report was brief, impartial, dignified. But its factual details are embodied in the reports reproduced.

XI.—LABOUR SOLIDARITY.

We intercept the dry factual record to depict the solidarity evinced, or, at least, expressed on paper at the time, by all sections of the movement.

The useful and sympathetic attitude adopted by P. J. Dollan, then Glasgow correspondent to *The Daily Herald*, has been detailed. Later we shall refer to the *Herald's* news-items and short editorial comments. Influenced by George Lansbury, the Labour daily displayed magnificent solidarity.

In 1921, *The Daily Herald* was owned and controlled by the organised Labour movement. This movement was reformist, parliamentary, and orthodox. But it believed in discussion, thought and liberty. It exhibited breadth and showed sympathy for those who believed in revolutionary activity. It classed them as hopelessly Utopian and visionary, but welcomed their propaganda as inspirational in the struggle and part of the workers' struggle: the culture towards developed and sustained struggle. George Lansbury suffered from many errors. As a parliamentarian, he did many wrong things. But he had much sympathy and many virtues. He could speak truthfully and directly. Few parliamentarians achieve such distinction.

In its issue for November 3, 1921, *The Daily Herald* published the following striking editorial, which we reproduce in full:—

BEGIN AT HOME.

Yesterday we called attention to the proposal by American "justice" to murder Saccho and Vanzetti for being Socialists, under the disguise of executing them for a crime which it is known that they did not commit.

But do not let us flatter ourselves that our English "justice" is very different. We are not in a position to throw stones at America. Our whole system of legal and judicial oppression, our system of courts and prisons, is as wicked and unjust as anything in the world.

John Maclean is in prison in circumstances which, for a man of his enfeebled health after a long hunger-strike, are only too likely to involve death. His crime is to have made speeches which even if they were what the prosecution alleged, would be no worse than the activities of the Ulster leaders in 1914. No worse, did we say? Why, at the worst John Maclean made a speech! But Galloper Smith, who is now Lord Chancellor, and Carson, who is now a Law Lord, organised an army to fight against the British Constitution!

It was admitted by the judge at the trial that Maclean did not desire violence. Yet the sentence inflicted upon him was as savage and vindictive as if he had been guilty of a serious crime.

Similarly, Guy Aldred, also in prison for exercising the traditional British right of free speech, was imprisoned for four months before trial, then sentenced to a year, but not allowed to count the four months he had already suffered as part of that imprisonment.

The brutality of these sentences is a disgrace to the country, and nothing can remove the disgrace except the organised power of Labour.

Sir Basil Thomson, whose Department was notorious for so many prosecutions, has gone. By his own assertion he has not voluntarily resigned, but has been compulsorily got rid of; and his somewhat nauseating Department, which he describes as "the most loyal, zealous, and competent body of public servants," is, perhaps, to be scattered. Would it not then be reasonable, as well as decent, to release simultaneously all those whom this business of spying and prosecuting has put into prison?

This copy of *The Daily Herald* was smuggled into us in Barlinnie Prison by a friendly warder, who resented the fact that we were denied access to Socialist and Labour papers. He had no other idea than that of being decent. We agreed with it the tone of the editorial then. We agree with it to-day. Sir Basil Thomson's department never went. It is operating still. Although it is directed to-day, mainly against people who rejoiced at our imprisonment in 1921, who are too openly and avowedly anti-Socialist in some instances for a mean and despicably Anti-Socialist system of society upheld by some nominal Socialists, we cannot see that the Special Branch of Scotland Yard serves any more useful function to-day than in 1921. We are opposed to the spy system, no matter who may direct the spy, no matter who is the victim.

When the *Daily Herald* comment was penned, Herbert Morrison was putting aside his robes as Labour Mayor of Hackney. *Foreign Affairs* was fresh with his articles pledging the Labour movement against all future war. He was an active member of the I.L.P. and he endorsed this editorial. To-day he is Home Secretary and upholder of 18B and head of the Special Branch, so far as Parliament is concerned. We stand by the editorial which cheered us when we languished in Barlinnie.

In the *Daily Herald* for November 5, 1921—that is, two days later — George Lansbury honoured us with a special article treating of our imprisonment. Lansbury wrote of the Communist prisoners and continued:—

"Among these is Guy Aldred, editor of the 'Spur,' whose case is well-known to all readers of the 'Daily Herald.' He was born on November 5, 35 years ago. His life has been a strenuous one all

through, and during the past ten years he has spent more time inside prison than outside. His one crime in the eyes of Scotland Yard and the Government is that he has desired to serve his fellow men and women. To-day he is serving a monstrous sentence of 12 months imprisonment, with four months added, because of a refusal to grant bail, and the charge which has landed him in prison is the old one of sedition."

Knowledge that such recognition is being accorded to him means much to the political prisoner.

(To be continued)

UNITED STATES CONCHIES

On January 30, 1941, the *Baltimore Sun's* Washington correspondent, Dewey L. Fleming, announced in its colums that elaborate plans for the induction of conscientious objectors to military service into Federally supervised civilian work programmes were nearing completion.

Officials were working on an initial programme of twenty-five camps, with the prospect that possibly as many as seventy-five or one hundred camps would be required by midsummer. It was planned to distribute them as evenly over the whole country as facilities and feasible work projects would permit, in order to minimise the cost of transporting selectees to camp sites.

The Selective Service Act recognises two types of conscientious objectors. One is the group which objects only to service in combat units of the army. These men are assignable to non-combat groups. The second group includes those who object to participation in any form of military activity. These are the ones for whom Congress devised the civilian work camp.

The camps will be operated co-operatively by various agencies of the Government and an organisation of religious groups with tenets of non-participation in war.

This latter group includes the Society of Friends (Quakers), Church of the Brethren, Mennonites, Advent Christian Church, American Unitarian Association, Fellowship of Reconciliation, some branches of the Baptist and Methodist faith and various other religious sects. Co-operating with them is the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America.

The church group has organised a national service board for religious objectors to deal with the problem and has established offices for it in Washington. The officers of this board are:

M. R. Zigler, Church of the Brethren, Elgin, Ill., chairman.

Orie Miller, Mennonite bodies, Akron, Pa., vice-chairman.

Paul J. Furnas, Society of Friends, Philadephia, treasurer.

Dr. Arthur Swift, Fellowship of Reconciliation, New York.

Dr. Walter Van Kirk, Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, New York.

Dr. Charles Boss, Jr., Commission on World Peace of the Methodist Church, Chicago.

Paul Comly French, Philadelphia, executive secretary.

No new construction of consequences will be undertaken. Instead, use will be made of abandoned CCC camps, other Government-owned plants with barrack facilities, and some camps provided by the churches.

Roughly, the division of responsibility and activity in establishment and operation of the camps is as follows:—

(1) The War Department to furnish or loan cots, bedding and other items of camp equipment as far as feasible and necessary.

(2) The Agriculture and Interior departments to provide technical supervision for the work projects involved, such as soil conservation, erosion control, forestry, agricultural experimentation and other work which may be undertaken.

(3) The Federal Security Administration to make available such abandoned camps and equipment of the CCC as can be spared, together with certain tools and equipment.

(4) The Selective Service Board to furnish general administrative and policy supervision and inspection, and to pay the cost of transporting selectees to the camps.

(5) The National Service Board for Religious Objectors to finance and to furnish all other necessary parts of the programme, including actual day-to-day supervision, food and clothing, medical and hospital care, educational and recreational activities. The board to supply selectees with a modest, regular allowance of spending money.

Mr. French, executive secretary of the board, said that it would cost the church group about $35 per man per month to carry out its part of the progremme.

Major Guiton Morgan, the Selective Service Board's special representative on conscientious objector matters, pointed out that the Selective Service Act of 1917 made no specific provision for the service of conscientious objectors beyond recognition of their right to insist upon assignment to non-combatant units of the army.

This feature of the 1917 Act was a source of much difficulty for President Wilson, the War Department and the objectors until it was remedied to a degree by adoption of a policy of furloughing objectors to various kinds of approved work programmes. Before this solution was adopted, however, many objectors had been imprisoned.

The 1940 Selective Service Act specifically directs that persons who "by reason of religious training and belief" are conscientiously opposed to combatant military service shall be deferred from such service in the land and naval forces, but shall be inducted and assigned to non-combatant service for one year. It provided, further, that persons conscientiously opposed to both combatant and non-combatant military service shall, in lieu of induction, be assigned to "civilian work of national importance."

Another difference between the law's attitude toward objectors in 1917 and those of 1940 is that whereas it was necessary for the 1917 objector to show that he was a member of a church with non-military tenets, the objector of 1940 may assert his claim to special classification as an individual and without proof of church membership. The local selective service board decides upon the validity of his claim.

The character of this Selective Board was dealt with at some length in statements in Washington by Attorney General Jackson, on April 7 and 8.

On the first date Mr. Jackson designated William Palmer and Lamar Hardy, former Federal Attorneys in New York State, as hearing officers to investigate the claims of conscientious objectors to selective service within that State.

Mr. Palmer, former Assistant United States Attorney for the Western District, will handle the Northern and Western District of the State. Mr. Hardy, former United States Attorney for the Southern District, was assigned to the Southern and Eastern Districts.

These officials were appointed to operate under a section of the Selective Service Act which requires the Department of Justice to investigate the claims of conscientious objectors. Other hearing officers will act in other States.

The law provides that claims of conscientious objectors must be referred by appeal boards to the United States Attorneys in whose districts they are filed. They transmit the claims to the Department of Justice, which conducts an investigation through the Federal Bureau of Investigation. This report is sent to the hearing officer.

If exemption from selective service is requested on the ground of affiliation with a church or group which forbids military service, an investigation will be conducted to establish whether the claim is bonafide. For individual conscientious objectors, the hearing officer must hold an inquiry and report his findings on the basis of individual claims.

On April 8 Attorney-General Jackson promised fair play to conscientious objectors. He said that the pleas of objectors would be heard by men chosen for their *"patience, tolerance, and well-balanced judgment."* The hearings would not be in the nature of a trial or a judicial proceeding. They would be human and informal. They would be non-legalistic and without ordinary rules of evidence. But they would seek to discover the truth. Mr. Jackson added:—

"The interest of the registrant may well require that the hearing, in view of its nature and object, be private. It should be so conducted that the rights of the registrant on the one hand and the rights of his country and fellow-citizens on the other are recognised and protected."

The same day the Federal Bureau of Investigation announced that an investigation was being conducted by the Department of Justice of the cases of 10,500 men thought to be Selective Service evaders. Seventy persons had been convicted of evasion.

We have received from our comrade, Jessie Wallace Hughan, Secretary, War Resisters' League, 171 12th Street, New York, N.Y., U.S.A., important statements and reports on the conscientious objectors' position in the United States, under the *Selective Training and Service Act*, 1940. The matter will be studied thoroughly and dealt with in these columns.

ADLARD'S LAST POEM

Last month we recorded the death of our comrade, the Rev. Henry J. Adlard, minister of the Unitarian Church, Trim Street, Bath. Below we reproduce his last poem, published in the *St Ives Times*, November 7, 1941:—

THE LIFEBOATMEN OF ENGLAND.

The lifeboatmen of England,
Who guard our rugged coast,
Who live in cot and hamlet,
And never heard to boast.

Their deeds, not words, their story tell,
Their praise is yet unsung.
Be mine one faltering pen,
To give their epic tongue.

Ready they stand by day or night,
To rescue human lives.
With hearts as brave as arms are strong,
And swift good byes to children, wives.

The lifeboatmen of England,
Defy the raging sea,
Daring the mountain billows,
Their cruel treachery.

The lifeboatmen of England,
Sometimes are seen no more.
They find a wandering grave,
By some deserted shore.

But "Man the lifeboat" goes the word,
And Englishmen are there.
As staunch and steady as of yore,
To bear their gallant share.

Bath, October, 1941.

We do not think that this is the best specimen of Mr Adlard's work. But it does bring out the importance of saving life, the bravery of such work, as opposed to the callousness and cruel stupidity of war.

Our comrade's American addresses will be reprinted from time to time, and finally collected in volume form.

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ETHEL MACDONALD

The conscription of man-power and woman-power affects our comrade, Ethel MacDonald, who now has to take her stand as a conscientious objector. Comrade MacDonald plays a large part in the setting, printing, and circulating of *The Word* and the various Strickland Press pamphlets and leaflets. She is definitely Socialist and Pacifist, and she knows what war means, since she went to Barcelona to assist in the struggle against Franco, under C.N.T. auspices.

Ethel MacDonald joined the Bellshill I.L.P. when she was sixteen. This means she has been a member of the Socialist movement for sixteen years. In 1931 she joined the Anti-Parliamentary Communist Federation. After the split in that movement in 1933, she joined the Workers' Open Forum, which pioneered the United Socialist Movement, which was founded in June, 1934.

When the Franco rebellion, aided by Hitler and Mussolini, occurred in Spain, the U.S.M. issued the series of *Regeneration* leaflets, some of which have been reproduced in *The Word*. Contact was established with our Spanish comrades, and as a result comrades Jane H. Patrick (A.P.C.F.) and Ethel MacDonald (U.S.M.) proceeded to Spain. They left Glasgow on October 21, 1936, proceeded under circumstances of great poverty, and almost hitch-hiked across a part of France. Finally, they reached Barcelona, and were established in the C.N.T. headquarters. Some of Ethel MacDonald's radio speeches to Britain from the Barcelona station, calling for resistance to Fascism and help to Spain, have been published in leaflet form, and can be obtained still from this office. Comrade Patrick proceeded to Madrid, where she served for three months in the Committee of Defence. She went back to Barcelona. Then came the famous May Days, when the reactionary pseudo-Communists made war on the Anarchist and genuine Socialist elements. The first accounts of the May Days to reach the outside world were written by Jane Patrick and Ethel MacDonald, and were published in Glasgow in the widely circulated *Barcelona Bulletin*. Ethel MacDonald stayed on in Barcelona, and was arrested by the reactionary "Communist" junta. Her graphic letters, describing her experiences, were published in *The Evening Times*, Glasgow, between June and September, 1937. On the 3rd September of that year Ethel MacDonald left Spain, under escort. She made some European Socialist contacts, and reached Glasgow on November 7.

The fact that Ethel MacDonald lived and worked voluntarily in Barcelona for about ten months, during the bombardments and air-raids, shows that her opposition to war does not proceed from fear. She sees war as something wrong in itself, that leads inevitably to reaction. It is not the way of Socialist opposition to dictatorship and reaction. Also, in the present instance, she cannot forget that the present upholders of war in Britain favoured Franco in Spain, and permitted the wholesale slaughter of the working class in Spain by Nazi bombers without uttering one word of protest. She pleaded consistently over the air, night after night, from Barcelona in vain.

Militarism is not the way to freedom. Anti-militarism can conquer and can destroy utterly all dictatorship and all counter-revolution. Ethel MacDonald considers the production of *The Word* of real national importance.

Copies of *Save Spain! Act!* Ethel MacDonald's radio speeches, and *News from Spain*, describing the struggle in Spain, may be obtained still from this Office, each 2d, post free 3d. That is, 6d for the two publications.

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CANADA'S CONCHIES

At Edmonton, on January 7, 1941, requests of adherents of the Christian Conventions, the Moravian Church, and the International Bible Students (Jehovah Witnesses) for exemption from compulsory military training on the ground of "conscientios objection' were denied by Chief Justice Horace Harvey, chairman of the Alberta War Services Board. He ruled that they were not entitled to exemptions because they are not religious denominations whose tenets of faith forbid the bearing of arms, as required under National War Service Regulations.

Speaking the same night, at Ottawa, the Hon. J. G. Gardiner, minister of National War Services, said that it would no longer be a requirement that a conscientious objector must belong to a religious faith the tenets of which forbid bearing arms.

The amendments, published that day in an extra edition of the Canada Gazette, *provided that the applicant for indefinite postponement of military training must have a certificate from a minister of religion that he belongs to some religious denomination, not necessarily one that forbade the bearing of arms, and that he is a sincere conscientious objector.*

The original regulations under which men are called up for the 20-day compulsory military training provided exemption from military training for Doukhobors and Menonites.

Although issued on January 7, the regulations were made to date from December 24, 1940. This would enable conscientious objectors, whose cases had been heard and dismissed, to make fresh application in the light of the changed regulations.

We consider the insistence on a minister's certificate nonsense. Why cannot an Atheist be opposed to taking life? Many Atheists are definite conscientious objectors and have the same right to consideration as those who profess to believe in God or in the Christian religion.

The following day Mennonite leaders at Ottawa informed the Government that young Mennonites had no objection to being conscripted for any type of non-combatant work irrespective of the danger involved. Mennonites were perfectly willing to go overseas to serve as firemen, or in bomb removal squads, or as stretcher bearers.

Mr. R. A. Irwin, Registrar for Military District No. 2, and Secretary to Canada's National War Service Board, in Toronto, intimated on January 14 that young Canadians who object to the military training in any form imposed by the National Mobilisation Act, will be placed under civilian jurisdiction and given civilian jobs for the same length of period as the training camps.

Two days later, Mr. Irwin stated that, in such jobs as ambulance driving, stretcher-bearing, and kitchen fatigue duties, the wearing of uniform as well as the bearing of arms would be unnecessary.

McGill University, through action taken by its senate, made provision for conscientious objectors in its compulsory military training programme, it was announced on January 28 by Dr. F. Cyril James, principal and vice-chancellor.

The action taken by McGill followed the amendment by the Dominion Government of the National War Service Regulations.

The provision for conscientious objectors made possible the returns of two students previously suspended for failure to take the military training required.

The two students agreed to return to the University, and to undergo the special course of non-combatant training. As this course includes trench-digging, we do not understand how the University Senate agreed to impose it, or the objectors agreed to accept it.

United Socialist Movement. National membership cards now ready. Statement of principles sent on request. Enclose 1d. or 2½d. for particulars. Socialist and Pacifist comrades are joining throughout the country. Address: **Ethel MacDonald**, Secy., 106 George Street, Glasgow, C.1.

NEW ZEALAND C.O.'s

(Concluded from page 144, Vol. II., No. 12.)

Conditional exemption, subject to appellant's performing non-military service under the National Service Emergency Regulations at the direction of the Minister, was granted to Garnett Berry Thirkell, warehouseman, member of the Apostolic Church, and his cousin, Francis Richard Cooper, railways clerical cadet.

Thirkell did not consider farm or A.R.P. work war work. But he would not discharge either form of work under military control. He concluded:

"I am not prepared to assist the war in any circumstances whatever."

Pastor J. F. B. Thompson, president of the church in New Zealand, said the church was the outcome of the Welsh revival in 1904. Work started in New Zealand in 1934. The church was against taking up arms.

Cooper refused to take the oath and cited *Matthew v.* 33-37, *and James v.* 12, in support of his objection. The chairman, W. F. Sitwell, S.M., said:—

"That's strange. I did not know the Scriptures enjoined one to take no oath. However, I am willing to learn."

Mr. C. O. Bell said that the railways were contributing to the war effort by running troop trains and transporting ammunities. The chairman told Cooper that he was working for the biggest munition workers in New Zealand, the Railways Department, and he ought to face the fact.

On Friday, February 7, the Chairman made an interesting statement, in rejecting the appeal of Stanley Gordon Field, a member of the body known as the Exclusive Brethren. This body does not claim that name, although known by it. The New Zealand membership is about 3,000. Field said that he could not kill people for whom Christ died. *He would accept non-combatant service.*

The Chairman said that conscientious objectors prepared to do non-combatant service did not come within the protection afforded by the regulations to proved conscientious objectors. The board was satisfied that appellant was sincere, but as he was willing to do non-combatant service his appeal must be dismissed, with a recommendation that, if it was possible, he be posted to a non-combatant unit of the armed forces.

Seven appeals against military service on the grounds of conscientious objection were dismissed in all on February 7. Four appeals were allowed, subject to obligation for non-military service at the discretion of the Minister of National Service, and two were adjourned, one *sine die* and the other for three months.

One of the dismissed cases was that of Norris Gilbert Smith, salesman, who said he was a Jehovah's Witness. He stated that in England Jehovah Witnesses had been granted exemption from military service.

The Chairman: You are aware, of course, that the Jehovah's Witnesses in New Zealand have been declared a subversive organisation?

Smith: Yes, sir.

Bell: Are you a New Zealander?—I was born in New Zealand, but I claim to be a foreigner. I do not consider myself to be of the people. My allegiance is to God, not to man. I am really a neutral in this world.

He added that if he were in the army he would be under Satan's control.

Another dismissed case was that of Alexander Wilson, grocer's assistant. He believed that no man had the right to kill or to injure another man. He was not prepared to engage in militarism to defend any country. He had held these views for twenty years and was a member of the Peace and Anti-Conscription League.

Walter Royce Stagg, garage attendant, asked the Tribunal:

"Why should I travel thousands of miles to kill a man I have never seen before, and whom I will not see while I am killing him?"

Charles Stewart, assurance agent, appealed on moral and humanitarian grounds. Killing was

never justifiable. To him there were no nationalities. It was merely an accident of birth whether a person was British or non-British. All men were equal in rights irrespective of this accident of place of birth and had the same rights to life, health, and happiness. The only steps he would take to preserve the happiness of the country would be peaceful steps.

Harvey Imandt, a cutter, sent in a statement, saying that he was of German descent, and that his parents were registered aliens. He would not bear arms against any worker, irrespective of nationality.

All these appeals were dismissed.

(*To be continued*)

LOVE NEVER FAILS

By GUY FANANI

Since the wisdom of this world plunged our poor humanity into a futile and ruinous war for the second time in twenty-one years, I have frequently been asked to name the probable winners of the present international conflict. My considered reply has never varied. "There are no victors in war, apart from the powers of evil. But if this war lasts long enough, Joseph Stalin will reap a huge harvest at the end—if he manages to keep out." However, other men, apparently, realised what the effects of a prolonged war would be, with the result that Stalin no longer is an interested spectator!

But the first part of the reply holds good. The powers of evil will be the only certain winners in this war if it be fought out, to use a phrase beloved of the bellicose patriot, "to the bitter end." *The end will be bitter for everybody*, as it has already been for thousands of innocent men and women in nearly all lands.

I am penning these words as one who firmly believes that the injuries which most deeply hurt us are of our own infliction—that no earthly power can really harm and defile us if we will that it shall not be so. But I also believe that there is a reason, or a variety of reasons, for everything and everybody under the sun.

Are there men of whole nations whose methods of establishing a New World Order appear to us, to put it mildly, rather odd? Very well; we should make it our business—indeed, it is our plain duty—not only to insist on the oddity of their behaviour, but, what is more important, to discover and remove its causes. The very last thing that will convert them to our alleged superior methods and higher standards of conduct is to copy their methods and conduct—and excel them in a devilish sense! Obviously, that will only confirm them in their present strange way of going about doing good!

Our commonsence should tell us that such a terrible affliction as is now visiting us is not just the work of one man or even one nation. We should constantly remember that no state of war can possibly exist between ourselves and others while *we* remain their friends. In other words, "it takes two to start a quarrel."

Whenever men, be they exalted statesmen or humble working-men, start talking about destroying, extinguishing and extirpating others (and the air is full of such *elevating* talk just now) we can safely assume that their motives are anything but altruistic! Usually, they want to get other people out of the way because they have either good or bad reasons for suspecting them of being a menace to their own existence.

Ordinarily, men want to "live and let live." If, therefore, it be a fact that any of our fellowmen anywhere on this globe are so evilly-disposed towards us as to seek our destruction or downfall, we should ask ourselves what we have done or left undone to create so deplorable a state of mind in them. And, having answered that question, we should retrace our steps and make the necessary amends.

Destroying, extinguishing and extirpating our "enemies" is not going to make the world any better if *we* remain what we now are. For we shall treat others as thoughtlessly as we have treated them. And where would our New World Order be if these others—their successors—developed an even worse mentality than the "enemies" already destroyed?

It is, of course, quite foolish to imagine that the world will ever be a better place for us and our children to live in until *we ourselves* are better men and women.

We are none of us blameless for the unspeakable tragedy of war. Had we who can say with meaning that love never fails and have turned our backs on all other weapons to achieve our goal of a peaceful world—had we worked as hard for love and peace as others did for hatred and discord, men and women might have learned, without a second world war, that no one can live fully and truly unless we all live. Instead, they are learning through "blood, tears, sweat and toil," because that is their unfortunate choice, that the sword heals nothing, mends nothing, saves nothing, but only further divides and destroys men and women everywhere.

Nothing is more certain than that this wanton destruction of life and property will continue until either calm reasoning or much greater sufferings than we have yet endured shall have taught us to obey that law of life which the Nazarene Carpenter so plainly manifested in his life—unstinted love for all our kind, but especially for those whom our thoughtlessness or their own waywardness has caused to stray, for they need our love most.

Love is the only thing in life which, because it is the law of life, never fails.

OUR LETTER-BOX

Dear Comrade,—The reproduction in the October number of the statue of Edith Cavell, I prophesy, will meet with very great appreciation. It is so very beautiful. I notice that *Mr. Punch's History* of the last war only uses the tragedy of her death as a tag on which to hang war propaganda. It was simply splendid that F. W. Jowett managed to have such a pacific inscription placed on her statue. I heard at the spot where she was shot that no soldier of the firing party could fire, so great was his agitated trembling, and the officer had to fire the shot.

I feel that we should be indebted especially to *The Word* for the outline of Jowett's concept of a workable parliament, which you have included in the article on him. One comes up against that question all the time.

With best wishes and thanks,

Yours sincerely,

AGNES W. MACKAY.

Liverpool, October 9.

Dear Mr. Aldred,—My two winters in Glasgow were the worst in my experience, financially, but I can look back with some interest to the U.S.M. Albion St. Saturdays, the organ recitals at Kelvingrove, and the Mitchell Library.

I recall my first contact with the U.S.M. This was at Albion Street and my companion who was on his way to England to join the R.A.F. described the speaker (after listening for two minutes) as "another god damned wise guy" and hurried us along to some more "congenial" attraction. Johnston was killed in action early in the war!

Yours faithfully,

J. D. SMYTH.

Blackpool, September 19.

Dear Mr. Aldred,—I would like to recommend, very strongly, C. E. Montague's *Disenchantment* to your readers. It is the finest analysis of wartime and of war's stupidity that I know. Chatto and Windus have brought out a shilling edition of it. Every Socialist and Pacifist student should read Montague's summing up on World War No. 1 as it affected England. As always.

W. A. RATHKEY.

London, N.W. 6, October 21.

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CHRISTIANITY ACCORDING TO CHRIST

By Rev. H. J. DALE

(*Assistant Minister, Baptist Church, King's Road, Reading*).

How frequently in the course of history has it happened that movements which were launched with the sincerest motives and highest intentions, and in the hands of their founders bid fair to achieve something of the purpose for which they were intended, have lost much of the spirit and character that marked their early successes through the misrepresentation and insincerity of later adherents. Many instances of this failure to maintain the original glow will come readily to mind.

To this common experience Christianity can lay no claim to being an exception. Indeed, some would not hesitate to affirm that it provides the supreme example of a discredited hope. However unwilling we may be to associate ourselves with such a verdict, we have only to contemplate Christianity as it has been exemplified from time to time through the centuries, to realise how far from the intention and example of Jesus it is possible for those who bear His name to stray.

Nor can we claim that any better state of things is to be found to-day. What purports to be Christianity is in large measure little more than a caricature. Can we truthfully say that Christianity according to Christ is the most, or even one of the most, conspicuous features of the present day? What opinion will future generations form regarding our professed allegiance to the teaching of Jesus? Is obedience to the Master's way of life being acknowledged as the final authority, either in the lands that are nominally Christian, or in the conduct of Christians individually? Sadly and with shame it has to be confessed that too often such obedience is conspicuously absent. Instead, there is to be seen in all these spheres a spurious Christianity which is very far removed from the original. How far removed it is from the genuine commodity, perhaps we do not fully realise. It has been said that if Buddha could walk through China and Japan to-day and see the temples built to his glory, the ideas that prevail regarding him, the things done in his name, his comment would be, "If this is Buddhism, then I am not a Buddhist."

Is not the case very much the same with the Christian religion? In many respects its present-day character merits a like condemnation. Were Jesus to appear among us once again in bodily form, what would be His comment? Would He find faith on the earth? Would He recognise as the natural consequence of His teaching and example much that we are well content to pass off under His name? Would He see in the Church's attitude to the contemporary world-situation a spirit and purpose harmonising with His own? Would it surprise us were He to say, "I know you not?"

For this manifest failure to bear a faithful witness to the fundamental spirit of its faith, no small share of blame must be laid at the Church's door. Too long has official Christianity allowed itself to be a tool of the State. The acknowledgment of Christianity as the accepted religion of the Roman Empire by Constantine was by no means the unmixed blessing some have supposed. Ever and again through the centuries, as a consequence of the alliance of Christianity with the temporal power, the Church has found its hands to be tied, and therefore its freedom to speak its own specific message destroyed. The result is that whenever, in the spirit of unusual daring, the Church has attempted to make its voice heard, its appeal has been ignored.

Of this pitiful weakness, the Church's present servitude to the temporal power provides ample evidence. How can it proclaim in all its truth and fulness the message of the Gospel so long as it is committed to a policy of war? Once the Church has taken the perilous step of com-

promising with this supreme evil, its power and effectiveness in any plans of reconstruction and the building of a new order are to that extent undercut. Nor is its guilt solely a present one. For years the Church has failed to denounce a social and economic system which was all too plainly making war inevitable. By lending its support to the world's standards and methods, it has jeopardised its authority to interpret the spiritual character of the Kingdom of God.

"Come ye out from among them" is an exhortation every bit as imperative to-day as when first spoken. The spirit of the world is as strongly opposed to that of the Master as ever it has been. The Divine will can be done only in the Divine way. Jesus made it quite clear that to follow Him would mean rejection by the world, even as He had been rejected. The Cross is still an offence and a cause of stumbling to those into whose hearts its eternal message of love and forgiveness has never broken. It is those who are prepared to do God's will who shall know the true blessedness that He promises.

Never was there a day when more was known about Jesus than the one in which we live. As far as scholarship can help us, we are in possession of as many facts regarding Him, His teaching, His manner of life, and the conditions amidst which He lived and worked, as possibly we can be at this distance of time from them. Yet it is in this very knowledge that the root of the trouble we are considering is to be found. Religion *about* Jesus, an intellectual assessment of Him, has been allowed to crowd out the religion *of* Jesus. In short, greater interest has been awakened in an objective study of Him and certain details of His life than in the desire to live and act according to His teaching. Yet it matters far less whether Jesus wrought certain miracles or not, or that particular views should be held regarding the Atonement, than that His followers should try to act and live in humble obedience to the great ideals He set before them, and put His mind and spirit into practice. It is possible, says Dr. Fosdick, for a man to have a religion *about* Jesus and harbour bitter racial prejudice; to have a religion *about* Jesus and be a rampant militarist, a narrow nationalist, a hard-handed industrial autocrat; to have a religion *about* Jesus and be unfit to live with at home. But no one can have the religion *of* Jesus and be that. (*Adventurous Religion*).

Theory seldom carries us very far, especially where religion is concerned. What the world sorely needs just now is a practical demonstration of those basic realities of the Christian faith which are essential to a true unfolding of the power and possibilities of the Gospel. If Christianity is to possess any real value or significance for the future, it must prove itself capable of meeting those varied and complex issues with which men find themselves faced at the present time. All that concerns the social and economic structure of society, as well as the moral and spiritual aspects of its existence, will have to be brought within the range of its transforming influence, if mankind is to be saved from hopeless ruin. Nothing is more urgently necessary than the application of the Christian message of love and goodwill to all that affects the souls and lives of our fellows. For the accomplishment of this great hope nothing less than wholehearted obedience to Jesus Christ will suffice. Those who at present remain unaffected by the Christian appeal will be won to submission to its demands, not by the paying of lip-service to its ethical demands, but as they see its ideals exemplified in the spirit and conduct of men and women who profess to believe in it. Deeds, not words, are best calculated to produce this result. After all, Christlikeness is the criterion of Christianity, and to substitute anything else is not only to make our faith meaningless, but also to prejudice all our expectation of bringing to fulfilment the cause to which we have pledged ourselves as servants of the Master.

WAS JESUS A REBEL?

Many Freethinkers object to our biography of Jesus—*The Rebel and His Disciples* (64 pages, 4d)—that nothing is known about Jesus, and that, in point of fact, he never existed.

In *The Literary Guide* for October, 1941, Mr. K. Wilby writes:—

Tacitus tells us in the famous passage in the 'Annals,' xv. 44, that Christ was put to death in the reign of Tiberius. I once asked the late Prof. W. C. Summers, whose knowledge of Silver Latin was probably unrivalled, and who was as thorough an Agnostic as anyone I have ever met, if there was any doubt that Tacitus wrote the passage. 'Only a blockhead could doubt it' was his reply. . . .

J. B. Bury, in his "History of the Roman Empire," 27 B.C.—180 A.D. (p. 302), writes:

"The famous passage in which Tacitus notices the persecution of the Christian sect at Rome after the great fire is remarkable not only as the earliest detailed account of the facts, but also incidentally as containing both the earliest record of the Crucifixion in a classical author and the only mention of Pontius Pilate in a Roman historian."

The letter from Sir James G. Frazer which appeared in the "Literary Guide" for August, 1934, opens with the sentences:

"The doubts which have been case on the historic reality of Jesus are, in my judgment, unworthy of serious attention. Quite apart from the positive evidence of history and tradition, the origin of a great religious and moral reform is inexplicable without the personal existence of a great reformer."

Under these circumstances we have no objection, as a Rationalist and Freethinker, to being ranked, through *The Rebel and His Disciples*, and our companion pamphlet, *Historical and Traditional Christianity*, as one of the biographers of Jesus.

In these works, we approach very near to Morrison Davidson's conclusions of Jesus's worth and character, as expressed by him in his *Son of Man* and *Gospel of The Poor*. We discard, and indeed resent, the superstitious adulation in what that famous but eccentric Scots scholar and writer indulged. We have much in common with F. J. Gould's *The People's Jesus*, but we would embody much Freethought criticism with our study of the political and ethical values of the Christian faith. We think the ethical and humanist value of the first Christian teaching cannot be overestimated.

We reject the myth theory advanced by scholars like the late J. M. Robertson but are not opposed greatly to the scholars who advance it as an explanation of the "received" or orthodox story of the "life" of Jesus. We seek to explain the myth school in the terms of the materialist conception of history, whilst gratefully availing ourself of the scholarship of this school.

Renan's *Life of Jesus* is incompetent and actually unworthy of his scholarship. Renan lacked just that essential touch of social vision necessary to place and to understand Jesus.

Middleton Murry attracted attention in *The Life of Jesus*. He portrayed Jesus as a mystic but not as *the* Son of God, save in the sense that all men of vision are the sons of God. Murry explained away the miraculous also. This is an excellent work, although it could have been written with more passion. Twelve years after writing it the author became a Christian Pacifist and a member of the P.P.U. He developed the Anglican Faith and, just before the outbreak of the war, was thinking of becoming a priest of the Church of England.

Herr Ludwig has written *The Son of Man*, in which he discards boldly the miraculous elements.

Llewelyn Powers has pictured Jesus as a poor, bewildered leader, self-persuaded into dreams of throwing off the Yoke of Rome, in his wonderful work, *The Pathetic Fallacy*.

In 1938, the sensational press gave prominence to Sir Hall Caine's *Life of Christ*.

We write a "life" of Jesus, *not* of Christ. The difference between the use of the name, *Jesus*, and the office, *Christ*, marks the difference between reason, paying living reverence and tradition, paying servile tribute.

We are moved to recall these facts by an interesting essay, contributed by the Rev. H. P. Kingdon, Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford, and Editor of *The Way*, to *The Student Movement*, Leicester, for April, 1941, under the title: *"The Political Circumstances of The Crucifixion."*

Mr. Kingdon refers the reader for fuller evidences of the truth of his contention to his article published in *The Hibbert Journal*, for July, 1937. He opens his article in *the Student Movement* with these sentences:

"The crucifixion of freemen was the Roman penalty for treason, instigation to revolt, and the kindred crime of robbery with murder. Next to burning alive (crematis), it was regarded as the cruellest form of capital punishment, and it was not inflicted by the Jewish Sanhedrin. Had Jesus been executed by the Jews (who apparently did carry out several capital sentences during the Roman period) He would have been stoned, strangled, burned, or decapitated. Instead of this, He was crucified—presumably as a political rebel—by Pilate."

We object to Mr. Kingdon's capital aitches for the personal pronoun. His article remains interesting and he develops his theme with scholarship, logic, and commonsense. At a later date we hope to reprint the full essay. Meantime, we refer comrades to it and ask them to circulate our Christian studies as contributions to the understanding of the Christian message and the place of Jesus in the social struggle.

IN DEMOCRATIC FELLOWSHIP

This journal publishes no paid advertisements. The announcements made in its columns from time to time of Unitarian Churches, Secular societies, Socialist bodies, are published freely, because we feel that the bodies concerned are doing useful work, and because we believe in a broad democracy of culture. We have exact views, but no sectarianism. Readers are asked to note the announcements, because we object to publishing stereotyped notices, month after month. Organisations are functioning, even though their announcements disappear from our columns for a while. So preserve the references and make enquiries. This puts out columns to a continuous living use. Also, if you belong to a group whose activities have been overlooked, and you feel that the group is doing useful work, drop us a line. *The Word* is a living organ of democratic thought and activity, and does not propose to give up to party or to sect energy or service which was meant for mankind. We invite you to a feast of thought, truth, and discussion: a world of Free Thought and free gathering of humanity in the spirit of Truth, Fellowship, and Understanding. A great fellowship of seeking and adventure.

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THE WORD

To Rouse The People, To Combat Fascism, and To Speed Commonweal.

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Vol. III. No. 7. FEBRUARY, 1942. Price: TWOPENCE

ROBERT CAMPBELL

Robert Steven Campbell registered as a conscientious objector on October 21, 1939. The Glasgow Tribunal removed him from the register on December 18. Subsequently, the Edinburgh Appellate Tribunal confirmed this decision. He was served in due course with medical papers and was imprisoned from July 9-18 for refusing medical examination. He then made the mistake of submitting to medical examination, as he was advised that his case would be reheard only if he did this.

Campbell received his enlistment papers on August 15, 1940, and returned these with a letter stating his position. He was arrested on August 31st and taken under military escort to his unit at Redcar. Here he refused to obey military orders and received a sentence of 28 days military detention, which he served on the military side of Barlinnie Prison, Glasgow. Released on September 26, he was conveyed to Marske, near Redcar, under military escort. Here he was remanded for Court-Martial.

October 7, 1940. Court-Martialed. Army witnesses expressed opinion that Campbell had disobeyed commands from reason of conscience.

October 10. Sentenced to 1 years hard labour, Durham Civil Prison.

October 29. Transferred to Wakefield Prison.

February 2, 1941. Appeared before the Appellate Tribunal at Edinburgh. Removed to Edinburgh Civil Prison.

February 14. Advised Tribunal decision. Application dismissed.

March 31. Transferred to Perth Prison.

June 7. Completed sentence. Taken back to Marske by military escort.

June 10. Remanded for 3rd Court-Martial.

June 14. 3rd Court-Martial.

June 19. Sentenced to 2 years' military detention. Court-Martial decided that, despite his conscientious objection, as he had his opportunity of appearing before the Appellate Tribunal, there were no grounds for further appeal. Legally, he was a soldier, and must be sent to detention.

June 28. Arrives at Military Detention Barracks, Northallerton.

We ask the Socialist and Pacifist movements to take up Campbell's case. Clearly, the Tribunals in this case, came to an unwise decision. The War Office should be gracious and release Campbell unconditionally.

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EDEN, SIMON AND HITLER, MARCH, 1935.

Sir John Simon was Foreign Secretary 1931-35. In September, 193., Japan broke her triple pledge to preserve China (Nine Power Treaty 1922) League Covenant, and Kellogg Pact, by the seizure of Manchuria, China's most Northern province. China appealed to the League of Nations. Lytton Commission appointed February, 1932, to study problem on the spot. Report, published October, 1932, condemned Japan. League accepted Report. Japan replied by seizing province of Jehol. In December, 1932, Sir John Simon made a speech so favourable to Japan, that the Japanese representative thanked him for saying "IN HALF-AN-HOUR, IN A FEW WELL CHOSEN PHRASES, WHAT HE, THE JAPANESE DELEGATE, HAD BEEN TRYING TO SAY IN THE LAST TEN DAYS." Thus Japan triumphed and Manchurio became the puppet "independent Republic of Manchukuo!

On April 28, 1932, Sir John Simon owned 1,512 shares in Imperial Chemical Industries, Britain's largest chemicals and therefore important war combine.

Eden defended the betrayal of the Spanish Government and the Spanish workers by the "Non-Intervention" pact of Britain, France, and Russia, to Franco and Germany and Italy. He claimed in August, 1936, that "non-intervention" (that is, intervention against Spanish democracy) had averted war. Said Eden in the House of Commons: "A WAR POSTPONED MAY BE A WAR AVERTED." In March, 1939, Socialism and democracy were ousted in Spain and Franco and Fascism triumphed.

Simon became a Viscount and Lord Chancellor in 1940. F. W. Jowett indicts one aspect of Simon's criminal apathy in face of the conspiracy of Fascism in his splendid article in this issue.

JAPAN: WHO NURSED THE TIGER?

By F. W. JOWETT

[This essay was published by our comrade Jowett in the "Bradford I.L.P. News," for Friday, December 19, 1941. We reproduce it as a valuable contribution to working class understanding at the present period of crisis.—Ed.]

Our rulers, and the British money lords who, behind the scenes, direct the policy of our rulers on all vital questions, have made a discovery. They have discovered that Japan, the military power they deliberately created to serve as a shield of protection for Imperialist and financial interests, has not only become their enemy, but an enemy that fights with unexpected ferocity. *They are alarmed by the creature of their own creation.*

The press at last sounds the alarm. "Warships sunk by suicide pilots," screams the *Daily Herald* headline (December 11, 1941), and under the headline relates of the Japanese pilots at Pearl Harbour that:—

As they released their torpedoes all the airmen flung their machines straight at their objectives thus repeating the famous exploit of the "human torpedoes" which marked the Japanese attack on Shanghai.

Says the *Yorkshire Observer* (December 11, 1941):—

The human factor has been raised in reports that "suicide pilots" in the Japanese air arm are prepared to sink every consideration of personal safety in order to accomplish their task and so reap their due reward in heavenly exaltation.

Of the desperate character of the Japanese medieval-minded army, trained to use modern machinery of war, the *Daily Herald* (December 15, 1941) says:—

They hack their way through the jungle behind and between our lines and wade or swim, fully equipped, through crocodile-infested rivers.

And now, having quoted three from a large number of press descriptions showing belated discovery of what really is the effect of training a medieval-minded people for modernised warfare, may I invite attention to a passage in one of my own articles written over 33 years ago. This is what I wrote then:—

It was bad enough when the leading European nations alone were experts in the arts of international destruction but the advent of a nation of the Mongolian race whose warriors DO NOT FEAR DEATH and are less sensitive to pain, BRINGS A NEW ELEMENT OF TERROR INTO THE WORLD.

Why did I give that warning 33 years ago in *The Telegraph, The Clarion, The Bradford Pioneer*, and from numerous public platforms in England, Wales, and Scotland? Let me explain why, for the story has its lesson to teach us, and it is a lesson the people must learn, if capitalist imperialism (that in the 33 years since I wrote the words I have now quoted has led the British people into two great wars and many minor ones) is to be overthrown and the world of fellowship is to be established.

I was elected to Parliament in 1906. *It soon became clear to me that the nation's foreign policy was leading to war.* The British Imperialism of Lord Salisbury with its "Concert

of Europe" had been substituted by the even worse form of British Imperialism of the Joseph Chamberlain school, which aimed always to maintain for Britain the "balance of power"—a system based on *alliances and secret understandings* to ensure that Britain would be on the side of the big battalions in case the Imperialist struggle for markets and for investments of capital should lead to war.

In this British "balance of power" policy, British Imperialism hoped to make a tool of Japan. Japan is ruled by a small caste of medieval-minded aristocrats who have copied some of the outward forms of "democratic" government. She was not effectively armed for modern warfare, but British Imperialism could alter that, and was busy doing so 33 years ago, for a well-armed Japan was *considered necessary to keep Russia in check*—Russia being suspected of desiring expansion in Asia and of threatening to encroach on Britain's Indian Empire.

So it had come to pass at the time I wrote *The Telegraph* article from which I have quoted we were busy *training the Japanese*, with whose Government we had established an alliance, to become a formidable military power. We were at that time *training their future army officers* at the British military training schools, their future naval officers were in our naval training schools, and welcomed for further intensive training *on board our warships* under the personal direction and tuition of the ships' officers, including captains themselves.

At that time (33 years ago) we were sending *expert technicians and organisers* to establish in Japan schools for naval and military training, and to organise and establish munition production in Japan. Now another of British Imperialism's chickens has come home to roost and British Imperialism realises that, as I said in my *Telegraph* article 33 years ago, "a new element of terror" has come into the world.

In pursuit of that "balance of power" to which I have referred, whilst Japan was being nursed and trained to become a formidable military power to keep Russia in check in the Far East, a Liberal Imperialist Foreign Secretary (Sir Edward Grey, who afterwards became Lord Grey) was laying the foundation of the open and secret alliances in preparation for the last Great War.

He had taken over, "lock, stock, and barrel," the balance-of-power policy of his predecessor, Lord Lansdowne, who himself had adopted it not long before under the influence of the first of the Chamberlains (the late Premier Neville's father). Liberal Foreign Secretary Grey had the thoroughly reactionary distinction of *bringing openly the active personal intervention of a British King into the conduct of international affairs.*

King Edward the Seventh, being a "man of the world" on terms of intimate friendship with the money lords and popular among the right people in France, went, under Grey's advice, to arrange what was politely described in diplomatic language as an "entente" with France, which was in reality the basis of a *secret understanding* by which the Government bound the British people "behind its back" to go to war against Germany in certain undefined—and therefore all the more dangerous—conditions.

King Edward was commended to the people by all the big noises in British and French politics and the entire British and French press as "The Peacemaker," but his so-called peace-making efforts had no small share of responsibility for the last Great War which cost the peoples concerned no less than 10 millions of their lives.

In that war, Japan was an ally, as also was Czarist Russia, which, already in alliance with France, had been brought into the "entente cordiale." In that war Sir John Simon, now Lord Simon, the Lord Chancellor, was for about a year Home Secretary, but resigned because he disapproved of conscription of which, and all its brood of evils, he is now a fervent and powerful advocate.

In 1931 when Japan was ready, after years of training by older Imperialist Powers (Britain being the first to obligingly serve in that capacity) she invaded the Chinese province of Manchuria. Simon—slim Simon—was at that time Foreign Secretary.

A railway train had been derailed during the night. It was the convenient "incident" giving the excuse for Japan to send its army to invade Manchuria, breaking two international treaties to which Britain was also a party, namely the Kellogg Pact and the Nine Power Treaty.

Colonel Stimson, Secretary of State in the United States Cabinet, *requested Simon to join him in a protest to Japan* with an intimation that *neither the United States nor Britain would recognise Manchuria as a Japanese conquest* if Japan proceeded with the campaign.

That was all the United States Secretary Stimson asked of the British Government through its Foreign Minister, Sir John Simon. *The request was refused.*

British Imperialism didn't like the Russian Government of Soviet Republics, and an armed equally anti-Soviet Power on the Soviet's borders ready to stage another "incident" over the Soviet frontier was *much to be desired.*

As the crowning infamy of Lord Chancellor Simon's testilential career, when at the League of Nations meeting in 1932, Lord Lytton's officially appointed Commission of Enquiry reported to the League of Nations that *Japan had committed an act of aggression*, British Imperialist Foreign Secretary Simon took the part of Devil's Advocate, and did his job so damnedly well that the representative of Japan (the culprit state) purred with satisfaction and *smilingly observed the Hon. Simon had put Japan's case better than he could himself have put it.*

SIMON IS STILL A MEMBER OF THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT!

THOMAS JOHNSTON 1917!

To our exposures of Thomas Johnston, including the powerful indictment published last month from the pen of our comrade, F. W. Jowett, we add the following cutting, culled from the *Forward*, Glasgow, for July 21, 1917:—

RECEPTION TO JOHN MACLEAN.

On Tuesday, 10th inst., the Glasgow Council of the B.S.P. packed the St. Mungo Hall, Glasgow, at their reception to John Maclean. All sections of the Socialist movement were represented on the platform, and repeated appeals were made for unity in face of the common foe. John Maclean's appearance on the platform was greeted with great cheering and musical honours. The chair was taken by Mr. Thomas Johnston, the Editor of "Forward," and the speakers were James MacDougall, James Maxton, Jack Smith, E. C. Fairchild (of London), John Maclean, David Kirkwood, and Wm. Gallacher. The Chairman said he had never before been on such a jail-bird platform, and men who had been in jail, men who would be in jail, and men who ought to be in jail (laughter). Loud cries of "Shame" greeted his recital of some of the conditions of Maclean's ticket-of-leave, how he was not to habitually consort with thieves and prostitutes—occasionally was inferred, but not habitually.

He paid a high tribute to Maclean, as did every speaker who followed. Mr. E. C. Fairchild made a series of presentations, gold watch and other trinkets to Comrade and Mrs. Maclean and the "wee bairns." John Maclean, in the course of his reply made some severe strictures on the prison system as it had been applied to himself, but he had escaped and after a holiday which George Lansbury had arranged for him, he was coming back to take up economic class work . . .

The military authorities called up John Maclean last week, but when the news got to London the brake was put upon the energies of the local militarists by the Government. The call-up notice had been cancelled.

Thomas Johnston was editor of the *Forward* and would be directly responsible for their report, which was unsigned.

EXONERATED

The Word for May, 1941, told the story of Ben Greene's career and detention under 18B. Ben was released from Brixton Prison on January 7 last, after having been detained for 19 months. The detention order was made against him on May 24, 1940. A few days after his release, he receive a letter from the Home Office unreservedly withdrawing the charges made against him. He is exonerated completely.

His fight for justice cost Ben Greene £1,000 in lawyers' fees and expenses. He is entitled to compensation for his 19 months' sufferings and this expenditure. His business was ruined and he was unable to support his family.

TO AMERICAN COMRADES.

The Word can be seen in the New York Public Library. It is on sale in Union Square.

In San Francisco, you can buy it at:

Alameda News Agency, 9 Market Street; Fitzgerald News Agency, 21 24th Street; Joe's Cigar Store, 1352 Polk Street; Bob Duncan's Smoke Shop, 1986 Sutter Street.

In Los Angeles, at:

Smith's Consolidated News Stand, 613½ So. Hill Street; General News Stand, 326 W. 5th Street; Sam Smith's News Stand, 5th and Main Street.

In Minneapolis, at:

Shinders News Co., 6th St. & Hennepin Av.; Morris Kroman, 4th St. & Nicollet Av.; Pioneer News Co., 238 Second Av., South; A. Peterson News Stand, Washington Av., Broadway N.; Labor Book Store, 919 Marquette Av.

In Chicago, at:

Ceshinksky's Book Store, 2720 W. Division Street, Chicago.

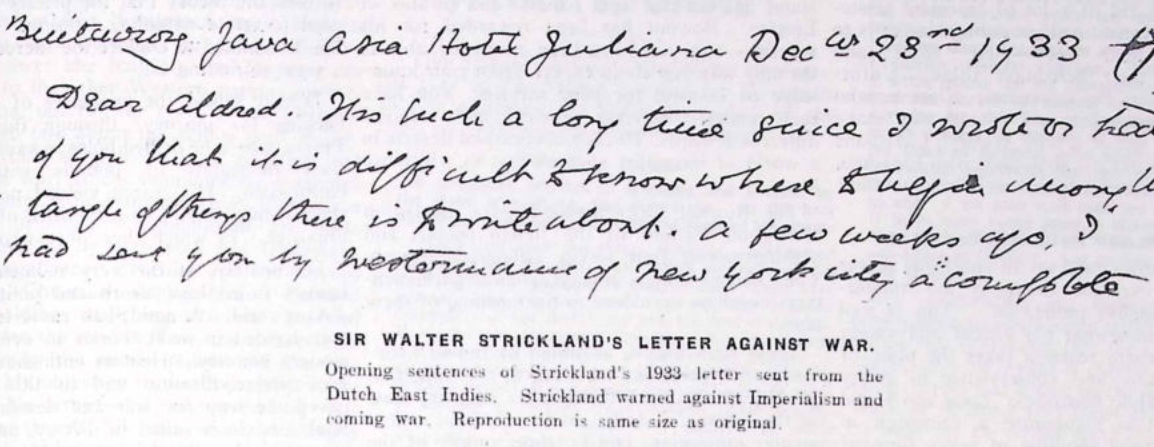
A sample copy will be sent free to any United States comrade on request. Send us your news on the world situation.

"THE CHRISTIAN AND WAR."

We have received many letter of thanks and appreciation for publishing *The Christian and War* by Rhys J. Davies, M.P., last month. This essay can be obtained, in pamphlet form, price 3d., post free 4d., from *The Ellerslie Community*, Sully Road, Penarth, Glam.

Mervyn Ll. Turner, who translated it from the Welsh, is serving a sentence of 12 months imprisonment as a conscientious objector, for refusing medical examination, in Swansea Prison.

Further details of comrade Turner's stand for conscience will be published in an early issue. Also letters of endorsement and criticism of comrade Davies' essay.



Buitenzorg Java Asia Hotel Juliana Decr 23rd 1933 (1)

Dear Aldred. It is such a long time since I wrote or heard of you that it is difficult to know where to begin among the tangle of things there is to write about. A few weeks ago I had sent you by Westermann of New York city a complete

SIR WALTER STRICKLAND'S LETTER AGAINST WAR.

Opening sentences of Strickland's 1933 letter sent from the Dutch East Indies. Strickland warned against Imperialism and coming war. Reproduction is same size as original.

Concluding sentences and P.S. same letter.

they are such a tangle of more or less legal jargon that I do not understand the greater part of them.

With much more by why write as I write whenever

W. W. Strickland

P.S. As to the list of documents it might be worth while I have a certain number of them typed or printed for purposes of distribution. You leave by discretion

OIL IMPERIALISM AND WAR

A CAPITALIST SURVEY

By the late

SIR WALTER STRICKLAND, Bt. B.A.

[We published in our columns for May 1940 Sir Walter Strickland's last letter to us from Buitenzorg, dated December 14, 1937. This letter was reprinted and has been circulated widely in pamphlet form. Some copies still remain. In our August and September issues we published his 1934 essay on "IMPERIALISM IN THE ORIENT." This was a study of Buddhism, Fascism and War. Unfortunately, in reprinting this essay in pamphlet form, through an error, only half the essay was included. Although the pamphlet makes good reading, it is incomplete. It is worthy of circulating but the full essay will be reprinted later. Below we publish a letter Strickland addressed to us in 1933. At the present moment readers will find it a vital and interesting document.—Ed.]

Buitenzorg, Java, Asia, Hotel Juliana.
December 23rd, 1933.

Dear Aldred,—It is such a long time since I wrote or heard of you that it is difficult to know where to begin among the tangle of things there is to write about. A few weeks ago I had sent you by Westermann, of New York City, a complete set of press cuttings bearing on the Japanese question, and the prospect of a coming further pig fight between the nations, and also the amazing story of Britain's Imperialist oil intrigue in Persia. The story of how Britain got its oil, in preparation for the Great War, condemns not Britain only but the Capitalist system under which we live. Never was there a greater illustration of the need for Socialism, the Socialisation of all wealth, than in this dastardly record of oil intrigue between the great powers, and the scramble for power and wealth. Unfortunately Socialism will never come so long as you have parliamentary labour leaders anxious for a place in the sun under capitalist society, using every effort to be recognised as junior members of the ruling class, the old firm of Swindle, Badger-em, & Co.

SOCIALISM A CRIME.

Several years ago, if I mistake not, you were one of my trustees, whom I replaced by T. C. R. Pillai. I forget the exact reasons for the change, but certainly there was no intention to blame or to violate in any way our long agreement. For that matter, the *whole* of your correspondence is preserved in the 7 valises now held or rather withheld by the Berlin bank, with records of my associations with the Chinese revolutionary leaders, my Japanese diaries, and my correspondence with the German Socialists. If, as I trust, these valises are released or recovered some day, and adequate use is made of the documents and correspondence they contain, you will be able to show up, without remorse, the scurvy way I have been misrepresented and more or less libelled by the Imperialists and their adherents, for the offences of believing in freedom and being shrewdly suspicious of war-mongering Imperialism and all its works. My crime has been to believe in humanity and a Commonwealth of the peoples of the earth.

At a time when French and British Tory Press humbugs were crying for the Kaiser's head, and the workers were being gulled into coming starvation by cries for blood and thunder, I mildly suggested, in a critical essay that I had published in Switzerland, that the pig fight was at its shambles work, not for the benefit of the common people, but in the interests of the armament kings and the lords of finance, the profiteers of human misery, the vultures of civilisation, the Church's birds of prey. My treatment after I had published this essay, convinced me that it was a rather interesting achievement, though a good many of points I made have escaped my judgment. I had no need to beware at all of men speaking good of me for, from then on, in all British official circles, wherever I went, I was suspect and barred. I was a Socialist, actually an Anarchist, and an Aristocrat and Cambridge scholar, and I wouldn't play in their nastly little pig-fight, or help with the muck behind the troughs.

I explained in the *Spur* that "eel" meant originally both "slime" and "glory." The Mohammedan name for God, "Ali," probably springs from the same root as "eel." Perhaps "earl" does also. The excellent moral pointed

by this etymological speculation is that the first step in getting rid of a lot of truculent aristocrats and self-constituted governing classes is to strip them of their "eel"—their "slime" and "glory," *i.e.*, their hereditary titles. Unfortunately, whereas the democratic Chinese who discovered gunpowder and would not make "enlightened" use of it until Western Christians forced them to do so, abolished titles long ago, England has tolerated and rejoiced in their retention.

SOCIALISM AND HEREDITARY TITLES.

Hereditary titles exercise an enormous power of suggestion over the somewhat too humble-cum-dumble English proletariat. This is well seen in the somewhat too violent and vulgar denunciation where reaction takes the place of moral prostration and subservience to empty words and heraldic flourishes. Long ago I said that you ought to inaugurate a campaign in favour of the total abolition of every form of hereditary title all over the British Commonwealth. Even if it did not attain its main purpose, it would certainly show up the moral and intellectual poverty of the title-bearers and the title and tuft hunters. I do not positively deny the value of blue blood as a personal asset, though, taken altogether, the proofs in favour thereof are of an extremely shadowy character. Nor is there much blue blood in the veins of a sneaking criminal attorney raised to a peerage for party political services; a brewer floated into the Lords on a flood of barrels; an armament king who owes his elevation to services-at-home, and not arduous at that, but purely organisational, in the unholy cause of exploited nationalism and human murder, which is the true name for war; or a real red-flag waving Socialist sent to the Lords in retreat from the angry and misled proletariat. Genuine old-time aristocrats, their stupidities and ignorance notwithstanding, stand less in the way of abolishing titles than the climbing heroes of democracy, the men of aggression who view the Empire as a corporate pany of fraud, self-seeking, money-making, what-can-be-got-out-it? and hypocrisy. Your Socialist labour leader, the good dear comrade who wouldn't help a beggar, may be more anxious for a title, and stronger bulwark of the peerage than a duke or an earl.

WAR'S DIRTY GAME.

As I have said, I would not play in their dirty, incomplete, little pig-fight. I didn't like their slaughter-house or its culture. I would have none of their slime of scholarship and inherited disdain. From then on I was less than a labourer in the sight of the politicians and profiteers of empire. I was unwelcome on British soil. My correspondence was tampered with. You have known, better than most of your fellow-countrymen, for many years now what this kind of persecution means. Lastly, they took away my passport.

THE ROWLATT LAWS.

Some of the cuttings I have sent to you concern the Rowlatt laws. You will recall that my friendship for you dates from your prosecution for Indian sedition in 1909, when I addressed my first letter to you at Brixton Prison, because I wanted to know you. Englishmen are not devoid of physical courage but it is rare to discover an Anglo-Saxon who possesses moral courage. It is much quieter and much more attractive but so little appreciated. You may remember that the counsel who appeared against you included S. A. T. Rowlatt, who was then junior counsel to the Treasury. Rowlatt was appointed Chairman of the Indian Sedition Committee in 1918 and was responsible for that masterpiese of reaction, the so-called Rowlatt Laws, to which your reactionary fellow-countrymen paid no attention. Their irresponsible non-consideration of the consequences of these laws will form a pretext and precedent, as time goes by, for invading their own liberties at home, a veritable Frankinstein. Their own bondage is merely a matter of time and deserved retribution. I make a summary of the Rowlatt Laws as a compliment to yourself, to show how right you were to be against these people. You have nothing to be ashamed of for taking your stand against the legal bandits and pirates of Empire. Rowlatt has been rewarded for his services—and you have been rewarded also in the only way you could expect, from your knowledge of history, for your services. You have each rendered different services and received different rewards. To each his unequal deserts in a world of inequality such as that in which we live.

The Rowlatt Laws aroused fierce opposition among all sections of the Indian people, and nothing among your servile fellow-countrymen. Your Labour leaders and sycophantic parliamentary Socialists were dead to the meaning of these laws.

These laws meant, as stated in Indian manifestoes and protests I obtained at the time, that the British Government in India was imposing on the natives of India, in the teeth of united popular opposition, and by sheer power of the sword, measures of despotic government only comparable to the acts of the Spanish Inquisition or the Czarist police.

Criminal intention was presumed *unless the accused person could disprove it.* Previous conviction or association with persons previously convicted was admitted as evidence of guilt. Even after two years of imprisonment, the person so condemned is for a further period of two years in the position of a ticket-of-leave man.

Where certain specified political offences were in the, as we know, arbitrary and irresponsible, because uncontrolled opinion of the Governor-General in Council, prevalent, he could empower Local Governments to proceed against the persons charged by a summary, secret and speedy trial before three specially nominated judges.

The Governor-General in Council could also empower the Local Governments to order anyone whom they reasonably suspected of being concerned in seditious movements to enter into a bond for good behaviour and to live in a specified area. The local governments were permitted to appoint an investigating authority to examine the evidence in a secret trial at which the accused was not to be represented by a pleader. Nor was the accused himself permitted to appear before the authority, except at such stage in its proceedings as the authority elected. This method was provided for cases where there was not sufficient legal evidence to convict or the Government did not desire to prosecute.

There was no right of appeal. Orders could not be questioned in any court; the ordinary rules of evidence and procedure were abolished; the accused was not allowed to bring witnesses in his defence and was often tried unheard.

How much concern did your labour parliamentarians show in these laws. I have mentioned only some of the despotic features. There were other medieval features like arrests without warrant, searches without warrant, imprisonment of 15 days without trial, and power to repeat such imprisonments.

OIL MEANS BLOOD.

The cuttings I have sent you, showing how Britain intrigued for its oil supply, reminds me of your essay on Mexican oil in the *Herald of Revolt*. I can never forget the title of this essay, "*Oil Means Blood.*" Oil indeed means blood, blood commercialised from the pigsty by false pretences, as this amazing story of Persian oil proves. I tell the story in brief, in case, sooner or later, you come to publish my letter.

Somewhere about 1894, an Australian engineer, named William Knox d'Arcy, entered Persia and commenced a search for oil. Here began a trail of blood of which he was utterly unconscious and of which even those who ridiculed him were completely unsuspicious. They were cynical only because he saw no profit from his beliefs. Knox d'Arcy was a remarkable man and believed that there must have been a sound material reason why the ancient Persians worshipped the God of Fire. His historical reading informed him that powerful white flames used to burn in the ancient Persian temples dedicated to the worship of Ormuzd. From which he formed the theory that the priests of Zoroaster used to ignite naphtha, deposited in the soil. He determined to explore the sacred places with a view to finding oil.

D'Arcy talked the financiers of London into backing his journeys through the deserts of Persia, where he drilled holes in vain, and wasted their thousands of pounds with prophetic enthusiasm. His search yielded no results and they dismissed him as a mixture of lunatic and imposter. In which they were wrong.

Fortunately, at the very moment when the banker failed him, death and politics came to d'Arcy's aid. A new Shah came to the throne and decided to make Persia in every respect a modern country. He was enthusiastic for progress and civilisation and in this enthusiasm paved the way for war and desolation. The Shah's advisers called in d'Arcy, and employed his technical skill in buying machinery and building a railway. In return, the Shah gave him a large monetary reward, and a generous but dangerous document guaranteeing him, and "*to all his heirs and assigns,*" the right for sixty years to drill into the depths of Persia, "*in consequence of which all the sub-soil products sought by him without exception will remain his inalienable property.*"

This concession covered five-sixths of Persia. It was acquired by d'Arcy in 1901. Almost immediately afterwards natives brought him news of the discovery of oil in the Shushtar region, north of the Persian gulf. But d'Arcy had been worn out by his long search for oil, and he sub-let the exploitation to a small company, then recently formed for the purpose of selling oil to India—the Burmah Oil Company. D'Arcy did not tell the Company that his concession covered nearly the whole of Persia, *because his idea was to save Persia from speculators and to convert the people to Christianity.* His concession was suspected, however, and offers up to £6,000,000 were made to d'Arcy for the document. These he refused. Attempts were made to rob him and to rifle his apartments.

D'Arcy returned to Australia by way of the United States. On the liner to the States he met a missionary returned from South Africa, and a friendship sprang up between them. D'Arcy told the priest of his hopes to convert Persia to Christianity, and of the important document he was trying to keep safe from the hands of speculators. The priest suggested that if this were presented to the Church it would be safe, and would also provide its missioneries with free access to Persia. Despite his concession to d'Arcy, and his gratitude, the Shah, down to this time, had forbidden missionaries to enter the country. D'Arcy was persuaded by the priest that this would overcome the Shah's opposition. Before the ship arrived at New York the document and all the rights it carried with it had been transferred to the priest. From him, the document went direct to the British Intelligence Service. The priest was Sidney Reilly, the famous or notorious British Secret Service Agent!

The Burmah Oil Co. now ceded its land to the Anglo-Persian Oil Co. This was a newly-formed concern with a capital of £2,000,000 and a list of secret shareholders. Their names were not revealed until the War-Year, 1914. It was made known then that 56 per cent. of the shares were held by the British Admiralty! Shades of Disraeli! Naturally, Parliament formally ratified this secret purchase of oil shares which placed the entire oil resources of Persia at the disposal of the British Navy during the Great War. Thus began an international intrigue of blood and oil that would have been impossible had the world abandoned Capitalism and Imperialism for Socialism and world commonwealth.

TRADE AND THE JAPANESE "PERIL."

The Japanese cuttings are interesting. They are from *The Osaka Mainichi and The Tokyo Nichi Nichi*, the Japanese English paper. These cuttings throw a great light on the Ottawa

Agreements of 1932, which so aggravated the unfavourable balance of Japan's trade with Canada, and which, if pursued, must lead to another pig fight between the British Empire and the power she built up for 25 years in opposition to the other Western nations operating in China, not for the good of the Chinese. All the jingo talk about the yellow peril merely conceals a trade struggle, an acute situation that must end in war, unless commonsense overrides commercialism. How many atrocities, themselves due to the principle of exploitation, are made vulgar knowledge by Statesmen and Diplomats, only to conceal other atrocities and the onward march of Christian exploitation. Onward Christian soldiers, marching into war, forward into battle see the masses flow—the masses held in servitude by the money power and the fear of living. My objection to the Imperialist is the greed of his creed—his money-making lust wherever he travels, his want of all philosophy of living. I send three clear instances and other indications of my correspondence being tampered with by the fanatical Calvinist jingo elements. I think, sooner or later, being aware of the fact, you should be able to catch these fellows tripping. Of this, more anon.

I hope, in due course of time, to comment on your voluminous letters that I have left so long unanswered. There are many points in them that ought to be discussed between us, but with the best intentions in the world, I find that they are such a tangle of more or less legal jargon that I admit I do not understand the greater part of them.

Will write more by and by. With best wishes,

Yours Ever,

W. W. STRICKLAND.

P.S.—As to the list of documents, it might be worth while to have a certain number of the lists either copied or printed for purposes of distribution. This I leave to your discretion.

RICHARD CARLILE

The following amazingly outspoken paragraph is culled from the literary review column of the *Peebleshire News*, for December 26, 1941 :—

No matter how revolutionary a man may be in his lifetime, or how strongly his opinions, political, religious, or social, may be despised or opposed by his contemporaries, the time must come, sooner or later, when he will be, not only understood, but applauded, provided always, of course, that his words and actions have been distinguished by absolute sincerity and true conviction. This fact has been clearly demonstrated in the case of a noted atheist and republican who lived, struggled and suffered on behalf of freedom of thought and reasonable expression thereof during the first half of the nineteenth century. The very fact that Guy A. Aldred's "Richard Carlile: Agitator: His Life and Times," published by the Strickland Press, 104 George Street, Glasgow, C.1, price 1s. 6d., has appeared in a third revised edition, is a sufficient testimony to my contention. The work is a masterpiece of sound documentation, and the author holds the interest of the reader from start to finish in a way that is not common in biographies of lesser known characters. The illustrations also are of unusual interest and value.

In "Dogmas Discarded," two parts, respectively priced at 4d. and 6d., Mr. Aldred, whose own life has not been altogether dissimilar from that of Richard Carlile, gives us "An Autobiography of Thought," stretching from 1886 to 1908, which in these days of gradual and subtle attempted encroachments upon the hard-won liberties of the people, cannot be too widely read.

UNITARIAN CHURCH
Hope Street, Liverpool

Minister—Rev. SIDNEY SPENCER, B.A.
Sunday Services:—11 a.m. and 3.30 p.m.

February Addresses (3 p.m.).

1—"Roots of the Trouble": a Reply to Lord Vansittart.
8—"The God Who Speaks": The Problem of Inspiration.
15—Shintoism: the Religion of Japan.
22—Superman or Son of God?

WHAT A GAME!

"Old Stager," in his "War News Letter—No. 115," in *The Spitere*, London, for November 15 last, publishes the following review of the Duke of Bedford's now famous pamphlet :—

WHAT A GAME!

A pamphlet, printed in Glasgow and written by the Duke of Bedford, lies before me. In the first paragraph the Duke sets forth the logic of his creed:

"Only last year the Prime Minister, speaking of the Finns and Russians, said: 'The service rendered by Finland to mankind is magnificent. They have exposed for all the world to see the military incapacity of the Red Army and the Red Air Force. Everyone can see how Communism rots the soul of a nation; how it makes it abject and hungry in peace and proves it base and abominable in war.' What a game! If our people had not lost their sense of humour as well as sense of every other description, surely they would now realise the utter absurdity and immorality of war, and insist on their Government exploring any and every reasonable way of bringing this lunacy to an end."

Let us with courage and coolness examine this sentence, which, with others of the sort, has branded a man of ability, who is no fool and (I am convinced) no traitor, with infamy of late.

1. Let us first frankly admit that, if it had been written in peacetime, its logic would have hit a great number of people, and Mr Churchill himself, a zestful and large-minded and courageous parliamentarian, would probably have chuckled, perhaps ruefully, over "a very palpable hit." Anyway, it would not have branded the writer with infamy, and the proof that it is a logical hit lies in the attitude of the Premier towards Russia. Almost alone among his entourage of Ministers, he does not seek to eat his words. He admits the principle that a life-and-death dire necessity brings strange bedfellows. He exceptionally (unlike the Bishops and the Government and the great bulk of the nation) has not lost his sense of humour and proportion—even when he glorifies the efficiency of the Red Army and Air Force.

2. Why should such an argument propounded in war be received as treachery, when in peace it would be received by many with chuckles, if not with approval? Because in total war for survival, there are (as I have said often) no shades of colour. Everything is either black or white. Yes, but are we not a democracy, flying the banner of freedom—of speech, of action, of opinion, and ready to die for that freedom? If war allows no right of compromise, why does Mr Churchill frankly "compromise" with his bugbear, Communism? If ours is not to reason why, why do Mr Churchill's henchmen and Parliament spend half their days in talk? These are not outrageous, oratorical questions?

3. Where has the Duke gone wrong in setting forth his argument in wartime? It is a fact (which any searcher can verify for himself) that only last year the Premier said what he is quoted as saying concerning Communism. You cannot hang a man for quoting it. It is still true that probably a majority of the nation, while working all out for our war effort, does accept it that war is utterly imbecile and can settle nothing; that war, and night bombing, perhaps, are mass-madness, stark and immeasurable, and that while they last every day brings civilisation nearer to the crater's edge.

ELEMENTS OF TRUTH.

I myself believe these things; and believing them does not, and need not, dilute my will to contribute anything I can to the war effort. I go further. I conceive that it is an article of our policy in fighting this war that we do so believe in the bestial lunacy of war. In my mind, the cardinal, the only, point of criticism in the composition of this sentence (even in wartime) is the assumption that the nation has lost its senses. I should myself plead guilty to the charge, if I followed the Vansittart school. But as I see the impossibility of exterminating 80,000,000 Germans, I hold that in the end, when victory is won, we have no alternative but to try again to educate and civilise those Germans who remain alive when we have destroyed Nazi-ism. That being so, I cannot accept the principle that we could never negotiate with any German, once the Nazi regime has been totally destroyed or else totally rejected by the Reich. It follows that I believe that a patriotic citizen can give his best to our effort to destroy Nazi-ism while holding such views, and that the bulk of our people have not lost all sense and do hold these views. If they hold them, they must see the force of not losing any opportunity to stimulate resistance to Nazi-ism in any elements in Germany not totally soaked in the poison of Nazi-ism, and generally to explore any way of bringing this lunacy and supreme tragedy to a righteous end. Thus (in my view) the Duke's opening paragraph is to be criticised only on the score of tactlessness and immoderation. It is devoid neither of logic, patriotism or sense. It contains elements of all three—if it be unsuitable matter for "total war," then so also is the chronic loquacity of our Ministers of State and religion. If it be inept and dangerous, then so, too, is this insistence on the continuance of the luxuries of democratic freedom of speech in a total war against a totalitarian State. And indeed, we pay a heavy price and handicap by enjoying these luxuries while the war, which we are waging to preserve them, lasts. One word more. I admire moral courage as much as (or more than) I admire physical courage. The former kind is a little nearer to my comprehension. It may be also the harder to display in war. It does not surprise me that one or two men are still found brave enough to defend, or not blindly to brand, the Duke of Bedford, even while admitting that he constantly overstates his case and will not accept the necessity for moderation, tact and compromise in war. I am glad such men are to be found. For if there were found none, I should agree with him that we had as a nation lost all our senses with our sense of humour. Let us live and die like men, not sheep.

We congratulate our distinguished contemporary upon its courageous criticism. It does not follow that everything that the Duke of Bedford thinks, says, or writes is correct. Nor is everything correct that is said on the side of war. The Duke of Bedford *does mean* all that he says to be true, for he writes according to his beliefs. If we are afraid to listen to a man confessing truthfully his thoughts on a matter of utmost importance to mankind, we are living in servitude, and have sacrificed the traditions and loyalties of our ancestors. It is the business of every decent citizen to think on how to end war and crime, now and forever.

DUKE OF BEDFORD

The *New York Times*, for November 2, 1941, published a portrait of the Duke of Bedford, with an account of the Duke's opposition to war, under the caption, *Derision*. We quote in part :

The statue of a nobleman, one hand on the plow, the other holding ears of corn, has adorned London's spacious Russell Square since 1809. During a blackout last week, stealthy visitors daubed the figure with yellow paint, decked it with placards reading: "Grandfather of a Quisling!" and "Down with the Duke!" The derision was aimed at the nobleman's descendant, the twelfth Duke of Bedford, who has championed a negotiated peace with Germany.

The gentleman farmer memorialized by the Russell Square statue—the fifth Duke of Bedford supported peace between Britain and Revolutionary France. He made no more headway than the present titleholder . . .

The ancestral duke mentioned, as stated last month, was a member of *The Society of Friends of the People*, and actually a defender of the French Revolution against the entrenched reaction of the British aristocracy. Socialists and Radical Libertarians might note this fact.

OUR LETTER-BOX

Dear Mr Aldred,—Since I began to read *The Word* last June, I am pleased to say I have enjoyed reading each edition in part, but, speaking candidly, I wish some of the articles were based more on Scripture and were less political.

I admire the stand you have made to denounce war, and the noble work you are helping to do to establish that kingdom—"Peace on earth, goodwill towards men." The teachings of our Saviour clearly show us that we should have many trials and tribulations to pass through in the last days, and everything that is happening to-day clearly shows we are now in those days.

We know that the laws of God and the teachings of our Saviour will triumph in the end, for remember it says the kingdom of righteousness will be established on earth. And it also says, "I shall have a willing people in the day of my power." A people who will obey the commandments of God and the teachings of our Saviour. That day is near.

We are now in the time when Satan has come down in great wrath, "knowing his time is short," and hasn't he abundant workers to help in his mission to destroy? God said he would shorten the time for the elect's sake. The elect are they who obey the law and Gospel—the commands of God.

Look at this apostate Christendom of to-day, a Bible in one hand, a sword in the other, seeking to bring peace by the carnal weapon, a mammon of iniquity. Peace will only be established by obedience to the Word, and God says "He will send His angels to drive out of His Kingdom all that offends." I admire the Duke of Bedford in his earnest effort to proclaim truth and light.

I wish your paper every success, and am thankful to you for the help you have given to the C.O.s.

Yours faithfully,

W. H. BAGULEY.

East Kirkby, December 8, 1941.

(Concluded on page 84).

CONVICT 9653!

AMERICA'S VISION MAKER

Story of Eugene Victor Debs, The United States' Great Socialist Anti-militarist

Ralph Chaplin, serving a twenty-year sentence in one Federal Penitentiary, for daring to express Anti-Militarist opinions during the first world war, addressed a poem to Eugene Victor Debs, serving a ten year sentence in another Federal Penitentiary for an identical offence. Chaplin described Debs as "*The Vision Maker.*"

Addressing the Government that prosecuted and imprisoned Debs, Chaplin wrote:—

Not he, but you are branded deep with guilt;
His cell is holier than your highest shrine.

We recall this poem, and story of Debs, since the United States is involved in the second world war. Socialist readers ought to consider the uncompromising anti-militarist attitude adopted by Debs when the United States entered the first world war, and so ask themselves what stand they think Debs would take to-day, now that the world is rushing to chaos, and the violence of war threatens to be replaced by the plague that follows inevitably in the wake of war. Disease must ever shadow the sword.

Debs was born in Terre Haute, Ind., U.S.A., in 1855, the son of a respectable grocer, who came from Alsace. He died in his home town in 1926. That means he was 71 years of age at the time of his death. Fifty of those years he spent in the struggle of the working class and over thirty in an attempt to create an American Socialist Movement.

Debs was educated in the public schools, including the high school. But he left school before he was fifteen years of age, and commenced working in the Vandalia paint shop in Terre Haute. This was in 1870. The next year he got a position as fireman on a Vandalian locomotive. Three years later he obtained a better position in the wholesale grocery. During these four years he attended a commercial college in the evenings. In 1879 he was elected City Clerk on the Democratic ticket and re-elected in 1881.

Before he was 20, Debs threw himself into the work of organising the railwaymen. As a member of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, he was elected to office, and at 25, he became secretary of the Union. For 12 years he served the organisation as grand secretary and treasurer. He also edited *the Locomotive Firemen's Magazine.*

On June 20, 1893, Debs established one Union for all railwaymen, under the name the American Railway Union. As its President, Debs made the A.R.U. one of the strongest labour unions in the United States, and was successful in the strike on the "Great Northern."

May 11, 1894, the operatives at Pullmanville struck, and after futile efforts to gain a settlement by arbitration, joined the American Railway Union. This organisation took up their cause. In June Debs ordered a boycott of Pullman cars. The strike gradually spread.

On July 2 Judges Wood and Grosscup, at Chicago, ordered a sweeping "omnibus" injunction. On the basis of telegrams and advice sent by Debs after this, he and his colleagues were arrested on two indictments for contempt of court, and were tried in September in the Federal Circuit Court sitting at Chicago. Judge Wood did not render a verdict till December, but then condemned Debs to six months' imprisonment, and his companions to three.

Appeal was taken to the Supreme Court for release on *habeas corpus,* the ground being that an equity court had no right to issue such an injunction, and thus deprive men of trial by jury. The Supreme Court, however, sustained the Circuit Court, and Debs and his companions suffered imprisonment in Woodstock Jail, beginning in May, 1895. Debs was liberated in November, and was given a tremendous ovation in Chicago. Debs told the workers that:

"I went to Woodstock a Union man and I have come back to you a Socialist."

Victor Berger, whose later Socialist record was not remarkable for its worth or its consistency, had visited Debs in Woodstock and had helped to "convert" him.

With Berger and Seymour Stedman Debs set to work to found the Socialist Party of America. Its first convention was held in 1897. Debs was its first presidential candidate in 1900—and again in 1904, 1908, 1912 and 1920.

The last time he fought the campaign as Convict 9653 in Atlanta jail.

At his first contest in 1900 he polled 87,814 votes. In 1920 he polled 819,799 votes. He remained in a hopeless minority.

Debs became Convict 9653 because, when the United States entered the world war, he refused to abate his opposition to it by one jot or one tittle. In a bold speech at Canton, Ohio, he urged the workers to do nothing in support of the war.

President Wilson's Quaker Attorney-General Palmer got him ten years imprisonment for that speech. After a time, he was offered conditional pardon, but refused to accept it. Then, on December 25, 1921, President Harding released him as an "act of grace." Debs left Atlanta on his own terms, having repudiated neither his ideas nor his words.

Debs died at the local hospital from nephritis. He was in the hospital for four weeks and knew that he was dying. His last remark before passing into unconsciousness was a declaration of undiminished faith:—

"I will go to my grave convinced that Socialism, and Socialism alone, offers the only remedy for the political and economic troubles of mankind."

Debs was not a thinker. But he was a man of direct simple appeal. He possessed an unblemished character and he was a tireless worker. Before his death he had become a legend to the working-class throughout the United States of America.

WHEN WAR CAME.

August, 1914, witnessed the commencement of the World War. Although the United States was not involved immediately tension developed throughout America. Anti-war propaganda became perilous and unpopular. Debs squared up to the situation. In *The Appeal to Reason,* for September 11, 1915, Debs wrote:—

"They are trying to send us to prison for speaking our minds. Very well, let them. I tell you that if it had not been for men and women who in the past have had the moral courage to go to prison, we would still be in the jungles.

"I have been asked if I was opposed to all war and if I would refuse to be a soldier and to fight under any circumstances. . . . No, I am not opposed to all wars under all circumstances, and any declaration to the contrary would disqualify me as a revolutionist. When I say I am opposed to war I mean ruling class war, for the ruling class is the only class that makes war. It matters not to me whether this war be offensive or defensive, or what other lying excuse may be invented for it, I am opposed to it. . . .

"If I were in Congress I would be shot before I would vote a dollar for such a war.

"Capitalist wars for capitalist conquest and capitalist plunder must be fought by the capitalists themselves so far as I am concerned, and upon that question there can be no misunderstanding as to my position.

"I have no country to fight for; my country is the earth; and I am a citizen of the world.

"I would not violate my principles for God, much less for a crazy Kaiser, a savage Czar, a degenerate King, or a band of pot-bellied parasites.

"But while I have not a drop of blood to shed for the oppressors of the working class and the robbers of the poor, the thieves and looters, the brigands and murderers, whose debauched misrule is the crime of the ages, I have a heart-full to shed for their victims when it shall be needed in the war for their liberation.

"I am not a capitalist soldier; I am a proletarian revolutionist. I do not belong to the regular army of the plutocracy, but to the irregular army of the people. . . .

"I am opposed to every war but one; I am for that war with heart and soul, and that is the world-wide war of the social revolution. In that war I am prepared to fight in any way the ruling class may make it necessary, even to the barricades.

"There is where I stand and where I believe the Socialist Party stands, or ought to stand, on the question of war."

CANTON SPEECH.

At last the United States entered the war and Debs had to redefine his position. He did this in the famous speech that he delivered at Canton, Ohio, on June 16, 1918. He denounced in clear, precise terms war, and American participation in the world's blood bath.

Debs was addressing the Ohio State Convention of the Socialist Party. The speech was a report of his visit to a number of comrades who were held in jail for speaking out as he did against the mass slaughter of workers by workers, organised and degraded by mammon to serve the gory glory of profit. Thinking of these comrades, Debs reiterated his opposition to war. He said:—

"I may not be able to say all I think, but I am not going to say anything I do not think. And I would rather a thousand times be a free soul in jail than a sycophant or coward on the streets. They may put those boys in jail and some of the rest of us in jail, but they cannot put the Socialist movement in jail. Those prison bars separate their bodies from ours, but their souls are here this afternoon. They are simply paying the penalty that all men have paid in all the ages of history for standing erect and seeking to pave the way for better conditions for mankind. . . .

They who are animated with the unconquerable spirit of the Social Revolution, they who have the moral courage to stand erect, to assert their convictions, to stand by them, to go to jail or hell for them—they are writing their names in this crucial hour, they are writing their names in fadeless letters in the history of mankind. . . .

In all the history of the world, you, the people have never had a voice in declaring war, and strange as it certainly appears, no war by any nation in any age has ever been declared by the people.

Wars throughout history have been waged for conquest and power. The strong have always tried to rob the weak. The masters have always declared war. They never did any of the fighting; they have always sent the workers to fight for them.

The masters alone declare war and they alone make peace. They have everything to gain and nothing to lose. You, the workers, have nothing to gain and everything to lose—especially your lives. . .

A GREAT TRIAL SPEECH.

For this speech, reiterating his opposition to war, Debs was arrested and charged with treason under the United States Espionage Law of June 15, 1917.

In Cleveland on September 9, 1918, Eugene V. Debs went to trial in the court of Judge D. C. Westenhaver on a charge of treason. The case of the Federal Government was based entirely upon statements made by Debs in his speech at Canton, Ohio, recorded by a government agent stationed in the crowd.

Debs delivered the plea to the jury himself.

Here are excerpts that reveal the tenor of his great speech, his magnificent proletarian libertarian audacity:—

When great changes occur in history, when great principles are involved, as a rule the majority is wrong. The minority is right. In every age there have been a few heroic souls who have been in advance of their time, who have been misunderstood, maligned, persecuted, sometimes put to death. Long after their martyrdom, monuments were erected to them and garlands were woven for their graves.

We hear a great deal about human brotherhood—a beautiful and inspiring theme. It is preached from a countless number of pulpits. It is vain for us to preach of human brotherhood while we tolerate this social system in which we are a mass of warring units, in which millions of workers have to fight one another for jobs, and millions of business men and professional men have to fight one another for trade, for practice—in which we have individual interest and each is striving to care for himself alone without deference to his fellowmen. Human brotherhood is yet to be realised in this world. It can never be under the Capitalist-Competitive system in which we live.

Yes, I was opposed to the war. I am perfectly willing, on that count, to be branded as a disloyalist, and if it is a crime under the American law, punishable by imprisonment, for being opposed to human bloodshed. I am perfectly willing to be clothed in the stripes of a convict and to end my days in a prison cell.

The very first amendment to the Constitution reads:

"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peacefully to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances."

That is perfectly plain English. It can be understood by a child. I believe that the revolutionary fathers meant just what is here stated—that Congress shall make no law abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or of the right of the people to peacefully assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

I have told you that I am no lawyer, but it seems to me I know enough to know that if Congress enacts any law that conflicts with this provision in the Constitution, the law is void. If the Espionage Law finally stands, then the Constitution of the United States is dead. If that law is not the negation of every fundamental principle established by the Constitution, then certainly I am unable to read or to understand the English language. . . .

I cannot take back a word I have said. I cannot repudiate a sentence I have uttered. I stand before you guilty of having made this speech. I do not know, I cannot tell, what your verdict may be; nor does it matter much, so far as I am concerned. . . .

I have been accused of obstructing the war. I admit it. Gentlemen, I abhor war. I would oppose the war if I stood alone. When I think of a cold, glittering steel bayonet being plunged into the white quivering flesh of a human being, I recoil with horror. I have often wondered if I could take the life of my fellowman, even to save my own.

Men talk about holy wars. There are none. Let me remind you that it was Benjamin Franklin who said, "There never was a good war or a bad peace."

Napoleon Bonaparte was a high authority upon the subject of war. And when, in his last days, he was chained to the rock of St. Helena, when he felt the skeleton hand of death reaching for him, he cried out in horror, "War is the trade of savages and barbarians."

I have read some history. I know it is the ruling classes that make war upon one another, and not the people. In all the history of this world the people have never yet declared a war. Not one. I do not believe that really civilised nations would murder one another. I would refuse to kill a human being on my own account. Why should I, at the command of anyone else, or at the command of any power on earth?

Twenty centuries ago there was one appeared upon earth we know as the Prince of Peace. He issued a command in which I believe He said, "Love one another." He did not say, "Kill one another," but "Love one another." He espoused the cause of the suffering poor—and the poor heard him gladly. It was not long before he aroused the ill will and hatred of the usurers, the money changers, the profiteers, the high priests, the lawyers, the judges, the merchants, the bankers—in a word, the ruling class. They said of him, "He is preaching dangerous doctrine. He is inciting the common rabble. He is a menace to peace and order." And they had him arraigned, tried, convicted, condemned, and they had his quivering body spiked to the gates of Jerusalem.

This has been the tragic history of the race. In the ancient world Socrates sought to teach some new truths to the people, and they made him drink the fatal hemlock. It has been true all along the track of the ages. The men and women who have been in advance, who have had new ideas, new ideals, who have had the courage to attack the established order of things, have all had to pay the same penalty. . . .

Revolutions have a habit of succeeding, when the time comes for them. . . The most heroic word in all languages is Revolution. I have sympathy with the suffering, struggling people everywhere. It does not make any difference under what flag they were born, or where they live, I have sympathy with them all. I would, if I could, establish a social system that would embrace them all.

Gentlemen, I am the smallest part of this trial. I have lived long enough to appreciate my own personal insignificance in relation to a great issue that involves the welfare of the whole people. What you may choose to do to me will be of small consequence after all. I am not on trial here. There is an infinitely greater issue that is being tried in this Court, though you may not be conscious of it. American institutions are on trial here before a Court of American citizens. The future will tell.

This speech will take its place in history as a classic of oratory and libertarian expression. Never before, in an American Court, had such a speech been delivered to a jury by a defendant. Never once did Debs waver: never once did he attempt to escape from the implications of his life-long principles.

In passages that we have not reproduced, Debs reminded the Court that there had been a time when George Washington was denounced as a disloyalist; when Sam Adams, "the father of the American Revolution," was condemned as an incendiary; when Patrick Henry was condemned as a traitor.

Boldly facing the jury, Debs declared:—

I would not retract a word that I have uttered, that I believe to be true to save myself from going to the penitentiary for the rest of my days.

SENTENCED.

The stupid jury found Debs guilty.

On September 14, he was sentenced to ten years in the Federal penitentiary. Exactly 60 years earlier, in the same State, the immortal John Brown of Harper's ferry, Emerson's "true gentleman," had gone to his martyrdom.

Taking advantage of his right to make a final plea to the Court, our comrade said:—

Years ago I recognised my kinship with all living things, and I made up my mind that I was not one bit better than the meanest of the earth. I said then, and I say now, that while there is a lower class, I am in it; while there is a criminal element, I am of it; while there is a soul in prison, I am not free.

APPEAL DISMISSED.

Debs lawyers immediately appealed to the Supreme Court and he was released on bond, to await the decision of the higher court at his home.

On March 10, 1919, prosecutor Wertz telephoned Debs at his home and informed him that the Supreme Court had upheld the decision of the lower court — with the concurrence of the liberals Holmes and Brandeis. Debs, 65 years old and suffering from heart disease, packed his bag and took the train for Cleveland, to surrender to the Federal police.

LAST WORDS.

To the press representatives, in a last interview, Debs said:—

The decision is perfectly consistent with the character of the Supreme Court as a ruling class tribunal.

Great issues are not decided by the courts, but by the people. I have no concern in what the coterie of begowned corporation lawyers in Washington may decide in my case. The court of final resort is the people, and that court will be heard from in due time.

On April 19, 1919, five months after the World War had ended, Debs entered Moundsville jail in West Virginia, since the Federal jails were too crowded with political prisoners to accommodate him. He was transferred secretly, two months later, to the penitentiary at Atlanta. He remained here, as stated already, until December 25, 1921.

RETURN FROM PRISON.

The following excerpts are from the magnificent fighting speech Debs made in Chicago, in 1922, on his return to the public platform after his long imprisonment.

Undeterred by his weary imprisonment, Debs thundered his message to the common people:—

I am just recovering from the effects of a speech I made almost four years ago. That must have been a very telling speech. It was begun at Canton, Ohio, and completed at Atlanta, Georgia. But there is nothing to regret. I opposed the war. I still oppose war. I said then, I say now, that I would not go to war at the command of any capitalist country on the face of this earth.

Wars have always been declared by the ruling class and the battles have been fought and the victims furnished by the working class.

I would have saved the lives of 60,000 young Americans who perished upon the battlefields of France. Sixty thousand American corpses in France to produce thirty thousand millionaires in the United States.

The politicians at Washington declared the war: the editors of the country yelled for war; the preachers howled for war, but none of them went to the war.

I spoke at that time from a deep sense of conviction and ten years is a very moderate sentence for having an opinion of your own in the United States of America. If you and I believed in war we would have the honesty and courage to go to the front and get our share of it.

Debs saw the true republic of the common people coming all over the world:

War is the negation of civilisation and an outrage upon humanity.

It is coming, coming, coming just as certain as I stand in your presence. You may hasten it, you may retard it, but it is coming as certain as the sun rises on the morrow.

All over the wide world the victims of this system, of the war for which the system is responsible, the toiling and producing masses, the men and women who do the world's work, are lifting their bowed bodies from the earth and beginning to stand erect. Regardless of nationality, or creed, or colour, or sex, they are recognising their common kinship, grasping hands, removing the boundary lines, and calling each other "Comrade." They are beginning to recognise their common identity, to take an inventory of their own resources, to develop their capacity to think clearly. They have struggled through the ages from slavery to serfdom, and through serfdom to wage-slavery, to become freemen and freewomen in Socialism, the next inevitable stage of our advancing civilisation. Millions of them everywhere are beginning to ask why it is that they must press their rags still closer lest they press against the silk garments that their fingers are fashioning, why is it they must offend their hunger with the odour of the banquet they have spread, but may take no part in, why is it they must walk within the shadows of the palaces they have erected, but may not enter. They are beginning to think, they will soon begin to act.

The ruling classes were going to save civilisation and now look abroad at Europe, a vast armed camp, all of these so-called allies now pitted against each other and ready to fly at each other's throat. It is the way in which they have kept faith with the people and made the world safe for democracy.

I believe in the ultimate destiny of mankind. I believe and know that in this struggle, however fiercely it may be waged, whatever changing fortunes may be, that all the latent powers within us are being developed, and we expand to our true proportion: that we discharge our duty even though we do go to prison. Here let me say that I would rather be in jail with my self-respect than be on the street with a gag on my lips. I despise and defy their laws.

While I was born in the State of Indiana, I am not a citizen of the United States. My conscience lost me my citizenship. That is better than if my citizenship cost me my conscience.

The real capital of this nation is in Wall Street. Congress is its standing Committee.

Do not wait until we become popular. We will not need you then and the world will not know that you ever lived. It is the man who has the courage to stand out of the beaten track, to be true to himself and the highest he knows, who may arouse opposition. He may incur hate, but in every hour of trial, he can stand erect for the majesty of his own manhood; he can look himself in the face without blushing; he can go to rest at night with his self-respect, and walk forth in the morning a man.

It was a great and wonderful speech. One that deserved to live. It is the concluding paragraph of a worthy chapter in working-class history: the chapter recording the story of Debs' war resistance. The speech ranks Debs with Karl Liebknecht and John MacLean and unites the world in the glory of Anti-Militarist struggle and defiance. It proves that he kept faith with himself and with the working-class of the world. It immortalises the picture of Debs in his best mood—on trial, facing his profit and blood intoxicated acusers; indicting, from the dock, and later from the silence of the jail, dollar Patriotism.

This great after-prison speech of Eugene Debs reminds us of the vitality of the dock speech that we have recorded. History will not want to know what the judge said, nor the State Attorney. When we read the lives of the martyrs, we recall the questions and comments of their persecutors with scorn. We only honour what the martyrs said. And history will honour what Debs said in an American Court, on the famous day of his 1918 trial.

WHAT ARE THE WORKERS?

At Madison, on April 18, 1923, Debs delivered another great speech, in which he defined the place of the workers in Capitalist class. We excerpt:—

The working classes are HANDS; farm hands, factory hands, mill hands, mind hands—hands, hands, hands. Do you understand that in this system you are merely the hands of your capitalist masters, that you are fit only with your horny hands to produce wealth to enrich them while yourselves remain in poverty and dependence? Hands is what you are and hands is what you will remain in the capitalist system; hands to the capitalist head, hands to be calloused and deformed and to become ugly in the service of the capitalist head that looks down with scorn and contempt; the head that looks from the proud eminence of a palace down into the sodden quarters where the hands rest for a little while to reproduce themselves in the form of fresh hands for other heads that are to be served in poverty and misery and degradation, and so and on forever.

Hits, all palpable hits, magnificent propaganda points, worthy of the fire and burning enthusiasm of Eugene V. Debs, the prison-martyr of his class, the American Socialist deprived of his citizenship by Congress and therefore the outstanding American citizen of his day and generation.

THE EDITOR'S TRIALS
IN THE DOCK

II.—GLASGOW SEDITION TRIAL, 1921

(Continued from page 69).

XII—ANARCHIST OR COMMUNIST?

The Communist, the then official organ of the recently-formed Communist Party of Great Britain, also commented on the trial in a spirit of comradeship. Stalin was an unknown quantity in those days. Gallacher spoke with awe of the revolutionary understanding and integrity of Lenin and Trotsky. He quoted both as the master minds of Socialist and Communist strategy and working-class struggle. To-day he falls back on Stalin, Beaverbrook, and Churchill. The Communist Party promised a practical solidarity that was never implemented. In view of the illegal nature of our arrest, the promise ought to have been redeemed. According to the laws of Britain, we were never legally before the Glasgow High Court. That fact involved an important principle of constitutional law, which ought to have been upheld jealously.

In *The Communist* for Saturday, July 2, 1921, under the sub-heading, *"The Case of the 'Red Commune,'"* the *Communist* said :—

We would draw the attention of all readers to the unusual savagery, unusual even in these times, with which the Glasgow High Court have dealt with the case of the "Red Commune," in which sentence was passed on the 22nd inst.

Our Comrade Guy A. Aldred has been held in prison since the 2nd March last, and is now sentenced to twelve months imprisonment, the heaviest sentence being served for sedition at the moment. In addition Comrades Jane H. Patrick and Douglas McLeish, Secretary and Chairman of the Glasgow Anti-Parliamentary Communist Group, receives sentences of three months each, and the printer, Andrew Fleming, three months imprisonment plus a £50 fine or a further three months.

The article for which these sentences were imposed, far from being a direct incitement to violence to the masses, was a purely theoretical article elaborating the tactical position of the Glasgow Group, unlikely to appeal to anybody except already converted communists. As a result of this case the Glasgow Group lose at one blow their Group Officers and what is more serious, the movement loses the "Red Commune."

Comrade Aldred has the heaviest record for sedition sentences, dating back from 1909. On this occasion he defended himself with his customary force and courage.

One point of special interest in connection with the case is the ruling of Lord Skerrington in summing up, to the effect that it is sedition to advocate drastic political changes other than through Parliament, but it was not sedition to urge changes, including the abolition of the House of Commons, through the medium of Parliament.

If this ruling is upheld and acted upon the day is not far distant when there will not be sufficient prison cells in the country to accommodate all those whom this definition brands as criminals against the State.

In its issue for Saturday, October 8, 1921, *The Communist* returned to the question of our imprisonment in the following reference to our prison circumstances :—

TEA AND SUGAR.

Perhaps the meanest action of our rulers that we have had to record for some time is the treatment of Guy Aldred, whose comrades McLeish and Jane Patrick have just been released from jail. He was sentenced to a year's imprisonment—the maximum—and to this the Government has illegally added the 4 months which he was kept in gaol before his trial.

It is a case of sheer spite. Aldred belongs to a very small group of Communist Anarchists. He happened to irritate our rulers. With the natural instinct of cowards, they felt that the very weakness of the Aldred group permitted them to be savage in safety. It would be a sheer scandal if he were left to lie in prison because some doctrinal differences, important enough under other circumstances, separate him from the rest of the Communist movement. Just at the moment he is so friendless that he is unable to afford the tea, sugar and milk which prison regulations permit him to buy outside. If the movement cannot back up its imprisoned members better than that it had better shut up shop.

Just as the Communist Party insisted that we were Anarchist and not Communist, so *Freedom*, the organ of the Kropotkinist Anarchists, classed us with the Communists as distinct from the Anarchists. Under the caption, *"Still Imprisoning Communists," Freedom*, in its issue for July, 1921, commented :—

The Government still continues its policy of prosecuting the Communists. . . . A week previously, on June 21, at Glasgow, Guy A. Aldred, Jane H. Patrick, and Douglas McLeish, members of the Glasgow Communist Group, were found guilty of publishing a seditious article in the "Red Commune." Guy Aldred, who had been kept in prison for four months without bail, received a brutal sentence of twelve months' imprisonment, the other two getting a sentence of three months each. We have read the article concerned and we fail to see why the judge should have been so vindictive to Aldred. His punishment is twice as severe as that meted out to any one else found guilty of a similar offence, and we hope a strong protest will be made. We do not agree with the Communists in their advocacy of a Dictatorship, but that does not prevent us protesting against these prosecutions. In fighting for freedom of speech and press, we fight for freedom for all. Free discussion may hurt the capitalist, but it can never hurt Truth.

XIII—WEDGEWOOD QUESTIONS MUNRO.

Colonel Josiah Wedgewood showed much anxiety about our imprisonment. He considered it unjust and said so in bold terms.

We have known Wedgewood for many years, without being intimate, although, under circumstances like those of imprisonment or threatened imprisonment, he wrote us always in terms of close comradeship. We always found his attitude towards war unsatisfactory. The man has a fascination for liberty and allure towards martial glory. He was never afraid to champion the victims of injustice. During his political career, he has seized opportunities to proclaim an almost romantic attachment to Anarchism, which he conceives rightly as the philosophy of liberty, and not as a gospel of violence and chaos. The attachment was academic largely because during the Great War Wedgewood turned militarist. He is very militarist to-day and considers militarism more essential in 1941 than it was in 1914. Yet he defended the conscientious objector boldly in 1916-18 and he has defended conscience to-day. We heard him once, some years after the war, develop the theme of freedom eloquently to a House of Commons that had no interest in such an issue.

We recall Wedgewood's anxious enquiries at the time of our 1921 imprisonment with gratitude. He went to great lengths of protest. Finally, he raised the matter in the House of Commons. We quote from Hansard for March 14, 1922 :—

APPLICATION FOR RELEASE (GUY ALDRED).

...40. Colonel WEDGWOOD asked the Secretary for the Home Department whether Guy Aldred is not to be released till 21st June although, owing to his confinement awaiting trial, his imprisonment will then have lasted 16 months instead of the 12 months to which he was sentenced, the maximum to which he could be sentenced; and whether, seeing that the fear of Communism has declined, Guy Aldred will now be set at liberty?

The SECRETARY for SCOTLAND (Mr. Munro): I have been asked to reply to this question. The hon. Member is mistaken in supposing that 12 months' imprisonment is the maximum sentence for the offence of which Aldred was convicted. I have ascertained that in determining the sentence to be pronounced the judge took into account the time which Aldred had spent in prison before trial. I see no ground on which I would be justified in advising any interference with the sentence.

This was, of course, a callous reply. Also it was untrue. Just verbiage. The same year Munro was elevated to the Scottish Bench, and became Lord Justice Clerk, with the judicial title of Lord Alness. He resigned in 1933, to make way for Craigie Aitkinson, whose elevation was the reward for correct political planning: turning Labour at the right moment: and again, turning National Labour. Munro was elevated to the House of Lords as Baron Alness, in 1934. To-day he is a Lord in waiting, and upholder of the Government in which Thomas Johnston is Secretary of State for Scotland and Herbert Morrison is Home Secretary.

This fact seems strange to-day when one considers the view entertained of Munro on the Clyde in 1921. John S. Clarke voiced that Clydeside opinion of the more virulent sort in his *"Cigarette Papers"* in *The Worker* for October 11, 1919, in the following paragraphs :—

MR. MUNRO'S MISHAP.

It is stated, perhaps on doubtful authority, that a certain personage "looks after his own."

Mr. Munro, Secretary for Scotland, hearing of the strike, decided to motor back to London. He motored to Edinburgh on Sunday, and resumed his journey next morning, having with him Sir Donald Maclean, M.P. Darkness set in when they were still some 50 miles north of York, and that city being off the Great North Road, they had some difficulty in finding their way. Reaching a cross-road, and under the impression that the car had stopped, Mr. Munro, in order to read the direction post, alighted, but the vehicle being still in motion, he was thrown violently to the ground, sustaining a severe cut above the left eye, bruising his ribs, and being badly shaken. He was conveyed to York Hotel, "where the staff were on strike," and put to bed.

We were in Court some years ago when Gallacher, Muir and Bell were on trial. We remember Mr. Lord Advocate Munro on that occasion. We remember his zeal, and the little quips with which he ridiculed the witnesses for the defence. We remember the bitterness of his address to the jury; the play upon the prejudices of the smug middle-classy nonentities, and his passionate appeal for a conviction.

We do not wish any particular evil to fall upon Mr. Munro for that; we merely remember it, and we, better than anyone save the victims themselves, remember the horrors they endured for their principles in the Calton Jail of Edinburgh, and we bluntly confess that black ties would most certainly have been absent from our attire had Mr. Munro broken his blasted neck.

Clarke's description of Munro's conduct as advocate is correct. His comment cannot be upheld as an expression of Socialist elegance of thought. Yet he was returned subsequently to Parliament as Labour member for Maryhill, and Johnston supported his campaign in the *Forward*. To-day his name figures in *Who's Who* with that of Johnston and Alness. Only recently, under war conditions he has been co-opted on to the Town Council. Yet we suffered 16 months' imprisonment for defining in clear and simple terms devoid of all personal clamour and abuse, a suggested Communist programme of political strategy leading to revolutionary social and political struggle. Either capitalist justice does not work evenly or else the capitalist class take us more seriously than they do John S. Clarke. Parliamentarianism obviously liquidates the realities of the class struggle for the figureheads. For Clarke is in the same party as Johnston, and Johnston is in the same Coalition Government as Alness. And the Clyde workers have been deceived by wild language which possessed no real significance. Clarke tickled their palate and appealed to their worthless sense of the ribald without advancing their cause. The ruling class were not injured. Clarke finally was honoured. The working class was betrayed. No hatred of wrong was expressed, but an illusion of hatred was paraded. What a game!

Further light was thrown on the nature of the game some years ago in the book published by that most orthodox firm of religious publishers, Clarke & Co., Fleet Street, London. It was entitled *Church Finance* and written by The Lord Sands, a sometime most distinguished Senator of the College of Justice at Edinburgh.

This book declared that the Churches of Christendom were forming an International Group, not for the promotion of Christian principles, but to regulate and capitalise Church finance. The patrons were stated to be H.R.H. Duke of Connaught and The Lord Alness! The vice-president was Sir Herbert Trustam Eve, K.B.E.; and the chairman was Sir Andrew Pettigrew, Glasgow. The Committee included everybody who was anybody and nobody who was willing to witness in the world against the orthodoxy and interests of the world in defence of Christian principles, such as peace and human brotherhood. Our references to the organisation are stated in the past tense because we have not followed its history and know nothing of its developments. The Committee may have collapsed. The formation of it is a study in cant.

This Committee was once simply *"The Business Man's Committee on Church Finance."*

but at the time Lord Sands wrote, it was international. His book tells all that is worth knowing about getting money. Accounts were to be kept of what everybody gives, and if anybody did not give enough, the local Committee was to be "firm" with the defaulter. Sermons were to be preached periodically about the duty and the privilege of giving money, and occasional conferences were to be held to discuss how to get more money.

Nor was this money to be considered secular in any way; it was to be what the authors call "spiritualised." The process of "spiritualising" it was for the minister to say prayers over it, and forms of prayer for this purpose were given in the book.

Alness participated in all this worthless parade en route to his present position. Parliamentary Socialists pursued another path of cant that they might reach the same goal and enjoy some similar ruling-class status in a world of war, misery, and oppression.

We pleaded the Glasgow Green Free Speech case before Alness in 1924 and the Bill of Advocation, in the Shettleston case, before him in 1929. Our experience of him as a judge is that he was alert, impartial, shrewd, helpful, and penetrating. In the 1924 case his comments indicated how to raise the matter afresh with a view to securing a more helpful legal ruling. This we did with some success in 1931. One's contact with Alness, the judge, is another story from that of the ruling of Munro, the Secretary of State for Scotland. It is related from interest and because progress is aided the less bitterness we treasure from past experience. All men should receive credit for their sound and helpful behaviour and treated to censure only for their errors.

(To be concluded.)

[This trial will conclude in our next instalment. Part III will consist of "Echoes of the Glasgow Trial." This will include "The Case of the Documents," the story of the Nuneaton man who lost his job for writing to us, etc. We would be grateful to any reader who could lend us the "Freethinker" and the "Worker" records of this case.—Ed.]

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ME TOO ! ! !

To-day we are suffering from "Me Too." Tory, Liberal, Labour and Communist all say, "Me Too"! Each competes with the other to see who can shout for war the most enthusiastically. This "Me Too" policy was denounced by Lloyd George when he spoke in the Manchester Free Trade Hall, on Friday, October 23, 1936. He recalled the unpopularity of Gladstone and Campbell-Bannerman for their opposition to war. His illustrations were bad for he dealt with politicians and gave instances which brought quick returns. This is the parliamentary method of thinking. After having his windows smashed, Gladstone scored the great victory of 1880. Lloyd George added:

"I served under the leadership of Mr. Gladstone and Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman. I know how the latter was abused inside and outside the House of Commons with contempt and scurrility and scandal and every form of derogation. In 1906 he had the reward of having the biggest majority any Prime Minister had ever had."

Turning to the Chairman, Lloyd George said:

"you were talking about the Boer War. I took a little part in that. I came here. The only quiet meeting I had the whole of those three years was in Manchester. But there were lots of police outside. Mr. C. P. Scott was in the chair."

This was a reference to a man who refused to define journalism as day-labourism, meaning thereby mental and moral prostitution. Were C. P. Scott alive to-day we do not know what he would do about 18B or the detainees.

Scott died on January 1, 1932, in his eighty-sixth year. He was a journalist, not a politician. He understood his craft and was jealous of its worth. He was a journalist, not a trader, small in soul, vast in ambition. He did not believe in using a newspaper as a means to acquire wealth. He honoured the press and respected its evolution. He believed in its pioneer power, and so added to the glory of the English language. He believed that the newspaper was the instrument of civilisation. Thus inspired, he made the *Manchester Guardian* the most famous newspaper in the world. He respected the best traditions of the press, in the struggles towards health and liberty, and transcended them. When he died, daily journalism became a phrase in history, and departed the world for an epoch. All his life, Scott remained "Scott of the *Manchester Guardian*." He asked no higher distinction. Indeed, he could think of none.

Speaking on the duties and task of journalism, and the conduct of a newspaper, Mr. Scott said in one of his speeches:

"Literally, it implies honesty, frankness, courage, and a sense of duty to the reader and to the community. The newspaper is of necessity something of a monopoly, and its first duty is to shun the temptations of a monopoly. Its primary office is the gathering of news. At the peril of its soul it must see that the supply is not tainted. Neither in what it gives, nor in what it does not give, nor in the mode of presentation, must the unclouded face of Truth suffer wrong. Comment is free, but facts are sacred. Propaganda, so called, by this means is hateful. The voice of opponents, no less than that of friends, has a right to be heard. Comment is also justly subject to a self-imposed restraint. It is well to be frank; it is even better to be fair."

This is a splendid statement. How many newspaper proprietors, careerist penny-a-liners, upstart writers and look-out politicians, live up to such principles as Scott so simply defines? How many would suffer to promote them?

Lloyd George must have been reflecting on this fact, when he said, in the Manchester speech quoted already, that it was a mistake to reduce statesmanship to trades, where one must follow the fashion, like haberdashery. Lloyd George may have served under Gladstone and Campbell-Bannerman. But he followed the fashion also. His coupon election was a great and evil fashion campaign, one of the most notorious ramps that Capitalist politics produced.

Lloyd George continued:

"The Americans have a great gift of hitting off the situation with a little phrase, and in the Presidential election in America at the present moment there is something they call the 'Me, too' policy. One of the candidates says, 'I am in favour of such and such a thing,' and the other gets up and says 'Me, too.'

"Do not let us start that here.

Lloyd George illustrated how Mr. Baldwin discovered that "collective security was very popular" and said "Me too"! Afterwards, Baldwin discovered Re-armament. Continued Lloyd George:

"Mr. Ernest Bevin and Dr. Dalton say 'Me, too.' Believe me, it is not a game at which they can hope to win. Mr. Baldwin is a far more adroit 'me-tooer' than Mr. Bevin or Dr. Dalton. They had better give it up."

Baldwin has gone. Churchill conducts the band. The theme song continues the same: "*Me Too!*" It is the theme song of Capitalism, war, and social disaster; but it suits the chorus of political place men. Unfortunately we believe in the dignity of pen and speech. "*Me Too*" sounds like a foreign idiom: foreign to all traditions of thought and freedom, of the right and liberty of the citizen; foreign to the very constitution of English speech.

CONSTANCE BOLAM

The first woman C.O. to go to gaol in Britain is Constance E. Bolam, aged 21, domestic servant, of Kenton Bank Foot, Newcastle-on-Tyne, who appeared before the Northumberland Petty Sessions at Newcastle-on-Tyne on 7th January, charged with failing to comply with a direction of the Ministry of Labour under Defence Regulation 58A to take up work as a ward maid at the Eye Infirmary, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

Percy L. Frankham (prosecuting for the Ministry of Labour) said that from correspondence it appeared that the defendant was a conscientious objector and gave that as her reason for refusing to comply with the order.

Bolam had not exercised her right of appeal against the direction.

The prosecutor added:—

It is a case of complete defiance of the Defence regulations.

Sir Ralph Mortimer (Chairman): But you are not asked to undertake war-wark.

Constance Bolam made it clear that she was unable to accept any work offered to her with a view to her assisting the war effort.

"I disagree with war in any shape or form. If there had been no war I would not have been ordered to do the work, so therefore it must be to help the war effort."

Sir Ralph Mortimer: "This is a war against civilisation, and if the enemy wins neither you nor anyone else would have any opportunity of saying whether they opposed war on conscientious grounds."

Bolam was fined 40/-. This she refused to pay and when about to leave the Court was brought back. *The alternative was fixed at one month's imprisonment*, and she was taken to the cells.

The Bench seemed reluctant to give an alternative but the Prosecuting Solicitor stated that from what was known of the defendant there seemed no likelihood of her ever paing the fine.

As she was escorted from the dock some people in the public gallery shouted to her: "Good luck, Connie." Others booed her.

At 3.30 p.m. Constance Bolam, being taken to Durham in a Police Car, waved to her friends and seemed in good spirits.

BLAH! BLAH!

By

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD

A friend's unflattering comment immediately after finishing reading the reply of Viscount Cranborne, the Government spokesman, to a speech delivered by Lord Sempill in the House of Lords on November 18th, strikes me as such an adequate description that I do not think it can be improved on as a title for this article.

Lord Sempill asked the Government what steps they proposed to take to give practical effect to the Fifth and Sixth Principles in the Atlantic Charter. The Fifth Principle, as readers will doubtless remember, is "To bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field, with the object of securing for all improved labour standards, economic advancement, and social security"; while the Sixth Principle outlines the main advantages which would accrue and emphasizes a determination to promote the ordering of world affairs in such a way that all "may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want."

Apart from a display of somewhat undue optimism in regard to "victory" and a tendency to envisage one of the most important problems of the day as the solution of unemployment rather than the solution of unempayment related to unemployment, Lord Sempill's speech was of a very enlightened character and contained many excellent points.

He emphasized the absurd paradox of poverty in the midst of potential abundance which in pre-war days existed in so many countries, including our own and the United States. The latter, in spite of being, perhaps, the richest self-contained unit in the world, having within its boundaries nearly all the raw materials essential for providing its citizens with a very high standard of living, had at one time no less than thirteen million unemployed living under conditions of great poverty and hardship.

Lord Sempill drew attention to the mighty propaganda weapon we should have in our hands if we could offer the world an economic system which provided adequately for the needs of men without demanding in return, as the German system in the past has done, any surrender of spiritual and political freedom.

He pointed out the folly of a foreign trade system which consists, not in an exchange between nations of the maximum quantity of goods and services of approximately equal value, but in a senseless struggle to export a greater value of goods than is received back in exchange, the object of one party being to get the other into a position of irrepayable debt in order that its financiers, who, by bank loans, had created new money to finance the export trade, might thereafter be enabled, for an indefinite period, to levy an interest tribute upon the country to which the exports had been sent.

In the world of finance and economics for many years past, instead of theories being made to conform with facts, a strenuous and insane effort has been made to make facts conform with theories, the process often involving the destruction of goods and the wholly unnecessary cutting down of production.

Lord Sempill stressed the point that the real problem in the past has been not over-production but under-consumption related to unemployment, the connection between the two being, in his opinion, inseparable. It would, perhaps, have been more accurate to say that our faulty economic thinking which takes no account of the fact that in a labour-saving and labour-destroying age, you must expect to save labour, has *treated* them as though they were inseparable, although, in point of actual fact, there is not the slightest reason why they should be so.

After drawing attention to the present unsatisfactory system of endeavouring to prevent breakdown by creations of new money which add fresh burdens of interest or increased taxation, Lord Sempill advised that new money, not in the first instance borrowed, should be "spent" into existence by the Government whenever the need for doing so clearly existed. He instanced reasonable pensions to elderly people as one way in which new money could be spent into existence, these pensions, unlike those paid under the present system, being adequate in amount and not derived from taxation.

He emphasized the very important fact that, in their past search for remedies for the poverty and unemployment problem, those in authority had persistently explored every avenue except the right one, the right one being the financial avenue, and this, Lord Sempill might have added, has been just as true of the United States and of pre-war France as of our own country.

He concluded his speech by stressing the importance of making our plans for post-war economic reform known with the minimum of delay.

Lord Cranborne, replying on behalf of the Government, said that he regretted that Lord Sempill had not given him previous notice of the kind of issues which he was intending to raise, and added that the Fifth Principle of the Atlantic Charter was very widely drawn so that under it almost any subject could be discussed. This was not very far from admission of a fact of which monetary reformers are all too well aware—namely, that the economic clauses of the Atlantic Charter are extremely vague and are probably intended to be so to allow the maximum scope for evasion and delay.

Lord Cranborne went on to display what I am afraid appears to me to be somewhat ill-founded optimism when he spoke of the time at which the German morale would begin to crack and of the ensuing period when the leaders of the Anglo-Saxon nations would play a main part both in making and maintaining peace. He added that the Government would take careful note of what Lord Sempill had said, but as recommendations similar to those of Lord Sempill have been laid before different Governments for many years past, there does not seem much hope that the "careful consideration" of Lord Sempill's ideas will not end in a policy of rejection, following a long-established precedent.

Lord Cranborne went on to say that he did not expect the House to give him a catalogue of the measures which the Government intended, in due course, to pass in order to give effect to Article 5 of the Atlantic Charter. That, he said, would be quite impossible, for the Atlantic Charter was intended to refer entirely to the future and to a post-war era which would only begin "after the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny." Another reason why it would be impossible for him to go into what he described as "great" detail was that the final arrangements could only be reached through collaboration with a number of other nations.

By these remarks he emphasized still further the completely unsatisfactory nature of the Government's policy in relation to the Charter, indicating plainly to those who have some past experience of the financial racket what very little hope actually exists of practical effect being given to its high-sounding phrases, either at the present or in the future.

In point of fact there is not the slightest reason why the Government should wait for the end of the war before explaining in greater detail the main features of its economic plans. On the contrary, if these plans had, or were ever likely to have, any merit whatever, there is every reason why they should be made plain to the European nations *now*, for until a better alternative *is* presented, Hitler's New Order (which, in spite of propaganda attacks, is likely to possess considerable merit in giving the peoples of Europe the prospect of a higher standard of living than they have ever before enjoyed) will have no serious rival.

It is also nonsense to make out that the agreement of other nations must be secured before any statement can be made. It would be perfectly easy for the British Government to say that it is in favour of certain monetary and foreign trade reforms to which it hoped in due course to secure the adherence of other nations and which, even if such adherence is not secured, it intended to adopt for the better regulation of its own trade and home production. Such reforms might include the adjustment of the money supply to the country's maximum output and import of real wealth in the form of desired goods and services; the creation and issue of a certain percentage of new money in a manner which did not involve any increase either in debt or taxation; the provision of adequate incomes for all deserving persons, whether employed or otherwise; the employment of taxation only for the purpose of preventing inflation, and not for the collection of revenue; the prohibition of all forms of currency speculation and of the purchase and sale of currencies by private persons or organizations; the maintenance of a stable internal price level; the fixing of the exchange values of national currencies by agreement between nations co-operating for trading purposes, regardless of gold; and the payment of international debts solely by the means of goods and services.

Lord Cranborne stressed the tremendous difficulties and complexities of the problems which had to be handled, problems which, he said, had baffled all economists for the past hundred years and needed a great deal of time for further study before they could be overcome. The plain fact is, however, that the solution to most of these problems is already known and has been brought to the notice of British Governments without any avail for a period of upwards of twenty years. It is not further study that is required but a willingness to adopt reforms which run counter to the interests of those who are concerned with deriving power and profit from money-lending and currency speculation. If the economists have been baffled it is only because they have been exploring every avenue except the right and obvious one. This their financier masters forbid them to explore!

It may well be that the Government's economic advisers are strenuously engaged upon a task which they find exceedingly difficult. Anyone, however, who bears in mind the antecedents and past record of Mr Churchill and President Roosevelt and their colleagues will have a strong conviction that the real problem as far as they are concerned is not that of devising a means of securing, for all, improved labour standards, economic advancement and social security, but of seeing what can be done to preserve as much of the old faulty system as possible, while at the same time warding off complete economic collapse and such extreme poverty and suffering among the people as may provoke violent social upheavals, dangerous to their chances of maintaining their political power.

PAPER RESTRICTIONS
URGENT

Owing to paper restrictions, we are compelled to reduce our circulation in order to maintain our size. Please see that your copy reaches nine readers besides yourself, if you would help us to double our reading public. *Also ensure copy by becoming a personal annual subscriber.*

We will report on our fund next month. We are still a very large sum short of £1,971 11s. 3d. for which we appealed in November, 1940. Since we are issuing such a good paper as regards size, at least, and have not increased the cost, perhaps each reader would help this month. Only a slight effort is needed to end this begging. Special thanks to comrades who responded so well last month will appear in our next report. Comrades, it rests with you, collectively and individually.

SOUTH PLACE ETHICAL SOCIETY

Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London, W.C.1.

SUNDAY MORNING AT ELEVEN

A collection is made at each Meeting to enable those present to contribute to the Society's expenses.

FEBRUARY MEETINGS.

1—**Rennie Smith, B.Sc.**—The Religious Front in Nazi Germany.

8—**Professor G. W. Keeton, M.A., LL.D.**—The Modern State.

15—**C. E. M. Joad, M.A., D.Lit.**—Philosophy and Science.

22—**Professor C. E. G. Catlin, M.A., Ph.D.** Three Views of Immortality.

THE TURNCOATS

By

ALEXANDER RATCLIFFE

At any time a Turncoat is a despicable thing, for a Turncoat always is a dishonest person. The Turncoat is to be distinguished from the honest convert to a change of views, just as it is easy to distinguish a Turncoat when he is met. The present war has unearthed more Turncoats than any previous war, for it is in war-time that Turncoats mostly come to life.

Let readers of *The Word* witness how hundreds of men and women, if not thousands, in this land of Socialist Democracy, have become Turncoats. Male and female, high and low, rich and poor amongst the working-classes, have gone over *en masse* to the way of the war-monger. When I say "amongst the working-classes" I mean what is pertly termed "The Labour Movement." For, apart altogether from the clergy and laity of many of our churches who, previous to the war, enthusiastically associated themselves with a Peace Movement of one kind or another, and who now have returned to "their first love," how the outsider who is not a Socialist, such as the present writer, stands aghast at the somersault of "Labour." For indeed this has been a shock to teeming of thousands within and without the Labour Movement.

Previous to the present war, when Hitlerism was running its course and carrying all before it in the Reich, mostly all the present Tory politicians of this country backed up Hitler one way or another. In those days most of our Socialists objected to that, and at the same time they denounced any preparation for war. They denounced war and held that all wars were alike. They were the happy hunting-ground of the Capitalist and Imperialist. Wars never did the working-classes any good, and never would. Conscription was opposed and would be opposed were it actually introduced. Such fellows as Morrison, Attlee, Bevin, and the lesser precessionists such as the Johnstons, Dollans and Woodburns, were all of them conscientiously against war and its evils to the working-classes.

But now! What a change! "What a Game," as the Duke of Bedford would say! The same gentlemen who previously objected to war and denounced war are now at the head of the war-machine. They are now in the Front Line!

What has caused this change? Do these persons think for one moment that honest working-men, no matter how easy it is to dupe the working-man, are totally blind? Can one of these Turncoats fact up to the challenge that faces them? Can they actually tells us that *this* war is different from all previous wars, and that the result of *this* war will benefit the working classes? If they cannot tell us that, then why are they with the war-mongers? Is it not just because they are dishonest Turncoats who hope to get out of their present attitude towards the war all there is to get?

Even the so-called Socialist press has altered. It is now as hot for war, conscription of the poor and *their* money, the suppression of the conscience of the people, as is its master, the millionaire press. Even that great Socialist journal, *Forward*, has changed its tune! Last war, what a weapon against suppression, war and all its evils *Forward* was! But now! To-day it carries articles by war-mongers, more articles by war-mongers than by those against war. Issue for 13th December actually contained an article headed "Is This An Imperialist War," by Arthur Woodburn, M.P., one of the Turncoats. Mr. Woodburn would argue "No." *This* war is different, although, of course, he does nothing to show that this is not another Imperialist war, like all the previous ones.

When I saw that article I had a mind to send in a reply to it. But what is the use? For some months past I have sent in eight or nine articles or letters to the Editor of *Forward*, and out of that lot there was only space for one little letter. War-mongers such as Dollan and Woodburn have a free field in *Forward* these days, and they can say what they like and mostly get away wit it. And, be it noted, both of these persons were conscientious objectors at the last war *when they were of military age*.

Last war *Forward*, with Tom Johnston in the lead, attacked war for all it was worth. Even Harry Lauder was slaughtered by the pen of Tom Johnston for making money out of entertaining the troops. And now! The great men of the last war: men who have been idolised and accepted as experts on the problems of the working-classes, are now all out for war. For, they say, and this with their tongues in their cheeks, *this war is different*. Last war we were only fighting against Kaiserism and the Huns. But this war we are fighting against Hitlerism and the Huns. *And that's about all the difference there actually is*!

"GOWRIE'S" STAND

"GOWRIE," the famous Socialist Cartoonist, and member of the Glasgow "Forward" staff, to-day.

Our comrade, "Gowrie," otherwise J. R. Henderson, was sent to prison on November 24 by the Sheriff at Kilmarnock, for three months for refusal to do fire-watching. "Gowrie" made a splendid stand for conscience during the Great War.

Comrade Henderson, then aged 21, appeared before the Local Tribunal, York, on March 23, 1916. He was granted exemption from combatant duties only. His claim was for absolute and complete exemption. In his statement to the Tribunal, he said:—

"I can undertake no form of service for the direct purpose of prosecuting the war."

The N.C.F. Watchers' Report stated:—

"Claimant gave firm and decisive answers to questions. Said he had the honour of being a member of the No Conscription Fellowship."

Henderson Appealed. His case was heard on April 3, 1916. The decision of the Local Tribunal was upheld and leave to appeal to the Central Tribunal was refused. Henderson's comment on the hearing was:—

"Appeared to be dealt with in summary fashion. I stated that no matter whether their decision was in my favour or not, I should remain loyal to the principles I upheld."

Henderson was arrested on Saturday, May 20, 1916, and kept in the police cell over the week-end. He was tried on Monday, May 22, and handed over to the Military Authorities. No fine was imposed. He made a vigorous speech in defence of Socialist Anti-Militarism and conscientious resistance to war.

Henderson was conveyed, under military escort, to the Infantry Barracks, York. He refused to don Khaki and was court-martialled on May 27, for insubordination. On June 1 he was sentenced to 28 days detention and commenced to serve this sentence in the Barracks, as there was no accommodation in the military prison. On June 17, he was removed to the Isolation Hospital, at Tulford, suffering from skin trouble, through being compelled to use verminous blankets. On June 23, he was removed to Richmond Castle. His subsequent record may be set out in diary form:—

1916, July 8, Court-Martialled at Richmond Castle.
" July 15—Sent to Durham County Prison to serve 112 days' imprisonment.
" October 10—Left Durham Prison under military escort.
" October 26—Court-Martialled at Pontefract.
" November 3—To Wormwood Scrubbs to serve 12 months Hard Labour.
1917, April—Released from Wormwood Scrubbs.
" May 2—Court-Martialled at Leicester. Sentenced to 18 months' Hard Labour.
" May 5—Removed to Leicester Civil Prison.
1918, August 12—Court-Martialled at Leicester Barracks. 2 years without Hard Labour Leicester Prison.
" September 9—Transferred to Wakefield Prison.
" September 24—On failure of internment scheme transferred to Leeds Prison.
1919, April 8—Released from Armley Gaol.

The story of Henderson's first Court-Martial was told in the *Yorkshire Gazette* for Monday, June 3, 1916, beneath the headings:—

COURT-MARTIAL ON YORK OBJECTORS.
Man Who Kicked His Army Boots Off.

The text of the report read:—

At a District Court Martial, held at the York Fulford Barracks on Saturday, two conscientious objectors, named James Ritchie Henderson, aged 21, of 48 Vyner Street, York, and Harold Deighton, aged 24, of 12 Fenwick Street, York, both of whom were charged with having been absentees from the Army, and were handed over to the military at the York Police Court on the previous Monday, were charged with insubordination to their superior officers. Major Coke presided over the proceedings, and Major Becher prosecuted for the military.

Evidence was given by Corpl. J. Wood, of the depot, West Yorkshire Regiment, stationed at Fulford Barracks, to the effect that he took Henderson to the quartermaster of the regiment to be clothed, and left him in charge of Sergt.-Tailor J. R. Walkeley.

Sergt.-Tailor Walkley said that when he asked the accused to remove his boots he refused to do so. They were forcibly pulled off him, however, but when the Army boots were put on he immediately kicked one of them off.

Corroborative evidence was given by Lance-Corpl. J. W. Smith, who said that the accused, when ordered to take off his boots, replied: "I shall not, and, not being a soldier, if you put them on I shall take them off at every opportunity," or words to that effect.

Henderson: If I did say those words, did I say them in a polite and civil manner?

Lance-Corpl. Smith: Yes.

DECLINED WITH REGRET.

A statement was then made by the accused, during the course of which he said that it was with regret that he felt it incumbent upon him to decline military orders. To do otherwise would be, to him, to trample upon his own honour, and to violate his firmest convictions. The Appeal Tribunal, having confirmed the decision of the local Tribunal, to send him for non-combatant duties, he felt that he had no alternative but to prove the genuineness of his convictions by his refusal of all military orders. To submit to becoming a soldier after the stand he had already taken would be to prove himself a fraud and a coward. He was now fully prepared to take the consequence of his action in the same way as his friends the soldiers had done, by giving up their lives in what they believed to be a righteous cause. The accused admitted to having refused to obey the order to take off his civilian boots, although he denied having been provocative in his manner. He added that he had refused all orders since his incarceration. He was opposed to all forms of warfare, and most certainly was not in favour of the inhuman policy of starving innocent women and children in Germany, and felt convinced that it was this policy of the British Government which was causing the German people to approve of the dastardly air raids which were taking place on this country. Revenge and bitterness were growing on all sides, and the seeds sown could only result in greater conflicts at a later time. He was living and working for the day when the peoples of the nations would understand each other, and when fear and suspicion would be removed and give way to the new order, when sanity and peace should be once more established on earth.

Our contemporary proceeded to report the case of Deighton, who also made a very clear stand.

We do not know what happened to Deighton subsequently. But Comrade Henderson maintains his clear stand for Socialism and Pacifism, as his 1941 imprisonment proves.

ALAN MORLEY

In December, 1941, we published an account of the trial, and sentence of 12 months' imprisonment, passed on Alan Morley, of Westerhope, Newcastle, for refusing to submit to medical examination.

In August, 1941, we told the story of Alan's father, John Morley, who resisted conscription during the last war, and declined to assist fire-watching in this war. John Morley was sentenced to 3 months' imprisonment in May, 1941. We published the picture of John Morley and his wife, and their son, Robert, in our August issue.

In February, 1941, we told the story of Robert Morley, and his sentence for refusing to register.

We now publish a picture of Alan Morley.

On his release from prison John Morley wrote in appreciation of *The Word*, and our tribute to his integrity and stand for conscience :—

" Please allow me to express my great appreciation for the manner in which you presented my case in the August issue of " The Word." You make an ordinary normal interpretation of Socialist Pacifist principle appear as if it were an event; and my only point of criticism, if any, would be that there are many men and women who live out their principles in life with greater sincerity and courage than I do, and whose deeds go by unhonoured and unsung. Personally, I could do no other than I did without committing moral suicide."

In our view, the stand for conscience ought *not* to be an event. Unfortunately, it is. The entire movement is indebted to our Comrades Morley for their spendid interpretation of Socialist Pacifist principle.

Since his release from prison, Comrade John Morley has been worried by the authorities over the issue of fire-watching and threatened with further action. But he maintains his uncompromising stand against war.

John Morley and his wife visited their son, Alan, at Wakefield Prison the second week in January. They found him in good spirits and uncompromising in his Anti-Militarism and loyalty to conscience.

Dear Friend,—I am sending along a subscription for your wonderful paper, *The Word*. Please give us a little more news about Gandhi and India.

Yours faithfully,

F. F. COPPOLD.

Plymouth, December 9, 1941.

Lord Snell Speech. Page 63, last issue. Erratum. 3rd column, line 14, transfer to top of column.

OUR LETTER-BOX — Cont.

Dear Friend,—As a new reader of your publication, I have found the contents most inspiring and have been greatly stimulated by the articles by Mr E. H. Norman and the Duke of Bedford. You are, in my view, performing a great service to mankind by leading the joint Pacifist-Socialist opposition to poverty and militarism.

With best wishes, yours sincerely,

A. ALMOND.

Sunderland, December 4, 1941.

Dear Sir,—I am quite in agreement with Miss Ruth Fry's article regarding the Atlantic Charter and with her revised version of it. The original Charter is too vague and full of loopholes to suit the convenience of wily politicians. Even its good points will be neglected and forgotten unless we—the ordinary citizen, the man in the street—press with sufficient persistence for the fulfilment of those promises. Otherwise they are just so many empty, meaningless phrases, or a theatrical gesture, meant to impress the world for a while and then laid aside and completely ignored.

Yours sincerely,

(Miss) MAISIE HOWARD.

Formby, December 9, 1941.

Dear Guy Aldred,—Though I was in another part of the prison, along with Creech Jones and other old friends, I am proud to remember I met E. D. Morel at Pentonville Prison in 1917-18.

Best wishes. Yours sincerely,

CECIL E. CATFORD.

London, N.10, December 9, 1941.

Dear Mr Aldred,—It is truly a struggle these days for the Pacifists, but the fight is for a new way of life for humanity, and the responsibility for bringing this about rests on us. I feel that we must do all in our power to divert this crushing wheel of history from its present suicidal, insane, inhuman course. It may appear hopeless to many, but, given the determination, and the courage, and the willingness to accept sacrifice if necessary, it is possible.

I was very glad to see the report of Cardinal MacRory's plea for a negotiated peace now. It seemed like a gleam of hope at last, and only wish that it had had more publicity, and that a definite movement could be started to propagate that policy, and make some impression upon the Government. I am convinced that a negotiated peace, on right lines, is the one hope of any settlement of Europe and of any permanent peace in the future, and that the time for this is now.

With the best of wishes for the paper and for the cause for which it stands.

Sincerely yours,

EVELYN DAWSON.

Liverpool, 18, November 26, 1941.

Dear Comrade,—From your account of Richard Carlile's life, he certainly appears to have been a grand fighter for freedom. His attitude of publicly proclaiming his opposition to tyrannous laws and governments is exactly what is desired, or, perhaps I had better say, needed, at the present time in the progressive movements. I have been struck by the contrast between Carlile's resistance and the acquiescent behaviour of the " Daily Worker " and their, compared with Carlile's, large and extensive organisation. If they had carried on publishing the paper, regardless of the Government's orders, what support they would have obtained, but years ago I gave up hope so far as the C.P. is concerned.

ROBERT MORLEY.

Newcastle-on-Tyne, November 25, 1941.

Dear Sir,—As one of the late Rev. H. J. Adlard's listeners at Trim Street Chapel, Bath, for the last four years, I was delighted to read in the *Bath and Wilts Chronicle* on Saturday last that you intended to publish many of his sermons.

Many years had passed since I had attended any church or chapel regularly till I had the good fortune to stray into Trim Street Chapel one Sunday evening.

To listen to and digest the mental food Mr Adlard offered that night meant my going the next Sunday evening to see if such another mental meal would be given.

It certainly was, and continued throughout the four years I had the great pleasure of listening to him.

I am passionately fond of reading when I can spare time, and it had to be something out of the ordinary to take me from a cheery fire and a cosy chair, with an enjoyable book, to take me out into snow, sleet, or rain through the changing winter weather. Well, to listen to Mr Adlard's discourses was something extraordinary, so it was no sacrifice for me to do this though it meant also a 'bus ride to get to his chapel, because I knew I should be more than repaid. I am sorry I cannot find words of my own to describe Mr Adlard's abilities, but I can truthfully say that we got from no other chapel or church what Mr Adlard gave in his.

I feel that those in Bath who knew his worth will or should forever feel sad at not showing their appreciation of it by going to listen to him in far greater numbers than was the case. You, sir, invited Bathonians to co-operate in paying tribute to "a very great and not much appreciated man."

Can his place be filled? I have my doubts, and can only say he passed away far too soon, for he was in truth one of our fellow-beings who could ill be spared from the very splendid work he was doing.

Yours very truly,

(Mrs) CLARA EVANS.

Oldfield Park, Bath, December 2, 1941.

Dear Guy Aldred,—The November issue of *The Word* contained a letter from Matt Kavanagh which attributed to me an opinion that "all the Anarchist and Socialist anti-militarists ought to be jailed."

Will you kindly allow me to deny this allegation most positively? It is the opposite to all I have ever believed on the subject of expression of opinion, and which I believe or feel now. The idea was pure imagination on Kavanagh's part. Besides, I have been worried by the thought that comrades to whom I have felt attached by deep respect and esteem may be in danger of imprisonment because of their great sincerity.

The statement that I "was a real colleague of the late John Turner" I take as a compliment. I would like to add that in all the years during which I knew John Turner he never uttered to me an unkind word regarding either Kavanagh or yourself.

As regards the members of the old Freedom Group, I wish that Kavanagh could render a tenth of the good service they gave to Anarchism in their day. They had their faults and shortcomings, maybe; who has not?

I am glad to see above the title of your paper: *Liberty*! *Equality*! *Fraternity*!

The meaning of those inspiring words has yet to be generally realised.

Sincerely and fraternally,

GEO. CORES.

London, N.W.10, December 12, 1941.

Dear Comrade Aldred,—I am deeply grateful to you for publishing the articles of my old friend, F. W. Jowett, and review of his life's work.

Amidst all the betrayals and desertions of the past few years, this grand old pioneer and fighter never seems to weary or complain, but writes the truth as he sees it. For the past ten years it has been the wilderness for him.

True, he has continued to write, very faithfully, each week in the *Bradford I.L.P. News*, but it has a very limited circle of readers, and now you have given him fresh hope.

As one who loves him greatly, I am deeply grateful to you.

With kind regards. Yours in the cause,

ARTHUR L. BROWN.

Bradford, October 8.

[We did not publish this letter from our comrade, Councillor Brown, at the time of receipt. Subsequently we decided that tribute should be paid to Comrade Jowett from every section of the movement as a true and faithful pioneer and leader in the social struggle. If Comrade Jowett's age permits, we would like to see him the centre of the struggle, uniting parliamentarians and anti-parliamentarians alike in the great Socialist struggle against war and militarism en route to a free and sane society of peace, equity, and justice: a worker's republic of virtue.—Ed.]

Dear Sir,—With virtually the whole world now in the thrall of militarism, it is more than ever incumbent upon all of us who see the better way to make it clear to the understanding of others. I am happy to send the enclosed.

Yours sincerely,

C. GASKELL.

Littleborough, December 14, 1941.

[Our comrade, the Rev. C. Gaskell, enclosed postal order for 10s. We thank him for his loyal, continuous, and unsectarian solidarity.—Ed.]

Dear Sir,—A copy of your November issue chanced to fall into my possession, and I was delighted with it. As a Socialist-Pacifist, I appreciate very sincerely the venture upon which you have embarked, and wish you every success. I feel convinced that *The Word* is one of the very few publications which are endeavouring to keep alive the rapidly dwindling spark of sanity and decency in a maddened and crazy world. I hope to see you enlarging your list of contributors and persuading such influential thinkers as John Middleton Murry and Wilfred Willock (to name only two) to lend you their assistance. I have great pleasure in enclosing a year's subscription (commencing with your December issue).

Yours sincerely,

DAVID H. BURT.

Harrington, November 23, 1941.

TO POSTAL SUBSCRIBERS.

Postal Subscribers are requested to note that "The Word" Subscription is 3/- for twelve consecutive issues and 1/6 for six consecutive issues. Six or more copies are sent post free to any address in Britain at the rate of 2d. per copy.

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Liberty! Equality!! Fraternity!!!

THE WORD

To Rouse The People, To Combat Fascism, and To Speed Commonweal.

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HYMN No. 643

(Temple Revised Version.)

[The Archbishop of York recommends conscription for two generations after the war.]

Onward conscript soldiers
Marching as to war,
With the plump Archbishop
Going on before.
Mars, the royal master,
Leads against the foe;
Forward into battle
See his banners go!

At this sign of triumph
Great is Satan's glee;
On then, conscript soldiers,
On to victory!
Hell's foundations quiver
With the shout of praise;
Brothers lift your voices,
Loud your war-cry raise!

As a mighty army
Moves our Church so odd,
Brothers we are treading
Where we've always trod.
We are much divided;
Different bodies we;
Different hopes and doctrines;
Little charity.

Wars may teach their lesson
Very, very plain,
But our Church's blindness
Constant does remain.
Gates of hell can often
'Gainst our Church prevail
On the path of progress
Crawling like a snail.

Onward then, ye people,
Join our thoughtless throng;
York has done our thinking
And he's never wrong;
"Glory, laud and honour
Unto Mars the king!"
This through countless ages
Men and devils sing.

—BEDFORD.

[Since this parody was printed Dr. Temple has been appointed Archbishop of Canterbury.—Ed.]

TO EACH READER:
PAPER RESTRICTIONS
CONCERN YOU AND FREEDOM.

The increased paper restrictions operate as a bar to circulation. They menace the growth of independent and radical thought and without seeming to oppress, successfully strangle all critical development of opinion. We are struggling to maintain our size by reducing circulation. So please become an annual subscriber or place a fixed order with the comrade or firm who acts as your newsagent. Very soon our size may have to be reduced. A great paper supply still exists for rubbishy production and useless official circular printing. Why?

We have decided to make our fund report next month and close this appeal. Some comrades made a good response but we are still short of the £1,971 11s. 3d. for which we appealed in November 1940. Four hundred of our readers —a very small proportion— subscribing between 5/- and 10/- each would enable us to reach the mark almost.

WET NURSE!

Specially drawn for "THE WORD" by a C.O. comrade now suffering imprisonment for refusing medical examination.

WHAT LAST WAR COST IN LIFE AND LIMB.

1914—18 . . . 19 Millions Killed and wounded.

	Dead	*Wounded*
Gt. Britain and Ireland ...	812,317	1,849,494
Canada	62,817	166,105
Australia	60,456	154,722
New Zealand	18,212	45,946
South Africa	9,032	17,843
Newfoundland	1,600	3,628
Colonies	52,044	78,535
India	73,432	84,715
Total, British Empire	1,089,910	2,400,988
	Dead	*Wounded*
France	1,393,388	1,400,000
Belgium	38,172	44,686
Italy	460,000	947,000
Portugal	7,222	13,751
Rumania	335,706	No Record
Serbia	127,535	133,148
U.S.A.	115,660	205,690
Germany	2,050,466	4,202,028
Austria and Hungary ...	1,200,000	3,620,000
Bulgaria	101,224	152,400
Turkey	300,000	570,000
	6,129,373	11,288,703

Nearly 7 millions killed and over 12 millions wounded. For what?

The war to "Smash German Militarism" gave us Hitler and Mussolini. Collison Owen is busy writing hysterical articles against these dictators and their hordes to-day. Yet in the *Sunday Pictorial* for November 15, 1933, this same journalist, hired labourer of the ruling class immediate interest, wrote :—

"One spot of Mussolini, one dash of Hitler, would be very helpful in the British cocktail. You can't make a virile nation entirely on loving kindness.

"One rotten foundation on which we were pretending to build was that the war generation had died to make the world safe and happy for the next one. It can't be done. Each generation must justify its own existence, and though John Brown died at Ypres, John Brown, Jr., may have to do something more than join the League of Nations Union to save the world for democracy and his sports car."

THE STARVATION WEAPON

By F. W. JOWETT.

[This essay was published by our comrade Jowett in the "Bradford I.L.P. News," for Friday, January 30, 1942. We reproduce it as a valuable contribution to working class understanding at the present period of crisis.—Ed.]

Neither we nor the German people whose Governments began this war which now is a world war have suffered from actual starvation yet. There is, however, an unknown number of years before us during which the starvation blockade strategy will be pursued relentlessly, and we here at home may yet have to go through that bitter experience.

But even now in what must be regarded as the EARLY STAGE of a LONG WAR people are DYING FOR WANT OF FOOD at the average rate of 200 a day in Athens and Piraeus.

In Belgium according to a report by the former United States Ambassador to Belgium, quoted by Vera Brittain in her *News Letter* "two million young Belgians are threatened with stunted physique, degenerated brains and embittered characters unless relief comes soon."

This United States ex-Ambasasdor's report, which has been widely circulated in America has been ignored by the British press, a fact which we may be quite sure Dr. Goebell's has not failed to use effectively in German war propaganda.

Vera Brittain's comment on the tragically misdirected effect of the attempt to put the starvation blockade strangle-hold on Germany puts the position clearly, for it exposes the effort to defeat Germany by starvation as being neither humane nor capable of fulfilling its intention. This is her comment :—

"These friends and allies who shared the misery and terror of our unsuccessful Western and Eastern campaigns are the first to feel the effects of our continental blockade. THE LAST to FEEL IT, as the Minister of Economic Warfare has himself admitted, WILL BE THE GERMAN ARMED FORCES. Never was an appeal so abundantly justified as Dr. Salter's moving and courageous plea in the House of Commons on November 25:—'IS THERE TO BE NO END TO THIS TORTURE OF MILLIONS OF HUMAN BEINGS? IS THERE NO PITY IN THE WHOLE WORLD?'"

Dr. Alex. Wood's comment in the *Peace News* (January 23rd, 1942) is equally clear and more pointed in relation to present conditions. He says :—

"The weapon of the food blockade does represent war at its very worst. . . . It selects the weak and the innocent as its first victims. A hideous weapon at any time it is particularly hideous when applied to the occupied countries. We STARVE OUR FRIENDS IN THE ATTEMPT TO STARVE OUR ENEMIES.

"No wonder the Belgian Prime Minister hoped that while the blockade is being used to win the war, "some means of coming to the rescue of Belgian youth, which represented the future of the nation, might be found" . . .

What a gift for Dr. Goebbells!" exclaims the P.P.U.'s president, Dr. Alex Wood, very appropriately. "The British Navy blockading the shores of Greece while the Greek Merchant Navy brings food to Britain!".

To give further point to his comment, Dr. Wood informs his readers that in the *Daily Express* of January 6th there is a reproduction

of a cartoon widely published in Germany which makes effective use for propaganda of the British military strategy of starving allies in attempting to starve the enemy. Dr. Wood also calls attention to the weekly journal, *Spectator*, of June 10th, in which there is a short report by Mr. Harold Nicolson, of German propaganda in Greece showing the thoroughness with which the German Ministry of Information is using the material provided by the British blockade of Britain's own allies.

How anybody who is not in blinkers of war-time prejudice can see in this policy of starving the peoples of allied and neutral nations any useful purpose even as a part of war policy it is difficult to see. Only complete disregard for the effect on public opinion in the neutral and allied nations concerned can possibly account for such serious misapprehension.

The Belgium Prime Minister who mildly expressed his hope "that while the blockade is being used to win the war some means of coming to the rescue of Belgian youth . . . might be found," most certainly failed faithfully to express the opposition of the starving people of Belgium which from the first beginning of the blockade has existed and is sure to increase in intensity as long as the blockade continues.

Belgium, like other European countries in similar situations, depended in peace time on imported products now completely denied to them by a Government that claims to be defending them, forsooth.

Denmark's dairy farming industry has had to slaughter the main part of its cattle for immediate home consumption or for export to Germany because it depended largely on imported cattle food which the British blockade has stopped.

Belgium in peace time IMPORTED 50 PER CENT. OF THE PEOPLE'S FOOD which, also, the British blockade has stopped.

Greece is normally so dependent on imported food that it is estimated that if nothing is done to prevent it AT LEAST ONE-THIRD OF THE WHOLE POPULATION WILL DIE FOR LACK OF FOOD IF THE WAR LASTS ANOTHER YEAR.

It is suggested that the case of Greece should be treated separately, but with an understanding that temporary and partial raising of the blockade for relief to Greece should not be regarded as a precedent for similar concessions to other countries. Other blockaded allied and neutral countries therefore are expected to submit for the duration to a starvation blockade without ill-feeling against the powers responsible for their starvation which will grow increasingly bitter as the war goes on to the bitter end of a military victory, which by no stretch of imagination can be visualised as a possibility in less than another five years.

Some time in 1943 American and British supplies of munitions, ships, airplanes, tanks, guns, and men will be ready for offensive action. Ready, that is to say, for military invasion and occupation of Germany and ready also at the same time to dislodge the Japanese from all the fortified key points—scores of them—spread over the Pacific Ocean.

Is it of no importance to these militarist strategists of ours that the peoples of countries across which they expect to fight the enemy and afterwards march their victorious armies into Germany, should be friendly to them, rather than be bitterly hating them for depriving them of food?

The peoples of these blockaded countries will feel they had the right to expect that food might reach them as relief under Red Cross supervision. All through the last war under the Hoover scheme food was sent into Belgium and Northern France and millions of people were saved from starvation. "The British and French Governments which at first opposed the scheme both afterwards expressed themselves satisfied that the food had gone to the people for whom it was intended." (*Peace News*, January 23).

It is announced in the Press that Lord Ponsonby is going to ask the Government in the House of Lords for a report on the famine situation in European countries allied to us, and whether any projects for controlled relief are now under consideration.

The reply that must be given to Lord Ponsonby's question is of immediate desperate importance in enemy occupied countries. It is to be hoped the reply will be favourable to permitting emergency food relief to reach the starving peoples without further delay. But relief measures can only partially alleviate the evil which they cannot possibly remove.

The high and mighty military strategists will have to lift entirely the food blockade from Europe's suffering peoples or the Allied armies will start their promised march into Germany (if ever they do) through countries inhabited by peoples not merely unfriendly, but HOSTILE.

WHO HELPED HITLER?

The militarist press has made a great deal of fuss about Mr. C. E. M. Joad having been a pacifist during the last war, and feeling compelled to be a "brains trust" over-age militarist in this. The full story of Professor Joad's evolution is never told.

Mr. C. E. M. Joad was at one time a member of the I.L.P. He left the I.L.P *and joined the New Party at its formation.*

Why is this fact forgotten, when so many ex-members of the New Party are, or have been, interned for Fascism?

The truth is that, Mr. Joad may have a brilliant mind of parts, although we question its worth and even its brilliance, but he is mentally unstable, and actually devoid of a sound philosophy of life.

As a member of the New Party he wrote a pamphlet, in which he said :—

"Would it not be better to admit honestly that, so far as Utopian Socialism is concerned, the establishment of a new social system and the adoption of a new way of life, it must for the present remain Utopian? The situation is such that our immediate thought must be not how to enter an economic paradise, but how to escape an economic hell. We must plan not to introduce the millennium but to avoid catastrophe."

We do not know if Joad considers the present game of murder between the peoples of the earth a way of escape or distraction. There is no accounting for the reasoning eccentricities of "brilliant" minds eulogised by the capitalist press.

In the same pamphlet, Joad said of Parliament :—

"Everybody agrees that Parliament must be reformed. As at present constituted, it places a premium upon obstruction and a disability upon action. A cabinet composed of Caesars, each of whom was endowed with the energy of Napoleon and the vision of Lenin could not get through the present House of Commons one-tenth of the measures which an adequate treatment of the present crisis demands. Consider, for example, the Parliamentary situation one day last December. Public affairs were admittedly critical. Palestine was suspicious, India in a ferment, the national finances were going from bad to worse, and two and a quarter million Englishmen were unemployed. YET PARLIAMENT SPENT A WHOLE DAY DISCUSSING METHODS OF RABBIT-TRAPPING!"

We are not quarrelling with Joad's indictment of Parliament. We but recall it. Not the indictment as a statement of fact, but the tone of the indictment, calls for comment. It is an expression of hysteria—the hysteria out of which Fascism evolves. But Joad is now one of our patriotic intellectuals. Beaverbrook and Willie Gallacher approve his mental worth? What amazing recommendation.

Another section cites as one of Britain's leading political economists and "Socialist" intellectual, Professor Harold Laski. The worth of such "intellectuals," who write always as though their judgments were final, will be seen from the following statement made by Laski in the columns of the *Daily Herald*, for November 19, 1932 :—

"Hitler throws a very big shadow, all out of proportion to his importance. To the discerning eye he is of little significance . . . it is a safe prophecy that the Hitlerite movement has passed its apogee."

Hitler's shadow may be out of all proportion to his worth. We think it is. But one can hardly conclude that he has been of little significance, or agree that his movement passed its apogee in 1932. This fact will not interfere with the intellectuals continuing to play the role of prophets. Like astrologers, our intellectuals are never at a loss for a new prophecy. They proceed gaily from error to error and add to their reputation as they pusue their worthless and disastrous course.

How was it that Laski's prophecy about Hitler never came true? For the same reason that similar prophecies about the decline of Winston Churchill never came true—because of Trades Unions, their nationalism, and their leadership.

Writing in the first number of the short-lived but not uninteresting Glasgow I.L.P. weekly, *The Socialist Star*, Middleton Murry defined, with regret, the attitude adopted by the German Trades Unions towards Hitler on Mayday, 1933 :

"As I write the depressing but inevitable news come that the German trade unions have decided to amalgamate with Hitler's 'corporate state.' In Germany, on May 1, the trade unions will be demonstrating, not against Hitlerism, but for it."

Tom Mann wrote to the same effect in the camouflaged Communist Party product, *The Militant Trade Unionist*, at that time :—

"Meanwhile, 'at the top,' negotiations are going on. They are between Hitler's representatives and the General Council of the German Trade Union Congress. Hitler has now permitted the reappearance of most of the trade union journals. They are printing articles in favour of Fascist policy. A number of trade union leaders—members of the General Council, are also actively supporting Hitler. A few months ago they were making violent speeches against him."

And so Trades Unionism and the right of Socialist propaganda were betrayed. How wonderfully Socialist Parliamentarianism and industrial reformism inaugurated the reaction!

Two years later, Dr. Schacht, Hitler's finance minister and close colleague and also friend of Mr. Montague Norman, of the Bank of England, told the United States of the close connection between unemployment, finance, and war in Germany in these cold, precise terms :—

"Re-armament and military training have done more than any other factors to reduce unemployment in this country."

That barbarism, and the return to the servitude of militarism, is capitalism's only way of dealing with unemployment is a fact and not an opinion, was evidenced by the *World Economic Survey* issued by the League of Nation's Secretariat in September, 1935.

Referring to, and summarising this survey, *The Times* said :—

..." How far the world has yet to travel before it returns to anything like normality may be realised by the fact that world trade last year had fallen by 66 per cent. of its gold and by 45 per cent. of its sterling value in 1929. Unemployment in 1934 was still more than double that in 1929. If the absorption of unemployment should continue during the current year at the same level as in 1934 the amount of unemployment in the world with production back to its 1929 level would still be 75 per cent. greater than it was then. The irresistible conclusion is drawn that until some significant expansion of international trade is achieved, there will remain, despite substantial recoveries in national production, a 'hard core of unemployment' in practically every industrial country."

The absorption of unemployment never occurred until war came.

The *Sunday Dispatch*, in its leading article for May 13, 1934, said :—

The model for the British Blackshirt Movement is to be found in Italy.

The same issue of our contemporary published an article from the pen of Lord Rothermere on Mosley :—

It is wrong to regard Mosley simply as the greatest platform orator of the day. He is much more than this. He is perhaps the greatest political teacher we have produced in our history.

Parents should take their boys and girls to listen to Mosley, for three or four of his speeches are, to the auditors, a liberal education.

So that in 1934 Mosley was deemed the Harmsworth Educator; and Mussolini was the

British model. Now our contemporary has turned to Stalin!. Well! well!!

We do not know what the Rev. S. L. Lane, of Newport, stands for to-day. The *South Wales Echo* for May 7, 1934, reported his address to the annual May meeting of the Monmouthshire Association of Sunday School Unions. Here is an excerpt:—

"They could think what they like about Hitler, but he had gathered the youth of Germany around him. They saw him a strong man, and until they showed that Jesus was a strong man they would not get youth."

THE POWER OF SOCIAL RESISTANCE

By C. H. NORMAN.

[Many readers have written to us expressing the hope that our comrade, C. H. Norman, would resume his valuable essays in these columns. We have many of his articles in hand, including some specially written for "The Word." This month, however, we select the important essay he contributed to the columns of "The Railway Review" for January 16 of this year. Comrades who do not read our contemporary will be pleased to read it for the first time.—Ed.]

The growth of the coercive power of the State is one of the ugly facts of the time. It is a process which has developed since Napoleon the Third instructed Baron Housmann so to lay out the streets of Paris that no revolutionary mob could repeat the march on the Bastille in 1789. The police of the Russian Czar adopted a similar method in entrapping the revolutionary demonstrators in the open squares of St. Petersburg in 1906. The streets of Berlin have been reconstructed on similar lines: as have those of other turbulent capitals in Europe. London and Madrid were reconstructed to an extent: but they were re-formed from other motives in the last forty years.

The multiplication of deadly weapons makes a paraphrase of Mr. Churchill's much advertised statement really a fact: that never before could so few maltreat and blast so many. Mr. Churchill had that mind when he turned out the tanks on the dockers in the great strike of 1926. In the bombing aeroplane and the tank are more certain protection against revolution in England than even the dope of a borrowed oratory.

The believer in violent revolution, whether resident in Germany, Russia, Britain or France, may well wonder what chance there is for him against the massed tanks and the bombing aeroplane. Men of violence have the advantage over men of peace of appealing to Fear, that transformer of mankind into the universal idiot, who so easily becomes their tool.

ARMCHAIR REVOLUTIONARIES.

It is an easy and odious task for the armchair revolutionaries to appeal to simpletons in various cities to shoot the uninformed A's and B's so that the X, Y and Z civilians may die at the hands of a firing party or under the guillotine. Of course, these revolutionaries of the wireless have no genuine belief in revolution. They only hope to dupe some cretin of the Continent as they have already tricked the cretins of their own land. Their safety is certain; the fate of their murdered victims or executed dupes is a matter of momentary discussion, but nothing more.

So the outlook is black from the point of view of all but the man with faith in the gun. Even collaboration in incitement cannot be trusted after the sad fiasco in the last war. At a certain point in 1914-18 war there was an understanding between the scattered remnants in Britain and Germany who believed in international action against war that the workers on the Clyde and the workers at Krupps should stage a two-days' strike as a protest against the war. The British Government was alarmed at such a prospect, and Mr. Lloyd George induced the late George Lansbury to go to the Clyde with a special edition of "The Herald" to persuade the Clyde men not to carry through their part of the arrangement. Lansbury was successful in this mission and the Clyde men failed to come out on the appointed day. But the Germans kept to their word, and the works at Essen were silent for the agreed two days. It is remmbrance of this incident which has perhaps, more than anything, made the German workers reluctant to respond to British invitations to revolt against Herr Hitler; but it has its lessons in throwing light on the possibilities and chances of demonstrations against war by the factory workers of Europe.

UNDERLYING WEAKNESS.

Powerful as the Moloch of the modern State has become, with its terriffic armed force in the air, on the land, and on and under the sea, there is a weakness in all this organisation which is the more palpable the bigger the organisation tends to become. The strength of these combinations is really only the bluff of the State and its military statesmen. The whole conception of the power of the State rests upon the acceptance by the citizen of the orders and directions of those set in authority. Once reject that conception and the whole scheme would collapse. There is a curious example of this truth given in the memoirs of the Austrian statesman Count Czernon. He recounts how in 1918 the Emperor Charles of Austria described gleefully that the crowd had cheered him lustily in the streets. Within a week, the Count was at the Palace when the same Emperor was sitting alone in his study unable to get anyone to answer the bell or give him any information or even food. The revolution had broken out and the power had passed from the Emperor into other hands. The refusal of service is the great revolutionary weapon of the future. It is a pleasant thought to picture the present rulers of the world sitting in their respective headquarters ringing bells in vain and dancing with impotent fury, because som flash of illumination had withdrawn their dupes from their servile allegiance. The "long nose" might well be the new revolutionary symbol. The forces of reaction depend for their effectiveness on the loyalty of willing and unthinking service. Once that is gone, these "rulers" becom the strutting puppets that to the eye of vision, alone they are. The clerk in the post office, the private in the army, the soldier in the trenches, and the man in the aeroplane or on the railway engine all serve the common purpose of eventually becoming the fodder of the capitalist-military Molochism which controls the State. Never have so many been put to such abominable purposes by so few.

THE NEW PRINCIPLE OF LIFE.

The revolution of the future will deny this rule of obedience, which has been inculcated by that worst civilian lackey of the capitalist system, the teacher.

The new principle of life should be the refusal of service which leads to destruction, and its substitution by the principle of critical assertion of personality against the Moloch of the State. The doctrine of disobedience to those men who abuse their authority and their place should be the doctrine of the future, a more effective doctrine than that of the dagger, the pistol, or the bomb. For without the effort of the common man and woman nothing can continue in society. Those who have usurped the power of direction are destroying society by the aid of the common man or woman. When willing effort is put to criminal purpose by the unscrupulous then those whose efforts are so misused should reflect upon their responsibility, and should remember that, at the last, it is their conscience, not that of their pastors and masters or those set in authority over them. that will bear the stain of their directed crimes.

Blah! Blah! Erratum. In this essay by the Duke of Bedford last month, page 82, the fifth paragraph, opening sentence, ought to have read:

Lord Cranborne went on to say that he did not think the House would expect him to give a catalogue of the measures, etc.

THE BLUNDERS OF BERNARD SHAW

A "Socialist" Who Admires Dictators

By H. W. HENDERSON.

Admitting that he had "blundered badly about Fuhrer Hitler" Mr. Bernard Shaw (in a letter contributed to the *New Statesman*, of July 5th, 1941) asserted that he is "always making mistakes" by imagining that other people are as "clever" as himself. That Mr. Shaw is always making mistakes is a statement with which anyone familiar with the ridiculous nonsense he has been purveying to the public over a lengthy period of years will readily agree, but many of us must be wishing by this time that the "sage" of Whitehall Court would give a little thought to the effect his reckless assertions may have on weak-minded people who are unable to assess them at their true value. The times in which we live are serious and there is something loathsome and revolting in the spectacle of an octogenarian playwright (claiming to be a Socialist) making humorous and flippant remarks on matters upon which the happiness and often the very life, of millions of human beings may depend.

Mr. Winston Churchill has said of Bernard Shaw that "he indulges in all the liberties of an irresponsible chatterbox, babbling gloriously from dawn to dusk," and that "the world has long watched with tolerance and amusement the nimble antics and gyrations of this unique and double-headed chamelion, while all the time the creature was anxious to be taken seriously. If Mr Shaw is anxious to be taken seriously it is time he gave more careful thought to his public pronouncements instead of coming forward on the slightest provocation with statements that would insult the intelligence of a ten-year-old child.

Space does not permit of a full summary of Bernard Shaw's absurdities during the past few years, but a number of these may be given to show the confusion which he has been causing in the public mind on matters of vital importance to the British people.

Long ago Mr. Shaw delighted the Russian Government by proclaiming himself a believer in the "dictatorship of the proletariat." What he meant by dictatorship of the proletariat was explained in a letter to the London *Times* of August 30th, 1941, wherein it was pointed out that this was really a system "by which the proletariat is much more effectively dictated for its own good than under our system." His contempt for democracy and admiration of dictatorship have been expressed on many other occasions. In the *News Chronicle* of May 18th, 1934, Mr. Shaw asserted: "Sir Oswald Mosley is a personal friend of mine and I am very much interested in the whole affair (i.e., Mosley's Fascist Movement). The Parliamentary system is breaking up." "Parliament is hopeless," he reiterated in the *News Chronicle* of January 6th, 1936.

When Mr. Chamberlain went to Munich in 1938 and, acting with complete contempt for Parliamentary tradition, betrayed the Republic of Czechosolvakia into the hands of Hitler, Bernard Shaw was delighted with the bargain and informed the *Sunday Referee* of October 2nd, 1938, that Mr. Chamberlain had "scored a triumph."

"Direct negotiation between the men who have actually the power to make or break the peace is the only reasonable businesslike method," said the Great White Beard. What the people thought, either in Britain or Czechoslovakia, apparently did not matter. Fabian intellectuals could hardly be expected to bother about such trifles. A tiny democratic republic was acrificed to suit the plans of two powerful imperialist groups without so much as an invitation to the conference table. And the great George Bernard Shaw approved.

"It was plain that Czechoslovakia was not going to surrender territory unless and until she was forced to do so. I am glad that Prague has agreed to the Munich plan."

Finally, Mr. Shaw gave the interviewer his opinion of the two dictators who had threatened to let loose bloody murder on the world if their demands were not conceded.

"You know what I think of Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini, two highly capable revolutionary and proletarian leaders, who are giving their people as big a dose of Socialism as they can stand."

When Mussolini launched his attack on Abyssinia—an attack as cynical and brutal as anything he had till then attempted—Bernard Shaw was immediately to the fore explaining it as part of the onward march of civilisation.

Typical of the irresponsible character of his utterances was a statement made shortly after the Abyssinian conquest to a reporter of the *Daily Express* (March 26th, 1938). Asked whether we should return to Germany her former Colonies the Great White Beard asserted—"My slogan is, 'Africa for the Africans.'" But not long before, as a reader of the paper pointed out, he was campaigning under the banner "Abyssinia for the Italians!"

Mr. Shaw's opinion of the major Fascist aggressions and what should or should not have been done to aid the victims was given in an interview with the *Daily Herald* of March 3rd, 1939. Pooh-poohing the idea that anything might have been done to prevent the martyrdom of China, Abyssinia, or Czechoslovakia, Mr. Shaw asserted:—

"The Manchukuo affair was one of imperial conquest, in which it was the business of the Chinese to defend themselves. The Abyssinian affair was part of the march of civilization, in which at present a savage country, through which no one can travel safely, belongs to the nation that supplies it with roads, police, and a water supply. Czechoslovakia was an artificial contrivance of the victorious Allies to disable their defeated antagonist; and no country in the position to which Herr Hitler had raised Germany could be reasonably expected to accept its frontiers."

[See Communism and Socialism, by Arnold Lunn.]

Especially, we suppose, as Hitler, like Mussolini (who gassed the Abyssinians) was a fine "proletarian" leader giving the people large doses of "Socialism"!

A curious letter from Mr. Shaw appeared in the New York paper, *Liberty*, in April, 1939, in which, writing in defence of his dear friend Lady Astor and the "Cliveden Set" (which, he asserted, did not exist!) he described himself as "an implacable and vociferous Marxist Communist of nearly sixty years' standing." Replying to this unforgiveable nonsense in the next issue of the paper (April 22nd, 1939), Mr. Upton Sinclair said:

"This is indeed a bewildering display of fireworks. When I first met you, more than twenty-five years ago, you were, and had been for a couple of decades, an active leader of the Fabian Socialist movement and a vehement anti-Marxist."

One can only wonder what possible pleasure Shaw gets out of playing the buffoon in this manner and so confusing thousands of people who are earnestly seeking truth.

Shortly after war began Bernard Shaw wrote a commendatory letter to the editor of the Glasgow *Forward*, encouraging him in the point of view he was expressing and wishing *"more power to your elbow."* But the editor of the *Forward* is a sincere and consistent pacifist abhorring war under all circumstances while Shaw (as we have already seen) supported Mussolini's aggression in Abyssinia and has frequently spoken in praise of the Duce (who believes that fighting is one of the noblest activities of man). Where is the consistency here?

Mr. Shaw, however, is not even consistent in his letters to the *Forward*, for in the issues of November 30th and December 7th, 1940, he openly advocated seizure by the British Government of the ports of Eire—an act of war which the editor (whose point of view he has commented) would not countenance under any circumstances. As an example of political muddle-headedness this could hardly be improved upon (unless by Bernard Shaw himself).

Some years ago Mr. Shaw paid a visit to the Soviet Union, accompanied by the charming Lady Astor, was wined and dined by leading Soviet officials, and thereafter burst into a paean of praise for everything "Communistic." How completely he was deceived on his visit to the "Socialist fatherland" can be seen by anyone who will take the trouble to read Smith's *I Was a Soviet Worker*, or Lyon's *Assignment in Utopia*, where the actual facts of Soviet life are exposed by American Communists who have lived among the Russian workers, and the methods by which the Shaws and other short-time visitors are tricked are ruthlessly laid bare. The opinions of British and American workers who went to Russia on the strength of Shaw's exaggerated testimonial would probably be unprintable!

On May 31st, 1941, Bernard Shaw burst into the columns of the *New Statesmen* with the information that Stalin is only a servant of the State "and can be sacked at a moment's notice as Neville Chamberlain was. He has no hold except that of being the best man for the job." In addition to this typical piece of Shavian nonsense we are asked to gaze in rapture at the achievements of Soviet collective farming by which the Russian leader has solved the agricultural problems. "What other statesmen now in power has a hundredth part of his achievement to boast of?" asks the babbling Fabian.

Who, on reading this hymn to Stalin, would imagine that in the process of collectivising the farms several million persons were ruthlessly starved to death in the famine of 1932-33? This is not the opinion of any group of Fascists but the considered view of Communist and Soviet sympathisers who have lived in Rusia and seen the results of forcible collectivisation for themselves.

In the man-made famine of 1932-33 Walter Duranty estimated that one and a half million persons died in the Ukraine alone; Maurice Hindus placed the total at not less than three million; and W. H. Chamberlain at four million.

These men spoke from first-hand experience.

Of all this Mr. Shaw says not a word nor does he express a particle of sympathy with the victims. Possibly, of course, he does not know and has never taken the trouble to find out. Starved Russians may be of no more importance to the great G.B.S. than gassed Abyssinians. It may be all part of the onward march of "civilisation."

Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union elicited from Mr. Shaw one of the silliest statements he has made for many a day:—

"To-day, owing to the inconceivable folly of Hitler, we have nothing to do but sit and smile while Stalin smashes Hitler. Now you will see what will happen—Germany has not got a dog's chance."

The suggestion that we have nothing to do but sit and smile is surely the most foolish anyone wishing for a Russian victory could possibly imagine. Conservative and Communist leaders alike have been pointing out that this is the one sure way of letting Russia down. The belief that Russia would easily smash the power of the Nazi war machine and that Germany had not a dog's chance of winning could only have been held by a person utterly ignorant of the subject he professes to discuss. Without the support of British and American industry all the valour of the Soviet troops would hardly be sufficient to smash the Nazi war machine and victory, even with this support, will not be easy.

If the public recognised in Mr. Shaw the public clown he is no damage would be done, but unfortunately there are thousands of simple-minded people who swear by every word he utters, and look upon him as a person of superb and penetrating insight whose most ridiculous utterances are to be regarded as the profoundest wisdom. The foregoing review of some of this man's most recent errors may serve to demonstrate his utter unreliability as a guide in political affairs.

OUR LETTER BOX will appear next month. The correspondence is heavy and interesting.

MORE MORRISON

HOME SECURITY AT HARROGATE.

The *Bradford Telegraph & Argus* (28th January) told the following remarkable story:—

"The Civil Service Clerical Association . . . have just obtained a written apology (from Herbert Morrison) for the 'inconvenience and distress' caused to a woman typist evacuated to Harrogate and employed at a post office there.

"Shortly after her arrival at Harrowgate she wrote to the 'Labour Monthly' asking to be put in touch with readers so that she might form a discussion group.

"About two weeks later HER LANDLORD was visited by a detective from the SECURITY authorities, who told him all the particulars of her home address, family, and past employers, and ASKED IF HE KNEW SHE ASSOCIATED WITH COMMUNISTS. The landlord was promised further particulars about the girl's activities.

"The girl was informed of this interview and representations were made to Mr. Morrison by the C.S.C.A.

"Mr. Morrison has replied that the landlord was seen by police officers in respect of ROUTINE ENQUIRIES which were made necessary from time to time. He apologised for any inconvenience or distress caused."

The cream of the story for us lies in the expression "the SECURITY authorities." Exactly who or what are they trying to make secure? Or is the name just irony? For this incident is bound to make hundreds of thousands of citizens feel profoundly unsafe.

To begin with; is it either legally or morally wrong to associate with Communists? If so, let's be knowing. Do the security authorities make "routine enquiries" of Churchill's butler, and ask him if he knows his boss associates with Maisky?

Seriously: JUST WHAT KIND OF OBJECTIONABLE ACTIVITY did they suspect this young woman of? They can't have imagined for a moment that she was pro-fascist. It is extremely unlikely that she is anti-Churchill, because before the war the Communist Party itself was crying out to replace Chamberlain by Churchill. Is it possible that Morrison is using his power to intimidate his personal political antagonists? WE MUST AT ALL COSTS FORCE HIM OUT INTO THE OPEN.

And finally, did you ever hear of anything so feckless as the actions of these two police officers, if they really thought they were trailing a spy? They seem to have opened their hearts to the girl's host, who promptly told the girl. If she had really been a dangerous character engaged in underhand work, the great boobies would have put her on her guard and made her move her digs.

But it seems clear that they thought nothing of the sort. Their actions speak for themselves. THAT VISIT WAS NOT MADE TO ENQUIRE, BUT TO INTIMIDATE. Thank heaven, that typist is a lass of spirit. If there are still a few hundred like her, British freedom may yet be saved—but not with Morrison at the Home Office.

—F. W. JOWETT.

SOLDIER'S EPITAPH.

Here rest the worms of Fritz (or Tom)
Who gave his life to drop a bomb.
It smashed a babe, and killed its Dad;
It's Mummie, I'm afraid, went mad
But Pope and Bishop promise bliss,
For "Greater love hath none than this. . ."

—F. S. STUART.

THE WAY OUT.

By The Duke of Bedford.

A new pamphlet discussing the horror of war and violence and urging that reason can find a way out agreeable to liberty, justice, democracy, and commonsense. The author states his way out and invites criticism and consideration to ease the agony of mankind and to speed the new social dawn.

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THE WAR: A PACIFIST SURVEY

By

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

The warmongers' chickens seem to be coming home to roost with a vengeance and this is a time for plain speaking. When I and those who think as I do advocated peace by negotiation when the Empire was still intact and even when our principal allies were still undefeated, we were called traitors, Fifth Columnists and pro-Nazis. The Home Office was urged to intern us and, if we expressed any doubts as to the certainty of ultimate victory, we were said to be guilty of the crime of spreading "despondency and alarm." Well, what about it? Who are the real patriots? If our advice had been taken could the position of Britain and her allies conceivably be so grave as it is to-day?. If every pacifist in the country be interned on evidence, false or otherwise, will it restore Singapore? Has anything that critics of the war have ever said or done created despondency and alarm comparable in degree to that produced by the results of Mr. Churchill's strategy? Notwithstanding the recent extraordinary vote of confidence, Mr. Churchill's star appears at last to be on the wane. It is said that in some quarters he has gained the nickname of "the grave-digger"; while certain officers retired from the Services have sent to members of the House of Commons a bold statement declaring that in their belief it is a choice between Churchill and the loss of the Empire. That a Parliament or nation possessing even the rudiments of sanity could ever have reposed confidence at a time of crisis in a man with Mr. Churchill's record is indeed astonishing and is only to be explained by the fact that he represents the embodiment of belief in the wisdom of, and necessity for, the war itself. If people are driven to admit that Churchill has failed, they are likely to come perilously near the necessity of deciding whether, after all, there should have been a war to prevent the German city of Danzig from returning to Germany or to prevent Germany from having a railway across the Polish Corridor. This frightens them for it is never pleasant or easy to admit that one has made a prize ass of oneself, although there are times when courage and honesty allow no alternative course, especially when the lives and happiness of other people are being sacrificed daily as a result of one's mistakes.

What are the facts and possibilities of the present situation? Our hopes of victory rest, presumably, on Russian, American and Chinese help.

The Russian resistance has been stiffer than seemed possible at the end of last autumn but the winter is now far advanced and the Russian armies are still a very long way from Berlin. Thoughtful people who know Russia do not view with any great degree of optimism the capacity of that country to beat back the German attack which presumably will be launched in the spring. In regard to America I would say frankly that it would be very unwise to credit a country so handicapped by graft in high places and by the schemes and policy of Big Business monopolists and financiers with the capacity to achieve the colossal task of conquering Europe and Asia across the barrier of an ocean over which, not only troops, but a vast and incessant stream of war materials would have to be transported in the face of enemy attack by submarine and aircraft. The fact should not be lost sight of that an expeditionary force has not merely to be brought to its destination, *it has got to be kept fully supplied with ammunition and equipment all the time that it is fighting and if supplies fail it must suffer defeat.*

In regard to Chinese aid one can only say that the cutting off of supplies by way of the Burma road is likely to have very serious consequences indeed.

So much for the darker side of the picture. What chances of achieving a reasonable peace still remain? Hitler, whatever else he may be, is not a fool and in one way this may prove fortunate even for us. He is also not a selfish politician who values war as a means of hanging on to power and office. In his militarist way he is a patriot who demands of his people such fearful sacrifices only because he believes that they are essential to Germany's future safety and prosperity. There is no reasonable doubt that in his heart he is impatient to see the end of the slaughter, by disease and war, of the nation in which he takes so great a pride and, having the necessary financial technique to achieve his ends, he longs for the day when he can begin the post-war reconstruction of Germany. This fact, combined with the circumstance that his enemies, though hard-pressed, are by no means defeated, gives the latter a very useful bargaining power of which they would do well to take prompt and full advantage. The nature of the bargain which could be proposed I have already explained in "The Way Out." We should offer to rid ourselves of the anti-social tyranny and practices of International Finance and Big Business which the Axis Powers declare to be their chief enemy. This might not please Churchill, Roosevelt, Baruch or the financiers of the City and Wall Street but the safety of our country and the deliverance of the world from war matter more than their desires, prejudices and personal gains. We should invite co-operation in the full development of the world's resources for the benefit of all nations and the distribution of goods according to need, stressing the duty of wealthy countries to assist poorer ones, if need be by actual gifts of goods and without any debt entanglements. We should also suggest world disarmament which was real all-round disarmament and not the one-sided hypocrisy that followed Versailles. In return for our contribution towards a world settlement we should direct the attention of the Axis to the duty of restoring freedom to individuals and nations, a duty for the refusal of which no moral justification could be found if the peace settlement left them in no danger either of economic aggression or military attack.

It should by now be obvious to any realist that our military achievements do not place us in a position to lay down the law as to what shall and shall not be done in every part of Europe and Asia. It is also obvious that some concessions will have to be made; that Japan will have to be granted extensive trading and colonizing rights in Asia; and that, for the time being, we shall have to agree to a good many arrangements by no means ideal either for ourselves or for others, trusting that these may be altered when peace has restored a better spirit and more effective international co-operation. We shall also have to overcome our objection to "trusting" Hitler and accepting him as a feature in the post-war world. Now that we have found that we can trust Stalin and forgive the acts of cruelty and aggression committed in the past by the Soviet government, it is no use making a fuss about not being able to live in the same world with other non-democratic statesmen and governments. For reasons I have often given, the personal trustworthiness of this or that political leader is not the matter of great importance it is commonly represented as being. If we cannot trust Hitler we can at least learn to put a bit more trust in God and in the decency of the average citizen of every country if in peace he is given the square deal he has never yet received.

Let us therefore abandon the folly of arguing, "Well, perhaps it was a mistake to start the war over Poland, but as we are now in it we must go through with it." Does a man who finds himself waist-deep in a bog as a result of following a bad guide say, "Well, perhaps it was a mistake to follow this man, but now that I am in so deep, I can see nothing for it but to proceed to the very middle of this morass." If he has any sense does he not turn and find a way out, lest further progress in the same direction should see him engulfed, even over his head?

A cynical modern poet has written:

"We've lost so much, we'd better lose the lot,
Lets throw the rest into the melting pot."

Is this the philosophy of wise men or of foolish gamblers?

One final point: famine and epidemic disease due to war and famine are beginning to rear their ugly heads in Europe. The people of occupied countries and our allies are already suffering. America may be all right in the security of her geographical isolation but the threat draws nearer to Britain and to Germany.

A monstrous crow once, in a classic humourous poem, brought two foolish combatants to their senses. May it not be time that the combatants in this suicidal struggle also heeded the warning of black wings beginning to appear on the horizon?

UNITED STATES ABSOLUTIST

Frederick Richards

—Reproduced from the columns of the "Philadelphia Public Leader."

On Wednesday, November 26, 1941, Frederick Richards, 21, of West Chester, a student at Swarthmore College, was sentenced by Judge Ganey, in the Federal Court, at Philadelphia, to a year and a day in the Federal Prison, because the dictates of his conscience forbade him to register for the draft.

Richards returned voluntarily from Mexico, where he had been engaged in welfare work, to enter his protest against the draft.

Richards said:

The thought of our adoption in this country of conscription—a totalitarian, Nazi, Communist method—runs contrary to all that I have even been taught or have come to believe.

For a man eager to work towards the alleviation of human suffering, conscription leaves no freedom of conscience. Conscription is the legal enforcement of the proposition that human beings exist only for the purpose of doing what the government wills.

As a Quaker I cannot but oppose this war. I do not believe that the butchery of another 20 or 30 millions people will further the Christian religion. I do not believe that destroying billions of dollars worth of property will raise the standards of living for America's or Europe's peoples.

Assistant United States Attorney Kallick said Richards had commited a serious offence and that if others followed his lead it might easily result in civil war.

Dean Everett L. Hunt, of Swarthmore, made a personal appeal on behalf of Richards.

Judge Ganey ruled:

You have admittedly violated the laws of the land, which you could have complied with by registering and then claiming exemption as an objector. That is what you are charged with, failing to register, not failing to bear arms.

THOUGHTS ON BRITISH IMPERIALISM

By RUDOLF ROCKER.

(Translated from the Spanish of "La Protesta," Buenos Aires, for August, 1941, by E. M.)

Rudolf Rocker

[Rudolf Rocker was many years editor of the Jewish Anarchist paper, "The Workers' Friend," published in Jubilee Street, London. We published a full account of Rocker's career in "Hyde Park," September, 1938. Copies of this paper can be obtained still from this office. When Kropotkin went pro-war in 1914, we were the first Anarchist writer to repudiate him. At first his admirers denied the charge and then had to admit its accuracy. Rocker replied to Kropotkin in "The Workers' Friend" and the articles were translated from the Yiddish and published in "The Spur." During the war both Rocker and his companion, Milly Witcop, were interned. Subsequently they returned to Germany and then escaped, going to the United States via Britain. Rocker's Imperialism seems mild but definite. We suspected that this was his present attitude from his writings circulated in America for some time by so-called Anarchists who would have denied the fact.—Ed.]

The spoken word is, of tyrants, the greatest! It is a soulless despot and for this reason it appeals more powerfully to those who live without ideals than to those who nourish themselves upon real thought. Marxist writers have filled entire libraries on the subject of Imperialism as the final phase, historically necessary, of developing Capitalism which leads inevitably to Socialism —just as the Night Scot goes direct from Glasgow to London.

A short time ago, a Swedish friend sent me a pamphlet dealing with English Imperialism as the cause of the present war. The author—a Stalinist, naturally—with the assistance of alleged "facts" tries to prove that England had been preparing for war for a long time and had deprived Germany of all possibility of feeding its excessive population. He asserts that the British Government had only to cede some of its colonies to Hitler and the catastrophe would have been avoided. Since the signing of the Russo-German alliance, the Stalinist press has sung the same old tune. And unfortunately, their tune seems still to influence even those who are not Communists*. It is necessary, therefore, to examine the matter more closely.

First, take the completely false statement that Imperialism is the logical consequence of developing Capitalism. There have been Imperialist States of which it would be impossible to say that they were Capitalist in the true sense of the word. Ancient States, such as those of Persia, Babylon and Rome, were built definitely on the policy of Imperialism. An "Empire" is a State controlling other nations by means of military conquest, political domination and economic exploitation, all from a determined centre or metropolis, the subjected nations having no independence of any kind. In its time, England was an Empire of this class. Its colonies were administered from London and from London were organised economically where they were not ceded as monopolies. It was this that moved the English of North America in 1775 to rebellion against the mother country, and it was from this rebellion that the United States of America were born.

This state of affairs has been modified for some time now but still there are those who can't see the wood for the trees. Undoubtedly Imperialism in Britain has not led logically to Socialism as the materialist conception of history would have it. With the exception of India, all the former colonies have been converted into independent States. But even in India there is a trend in this direction and no doubt it will follow, eventually, the course taken by the others. English Imperialism is not an Empire in the real meaning of the word but a federation of independent States—much more independent in their decisions than any one of the States of North America. Canada, Australia, New Zealand and the Union of South Africa have their own governments; their own legislation; their own commercial policies; their own system of taxation; and their own immigration laws according to which, if they so desire, they can expel even the English. Britain cannot force these States to engage in her wars. The best example of this is Ireland which, as a British dominion, has declared herself neutral in the present war and which actualy has a representative in Germany.

That which maintains this league of independent States is not compulsion from London but pacts freely made in the Parliaments of the dominions, pacts by which Great Britain possesses the same rights as any other portion of the British Empire. Fundamentally, there are three causes for this foundation of the federation of British States: (1) The common culture and democratic traditions that link the former colonies with the mother country; (2) the economic advantage resulting to the federated States and regarding this, Britain is, by no means, the sole beneficiary; and (3) The security guaranteed to all sections of the Empire. Without this security, Australia and New Zealand might be open to the attacks of Japanese militarism. The independence of the Union of South Africa is just as determined.

In the course of time, every Imperialist State has succumbed because it would not make concessions to its colonies and so revolt took place against the metropolis. Spain, at one time the greatest colonial country of the world, lost all its possessions for this reason. It cannot be doubted that the same would have happened to Britain if the latter had not, on its own initiative, limited its imperialist aspirations. Britain well understood that the best guarantee of its own existence was a federation of free States as opposed to dominion by military conquest.

The same cannot be said of Germany. For Hitler and his Fascist allies, this war is an imperialist war in the full sense. *Mein Kampf* is the last word in imperialism. Here in this book he makes a proposal to England for the complete domination of Europe in conjunction with Germany and Italy and the suppression of France as an independent nation. Unable to do this with the consent of Great Britain, Hitler is attempting to achieve his objective *against* Great Britain and to destroy the communication between the States. Hitler has not renounced any of his aspirations; he has merely given them a theoretical justification by declaring that the German people have a historic mission to dominate all people and all races. The new order he would impose on the world is that of the sovereignty of the German race over all others, these latter united in slavery and suppressed at the point of the bayonet.

Only a few weeks ago, Dr. Funck, the German Minister of Economy, stated: "The future economics of peace must guarantee to Germany the maximum security and maximum of products for the well-being of its people. All European economics must orientate around this proposition."

In other words, the Germans are to be the only people, Berlin is to be the centre of the universe and all other races must bow down to the wishes of the German people and permit themselves to be devoured by an organised band of thieves. A magnificent prospect certainly! Barbarism as a principle! The prison as the symbol of security! The whip the driving force of the new order! The gladiators of ancient Rome when entering the arena shouted: "Hail, Caesar, we who are about to die, salute you!" So why not all Europe proclaiming "Heil Hitler?"

And suddenly we are informed that we know nothing about Imperialism, that we have no conception of economics and history, and the whole world is told that English Imperialism is the cause of the war and that the English Government had only to grant colonies to Germany to have obviated it. My friend must have been asleep for the past fifty years if he does not realise that England is in no position to rule colonies and that she does not and cannot impose taxes, policy or legislation upon the federated states. But it would seem that nothing can penetrate the brain of the Moscow oracle.

This discussion on the development of English Imperialism into a federation of independent States would be incomplete if we ignored the present relations of the British Government with India. It is these relations precisely that gives the Communist Press the material for its attacks on British Imperialism which always end in a comparison of the tyranny of Britain with the perfection of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. Regarding this, we must be careful to distinguish between yesterday's historical facts and the state of affairs that has developed slowly. Should one desire, the history of English domination in India can be studied, but to assert that there has been no progress since the time of Clive is absurd and unforgiveable in face of the march of history.

There can be no doubt that for the past fifty years, India has been following that path of political development that in the case of the former colonies led to them being transferred into independent States of British Imperialism. Due to peculiar circumstances, India has progressed more slowly. Above all we must not forget that the former colonies of Canada, Australia, and the Union of South Africa arose from the metropolis and were united to it by laws, customs, religion and political concepts. Due to this development came more quickly and more spontaneously. But India, a country of 375 million souls and 225 different languages, separated from England not only by race, history, religion and customs but also by the fact that these 375 million souls were composed of distinct tribes and groups, made it impossible to achieve the same result in the same time. In India, there are not only an enormous difference in race, in religion and in social classes, but there is also many distinct races.

When, in 1885, Allan Hume organised the National Congress which to-day is the centre of the movement for national Hindu unity, he attempted to bring together all the Indian people into one nation with the idea of achieving for India the same independence as the other colonies. But he had to give up this attempt very quickly. The new movement quickly developed both a moderate and a radical tendency but its work was obstructed by the religion and social contradictions despite the fact that the propaganda of Gandhi was opening up a new approach to the problem. Apart from the great movement of the National Congress of India there is the Islamic League representing the greater part of the population and which aspires to autonomy. In all probability the problem will be solved by a Federation of the Peoples of India, recognised by Britain as an independent Dominion.

This is inevitable. Already, in 1917, under pressure from the national movement, England drew up a new constitution on the basis of responsible government. Indian reform has been going on now for a long time and the conser-

* Since the signing of the Anglo-Russian pact on July 12, naturally the record has been changed.

vatives cannot stop it. On the contrary, the more resistance arises, the more the movement advances and rebellion soon compels the granting of different conditions. India, in her commercial and financial administration, is already independent and has, like the other States of the Empire, the right to fix its own taxation.

Politically, India never had united administration. One part was directly under British rule, another was governed by Indian princes, dependents on the Central English administration. In the former, that is, in provinces such as Assam, Bengal, Madras, Benares, Orissa, Sind, Jenjabm, Bombay, etc., there is a form of local self government whilst it is being developed in the other provinces. This is especially so since the "Round Table" Conference of 1930-31 in London.

In this sense, despite the fact that India is a "colony of the crown" to the old world she is destined inevitably to take her place as an independent State among the other colonies on a more or less equal plane. The war has interrupted this progress comparatively but it can only be paralysed by the collapse of the British Empire itself.

The present Indian Nationalist movement aspiring to self government and whose organisation is the National Congress of India is composed of a moderate tendency as represented by Gandhi and a more radical tendency represented by Nehru. Both Gandhi and Nehru desire a democratic federation of the Hindu peoples on the basis of independent government and the political equality of all castes, races, religions and classes. Both are the declared enemies of all dictatorship, and even Nehru who is much more hostile to Britain than Gandhi stated not long ago in his journal, *The National Herald*, that no peace is possible ".until the evil of Hitlerism has been extirpated from the face of humanity."

Both tendencies have accused repeatedly the British Government of having retarded intentionally the process of self-government, and Gandhi, whose influence is always the stronger, is firmly convinced that India will gain its independence within the Empire and he has no wish to see his country fall a victim to the imperialist aspirations of Russia, Japan or Germany. According to Gandhi this is the only way to achieve full and complete economic and social liberation.

Despite present conditions, India, in comparison with the famous U.S.S.R., is a paradise of liberty and independence. Not one of the Russian republics can criticise or change even within its own boundaries the dictatorial regime of Stalin. No other party but the Communist Party can exist. At the least, the Indian movement for independence has the right of free speech and a free press to proclaim its ideas. In Russia, one cannot imagine such a possibility. There is no freedom and all are subjected to the same tyranny. Without full liberty of expression, political liberty is a dead letter, a shameless judgment of facts that have as little connection with reality as the croaking of a frog has affinity with the Ninth Symphony.

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ANARCHISTS UPHOLD THE EMPIRE

Owing to the horror felt by Libertarians at the persecution of the Jews and of all cultural thought within the Fascist countries, this war has created more confusion in the minds of the common people than perhaps any previous national struggle. Socialists have forgotten all about the class struggle to become full-time recruiting sergeants and have persuaded their proletarian followers to engage, with will, in the tragic dance of death. Anarchists have overcome their antagonism for authority and the State and turned militarist, if not with glee, at least with ardour. And so one is not surprised to learn that Rudolf Rocker, one-time editor of *The Worker's Friend*, has joined the ranks of militarists and empire defenders. Those persons who are opposed to war, and yet call themselves Anarchists, and so busily circulate the writings of Rocker and Kropotkin, should take stock of themselves and realise that Kropotkin upheld the last war and at its conclusion, on his return to Russia, actually spoke as a reactionary militarist; and that Rocker upholds this war. We knew that this was Rocker's attitude some time ago, as anyone who read his so-called classic work on Nationalism could see. But his Anarchist admirers refused to face the fact and went on boosting his activity.

In another column we reproduce Rocker's article from the Spanish, which has been translated specially for these columns. The article is critised and replied to in the Italian Anarchist weekly, *L'Adunata Dei Refrattarri*, published in New York, for November 22, 1941.

Rocker's article has appeared in several Spanish journals, published in various parts of America.

Our Italian contemporary, under the heading *The British Empire*, writes:

The self-described "anti-totalitarian" journal, "Rumbo," of Havana, publishes an article from the pen of Rudolf Rocker who for many years has styled himself an Anarchist, in which he acquits England of the "fale accusation of being an imperialist country." Rocker writes:

Here follows the first four paragraphs of Rocker's article. There is no point in retranslating from the Italian. Our contemporary comments:

Apparently when Anarchism takes on the garb of the warrior and the defence of the State, there are no half measures! Churchill's authoritarian anti-fascists are not concerning themselves with justifying English Imperialism nor with explaining that the British Empire is not really an Empire in the strict meaning of the word, but something quite different. Such a justification could only arise if he and his colleagues felt any inconvenience in their new positions. Under such circumstances alone is it necessary to "reform" the dictionary and to rewrite history.

The British Empire, we are told, is not an empire but a federation of independent states. This, despite the fact that Englishmen who really ought to know, talk persistently of the British Empire and that George VI still signs himself "Rex Et Imperator."

Let us see, then, just how true and just how false is this statement of Rocker's.

The British Empire has a total population of 485,733,451 million inhabitants. The United Kingdom (England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland) has a population of 46,190,000 million. The population of the six Dominions is 29,800,000 distributed as follows: (1) Australia, 6,700,000; (2) Canada, 10,400,000; (3) Ireland, 2,972,000; (4) Newfoundland 278,000; (5) Union of South Africa, 8,000,000; (6) New Zealand, 1,450,000. Adding the population of the United Kingdom—about 46,190,000 —to that of the Dominions—about 30,000,000—we have a total population of 79,190,000 human beings that are, according to Rocker, citizens of independent states freely federated.

Just how much in those dominions are in reality independent and freely federated is a matter for discussion. Nevertheless, it should be sufficient to consider: (1) the total population of the Dominion is less than the population of the Motherland; (2) Dominion government is presided over by a Governor-General sent from London, who nominally represents the King and, in effect, the government of the United Kingdom; (3) the Dominions' payment of taxes to the motherland; (4) The military defence of the Dominions is dependent on the British Fleet; (5) the capitalist class of the motherland owns and exploits, considerably even if not always preponderantly, the natural wealth and the labour of the people of the Dominions; (6) as in the motherland, the Dominions are ruled by a class, national, British or foreign, who act in accordance with their own interests without bothering about the feelings of the citizen or the aspirations of the majority of the inhabitants.

Truely, one must have lost all conception of liberty and independence if one pretends that the British Dominions are freely federated with the United Kingdom.

But the British Empire is not composed solely of the Metropolis and the Dominions.

Rocker makes one exception to his "federation of British States"—India. And he has said enough! India has a population of 351,400,000 million inhabitants—a population nearly five times that of the federated states and nearly nine times that of the United Kingdom of which it is a dependent. And that is not all. To complete the population of the British Empire there are 59,143,000 million distributed over various colonies and territories. But of these, Rocker says not a word. Even were we to admit that the "Dominions are free and independent countries" there still remains the 410,543,451 millions living under colonial regime. But what will one not do to sustain the impossible!

With these figures before us, with the knowledge that the British Empire has, at this very moment, 37,000 Indian nationals in prison—leaving aside those confined in other countries and all those who are victims of this imperialism, it is absurd to deny that the British Empire is an Empire in the historic meaning of the word. The British Empire is an Empire, as were others, founded by conquest and violence. To deny this is to deny a reality that is as clear as the light of the sun.

In our view, Rocker writes mildly but definitely. His sympathies are Imperialistic, militaristic and evolutionary rather than revolutionary. The attitude is intelligible but a departure from his earlier Anarchist propaganda actually. If he was correct when he opposed Kropotkin for supporting the last war, he is incorrect to-day. If his present position is sound, the Anarchist movement is in error and should transform its propaganda. Rocker now views the Empire as a stepping stone to world commonwealth and so abandons his anti-militarist position as utopian. Under these circumstances the Anarchist movement should drop its association with him or pass out of existence.

DUKE OF BEDFORD

We are unable to make in this issue a selection of many excerpts from the press comments, published in Britain, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and the United States, on the pacifist and social credit proposals of the Duke of Bedford.

The *News Review*, London, for November 20, 1941, recalled a statement made by the Duke, as Marquis of Tavistock, at a meeting in support of the Labour Party. The Duke said of the late James Ramsay Macdonald, then leader of the Labour Party:—

"I feel that here is a man who can save England in her present industrial position."

Replying to the Duke's query as to where he had made this statement, the *News Review*, in its issue for December 4, 1941, pointed out that the remark was reported in the *Daily Herald* for October 30, 1924. The then Marquis of Tavistock had chaired a meeting in support of Labour candidate Captain Hall at Central Portsmouth, and, according to the *Herald*, made the remarks attributed to him in an interview. The *Herald* called it

"another instance of how Labour is making inroads in the ranks even of the old aristocracy."

Duckboard, the Melbourne, Australia, Service Association journal, in its issue for November, 1941, declares that Sir Oswald Mosley should be released, and the Duke of Bedford executed. We shall reproduce and comment upon this absurd article in an early issue. The article is a scandalous and ill-informed attack, such as Horatio Bottomley made a point of publishing during the last war. It will be recalled that the *Nation* exposed how Bottomley wanted to shoot a young soldier-idealist who hated war but gave his life. Such is patriotic journalism!

THE EDITOR'S TRIALS

IN THE DOCK

II.—GLASGOW SEDITION TRIAL, 1921

(Continued from page 81.)

XIV.—THE ILLEGAL ARREST.

Readers will have noticed from the newspaper reports reproduced of the trial that we raised a preliminary plea in bar of trial, or want of jurisdiction. It was our contention that our arrest without a warrant was illegal and therefore that we were never legally before the Glasgow Court. Of the facts there can be no question. Of the law there is no doubt. It was for this reason, hidden behind a smoke-screen of prejudice, that we were denied bail. We were the victim of a pretty conspiracy of injustice on the part of police, bar, and bench. This chapter defines clearly the illegality of our 1921 arrest. It indicts the Labour movement, which, despite its expressions of good nature, never had the sense or courage to expose legally and popularly this question of illegal arrest and detention.

Sedition is not a felony but a misdemeanour at law. In cases of felony a person can be arrested without a warrant. In cases of misdemeanour he must be arrested with a warrant and the person making the arrest must have the warrant on him when he makes the arrest. This principle was established in the famous case of *Codd* v. *Cabe* (1876). Those interested will find this case recorded fully in the following reports: 1, Ex.D. 352; 40. J.P. 566; 45 L.J.101; 34 L.T. 433; 13 Cox. 202. The decision is an accepted and governing one. No subsequent legislation has attempted to revise or change its import and consequence. About the time of the 1921 trial, the decision saved from execution an actor, who was pursued somewhere in Marylebone by a policeman, who possessed no warrant. The man was guilty of some dishonesty amounting to less than felony. In other words his crime was a misdemeanour at law. A crowd took up the pursuit and one man, excited by the cries, endeavoured to stop the runaway. Thereupon, the hunted man drew a revolver and shot the person who thought he was aiding justice. He died instantly and when caught, the hunted man was charged with murder. This was reduced to manslaughter and a sentence of penal servitude was passed, on the ground that the police officer had no warrant, and the man who was killed had no legal right to interfere. Whatever the victim's intentions when he interfered so unfortunately, the police officer having no warrant, notwithstanding the fact that the pursued man had a criminal record, the interference was, technically and legally, not in the interests of justice.

This case is recalled as an illustration of our contention. When we were arrested at 17 Richmond Gardens, Shepherd's Bush, in 1921, for alleged sedition in Scotland, the police officers had no warrant and were conniving wilfully, and through sheer power of force, at an illegal arrest. We do not benefit from the exposure of this act of violence, but it is recorded beyond denial and so indicts those responsible for the outrage. Many who were indifferent at wrong then, and have suffered internment since under 18B, will sense the feeling of indignation that possessed us at the time.

The story of this illegal arrest can be told in press cuttings not hitherto produced.

The Daily Herald, in its issue for Thursday, March 3 ,1921, published the following item:—

COMMUNIST RAID

Arrest of Guy Aldred, Editor of the "Spur."

Six plain-clothes policemen in a motor-lorry made a raid on 17, Richard Gardens, Shepherd's Bush, yesterday, searched the premises, and arrested Guy Aldred, the well-known Communist and editor of "The Spur."

The raiders spent four hours examining every nook and corner, and rummaging in every drawer and box, including the child's playboxes. They declined to produce any warrant or to state what charge was to be laid against Mr. Aldred.

Fortunately for his wife, who has scarcely recovered from a painful illness, a friend was with her at the time.

The raiders asked questions about "The Red Commune," a paper published by the Glasgow Communist group. Several copies of this paper were in the house, and these were taken away by the police, along with a quantity of other literature and documents.

The Daily News, London, for the same date, reported the arrest as follows:—

RAID ON A FLAT.

Six Scotland Yard officers yesterday afternoon visited the flat of Mr. Guy Aldred, in Richmond Gardens, Shepherd's bush, and removed a considerable quantity of papers and documents, including copies of the "Spur," a monthly Communist journal, of which Mr. Aldred is the editor.

Afterwards they asked Mr. Aldred to accompany them to Scotland Yard.

At a late hour last night Mrs. Aldred stated that her husband was still detained.

The Star, which was the evening edition of *The Daily News*, carried the same report beneath the caption: "POLICE AND MR. GUY ALDRED."

The Daily Herald for Friday, March 4, 1921, stated:—

GUY ALDRED'S ARREST

It was reported in London last night that Guy Aldred, editor of the Bakunin Press, who was arrested in London on Wednesday night in connection with the publication of the article in the "Red Commune," was in the hands of the Metropolitan police at the instance of the Glasgow police.

In its issue for Saturday, March 5, 1921, *The Daily Herald* stated:—

GUY ALDRED'S ARREST.

London Police Awaiting Glasgow Escort.

"The Daily Herald" understands that Guy Aldred was still retained up to a late hour yesterday in Cannon Row Police Station. No information was vouchsafed to inquiries save that the London police were still awaiting his escort from Glasgow.

The actual arrest may have been made by six detectives. Actually the house was surrounded and thirty police officers entered the premises and prevented any communication being made to the outside world. One person who called to see us on business was turned away by a police officer. Complete, violent, illegal occupation of 17 Richmond Gardens was resorted to by the police because they were aware that their actions were illegal. This fact explains why bail was denied to us after our arrival in Scotland. Various excuses were advanced by the authorities to cover the real reason: fear lest we should focus too much public attention on the illegal nature of our arrest.

(*Concluded next month*).

[Owing to heavy calls on our space we have been compelled to hold over the concluding chapter on "Politics, The Dock, The Bar, and The Bench." Ed.]

WHAT MADE JOWETT A SOCIALIST

What Made Me a Socialist, by F. W. Jowett, formerly M.P. for Bradford West and First Commissioner of Works in the 1924 Labour Government, originally appeared in the columns of the Glasgow *Forward*. It was issued in pamphlet form by the I.L.P. in 1925, and is reissued to-day by the Strickland Press: Price 2d., post free 3d.

Reviewing the pamphlet when first issued, *Forward*, in its columns for June 13, 1925, says:

WHAT MADE ME A SOCIALIST . . . is an extremely interesting pamphlet . . . in which Mr. Jowett recounts the causes which led to his conversion to Socialism. . . .

The son of a mother (to whom he pays a fine tribute) who herself was a half timer before him, he commenced work in the mills at the early age of eight. At heart a Democrat, and class conscious by the circumstances of his life, he came under the influence of Carlyle when he was fourteen, and later his reading extended to the writings of Ruskin, William Morris, and Robert Blatchford, so that it is no wonder that he readily accepted the Socialist Faith.

TESTAMENT OF STUPIDITY

AFTER TWENTY YEARS

By

W. A. RATHKEY.

"DISENCHANTMENT" by C. E. Montague. (Evergreen series, Chatto & Windus: One Shilling).

". . . The patriotism of the press was bunkum, screening all sorts of queer games; the eloquence of patriotic orators was just a smoke barrage to cover their little manouvres against one another; the red tabs of the Staff were the 'Red Badge of Funk' . . ."

That quotation is from Montague's "Disenchantment," and the following extract cuts even nearer the bone:

"You knew bitterly what the Australians were saying once more: 'They've let us down again!' . . . "

Our leaders have obviously not progressed one step since C. E. Montague wrote his testament of stupidity. They can neither make peace nor war! And it is because those quotations are so apt to the present conflict, that we write this appreciation of a twenty-year-old masterpiece. *Disenchantment* is the English *J'Accuse*. In its pages we see how the evil that men do lives after them, thrives and waxes.

Every Socialist and every Pacifist should read *Disenchantment*. Far too often, the progressive ignores the human element. Far too often he relies on the theoretical and dialectical aspects of Capitalism, on the Materialistic Conception of History so beloved of Communists. The reformer cannot reform by pamphlets alone. Without the human scene, etched so acidly by Goya and Holbein, by Barbusse and Remarque, Sassoon, Owen and Montague, history would be dry bones. And dry bones are interesting only to the post-mortem students and autopsists. Humanity must take itself in hand, must cure itself of the complex expressed by Yeats:

"The best lack all conviction;
The worst are full of passionate intensity."

C. E. Montague seems to us to be the ideal reformer. He is the upright, aristocratically-minded man gifted with a social conscience. His integrity and his literary stature and creative genius, make him accessible and acceptable to the canny, snobbishly-minded middle-class—the class that most needs social enlightenment. Men like Lord Cecil, Edward Thomas and Bridges (and in our own day, Priestley), have got easily into the barred houses and barred minds of the middle class, where Marx and Engels, Lenin and Trotsky (and even Shaw), are as welcome as burglars. Marx preached only to the converted, and he can rail till doomsday as far as the middle classes are concerned. But when Bridges (Poet Laureate and a gentleman), says:—

"See how cross-eyed the pride of our world-wide crusade against Nigerian slavery, while the London poor in their Victorian slums lodged closer and filthier than the outraged alien; and under liberty's name our Industry is worse fed and shut out from the sun."

"Thus, when in London city a Guild of merchants dine, one diner's cost would ease a whole bye-street of want. . . ."

there must be something wrong. Likewise, the value of Sassoon's and Owen's work is far more universal than the proletarian tracts of writers, condemned without trial as Bolshies and Reds. Lord Cecil's case for peace has been much better and more fundamentally put by Socialist pamphleteers, of whom surburbia and the country house have never heard. Nevertheless, we must thank this inequalitarian system for Lord Cecil's contact with the middle and upper classes. Priestley, because of "The Good Companions" and subsequent dramatic work, has got to a position where (within his limited understanding of the root causes of war) he can get at the middle classes.

We draw these conclusions at some length to stress the inestimable value of such a book as *Disenchantment*. If this book is Socialist propaganda, then so is the Sermon on the Mount and the Pilgrim's Progress.

Written by a man whose mind was more concerned with literature and drama than with his fellow men, *Disenchantment* is the protest of one who has seen not the Holy Grail but its very antithesis. As though walking through his beloved literary lanes and Thespian paths, Montague had suddenly seen hell on earth and was forever disquieted. Swinnerton, indeed, speaks of him as "sunk in a mood of restless melancholy." And war and its terrifying aftermath made *Disenchantment* inevitable.

All sensitive men, says Hazlitt, are Hamlet. There is all of the universal protest, the eternal bitter questioning of Hamlet in Montague's book. Something rotten in the state of England? Read the grimly topical chapter, "Stars in their Courses," and think of Dunkirk, Norway, Crete, Greece and Malaya. Think, too, of the profiteering and the black markets:

"Our men could only draw on such funds of nerve and physique, knowledge and skill, as we had put into the bank for them. Not they, but their rulers and 'betters' had lost their heads in the joy of making money fast out of steam, and so made half of our nation slum-dwellers."

Turn to *The Duty of Lying* chapter, which concludes:

"They tell me we've pulled through at last all right because our propergander dished out better lies than what the Germans did. So I say to myself 'if tellin' lies is all that bloody good in war, what bloody good is tellin' truth in peace?'"

And think what our rulers, or the German rulers, mean to make of the next peace.

Perhaps the most poignant passages of this book are those where Montague seems to be standing with the bewildered, exhausted combatants, chronicling their scepticism. He saw futile sacrifice after futile sacrifice. He saw how death

"mocked the wonder of endeavour
with coward bullet's unanswerable jibe . . ."

He tells you of the soldiers' growing hatred of their pastors and masters, hatred of the politicians and generals who let them down from the word go to the word stop. From the Mons retreat to the "land fit for heroes to live in." And if he had lived he would have chronicled the "ultimate bilking" of the Black Coffin demonstrators.

In the macabre intervals of battering blindly and obediently at each other, these homeric proletarians (German and English), chewed on the bitter cud of lying. The weekly *Daily Mail* perhaps, or some such pulp of wicked writing, reaches trenches and the heroes read how they captured so and so redoubt and killed so many Germans. Too often the reverse was the truth, and "You can't believe a word" became as well-known as Tipperary. It is as well to remember, in this connection, that our civilian fathers were led to believe that Passchendaele was a victory. Montague continues the drab indictment:

"When civilian morale at home was going through one of its occasional depressions, we gave out that it was higher than ever. . . ."

We cannot too strongly advise our readers to get this book, and take its lessons to the brain and heart. To understand war, to rid the world of its devastating idiocy, we must fully comprehend the nature of the beast. We must see the whole and not just the part, and *Disenchantment* does this service more than any other book we know.

It bridges the hampering gap twixt soldier and civilian; it makes serviceable the glass through which we have seen too darkly for too long a time; and it immortalises the hopeful decency of the common man. If we must have memorials to our cheated brothers the world over, to the millions of unknown warriors for whom the heart aches and anger boils, this is the memorial we would give them.

THE STRICKLAND PRESS

(Founded as Bakunin Press, 1906. Merged and Renamed Strickland Press, 1939).

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SOCIALISM AND MONETARY REFORM

A REPLY TO FENNER BROCKWAY

By

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD

[Following upon an article published by our comrade, F. W. Jowett, in the "Bradford I.L.P. News," and partly reprinted in the "New Leader," the Duke of Bedford has been involved in a discussion on Socialism and Monetary Reform. He has contributed two letters to the "Socialist Standard," to which the Editorial Committee of the S.P.G.B. have replied. In due course we propose to reproduce the whole of this discussion, which goes to the roots of Socialism and Social Reform, in these columns. Meanwhile we reproduce the Duke of Bedford's reply to Fenner Brockway's concluding article on the discussion published in the "New Leader." Our columns are open to discussion on the matter.—Ed.]

The Editor of the *New Leader* has been generous in allowing me space in which to put forward my views on the question of monetary reform in relation to war and poverty, so I cannot complain that he has now brought the correspondence to a close. He raises, however, some important points in the reply he makes on behalf of Mr. Willie Stewart, who has unfortunately met with an accident, and I think that it may be desirable to deal with them.

Mr. Fenner Brockway insists on crediting me with views which I have again and again repudiated, when he suggests that I consider that monetary reform would by itself establish perfect social justice. I have never, at any time, imitated certain extreme Social Crediters who virtually say to Socialists, "I offer you something much better than Socialism and suggest that you abandon Socialism in favour of my improved remedy." My attitude when appealing to Socialists to take an active interest in monetary reform, has always been: "I do not ask you to give up any of your fundamental beliefs, nor to abandon the pursuit of those aims which you consider essential to the establishing of a just social order. If you feel that it is desirable to do away with all class distinctions; to arrange for the control of industry by the workers; or to abolish profit, by all means continue to pursue these aims. All that I tell you is that the reform of the monetary and foreign trade system is the first and most important step which should be taken in the direction of a better social order. Unless you have national control of the creation and issue of money and adopt sensible methods for its creation and issue, you are bound to be severely handicapped from the start, no matter what drastic changes you introduce into the social and industrial order. For the very reason that financial reform is not a purely socialist measure, you can count on its getting support from an immense number of people who are not Socialists and therefore, if you play your cards wisely, there is a chance of pushing it through without delay due to serious numerical opposition. Directly it is put into operation, even though it will not at once establish perfect social justice or anything like it, it will bring great and welcome relief to the poorest classes who have suffered too long already.

Last but not least, the adoption of monetary and foreign trade reform would provide a bridge on which we could meet those with whom we are now at war and stop the mass slaughter of humanity—a slaughter, incidentally, which includes among its victims a very large number of Socialists."

Mr. Brockway, it seems, thinks that the war must go on until Socialism of the type that he favours becomes the dominant political creed not only in the Democracies but also in the occupied countries and in the Axis States. I myself fear that a much more likely result of a prolongation of the war will be the spread, either of Fascism, or of an objectionable and tyrannical type of Communism. I.L.P. Socialist ideas, in so far as they are sound, are much more likely to make rapid progress towards victory if peace be first restored, than they are if war be continued on the present scale. It would, indeed, be no compliment to I.L.P. Socialism to conclude otherwise, for the war, as it is now being fought, is proving steadily more and more destructive to intellectual and moral standards throughout the world.

I do not pretend that there is absolutely no difference between my outlook and Mr. Fenner Brockway's outlook, but the difference is not of the nature he suggests. It is merely this: that whereas I agree with the Socialists that monetary reform will not, in itself, do all that is needed to establish a just social order, they feel that they already have, absolutely clear-cut in their minds, the other reforms which are necessary; whereas I, when monetary reform had been adopted, would feel that I would need to hear certain issues more fully debated and to observe the new situation created by monetary reform before I could be as confident as they are that all the items in their programme were as sound as they now feel them to be.

Mr. Fenner Brockway criticises my suggestion that peace might be concluded on a basis which starts from an agreement by the Democracies to abandon the anti-social practices of orthodox finance and a reciprocal agreement by the Axis Powers to abandon interference with the reasonable liberties of nations and individuals.

He thinks that I am harbouring idealistic illusions when I accept the contention of Axis propaganda that they are fighting to overthrow international finance and the contention of our own propaganda that we are fighting to restore freedom and democracy. He says that the propaganda of both sides hides the real struggle—the Capitalist rivalry for raw materials and markets. In saying this, Mr. Brockway is stating a half-truth, which is often the most dangerous of all falsehoods.

The Axis powers are undoubtedly fighting to secure raw materials. They are also fighting for markets, but for a reason different to that of the Democracies. The Axis Powers desire markets in order to obtain imports, but the financiers of the Democracies desire them mainly to secure a field for investment. Profit-making still goes on in Axis countries, but I do not think that in them the desire for profits is a major cause of the war. Mr. Brockway, however, overlooks the fact that it is precisely the jealousy and hostility of the international financiers and currency-speculators and of the Big Business monopolists associated with them, *that prevents the Axis Powers from getting their fair share of the world's raw materials and export markets* and for this reason they can say quite truthfully that international finance is their real enemy. As far as the Democracies are concerned, it is certainly quite correct to say that the real cause for the war, as it affects the men behind the scenes who are primarily responsible for it, is the desire to retain a selfish and undue share of raw materials, markets and profits and to this list Mr. Brockway might have added the immense power that accrues to the moneylender-cum-money-creator and to the Big Business monopolist who controls a great part of the world's supplies of such commodities as oil. What Mr. Brockway fails to take into account, however, is that the propaganda aims of the war—the restoration of liberty and democracy—albeit they are not the real aims of those primarily responsible for the war, *are the real aims of those whose continued support is indispensible to the financiers if their war is to be continued.* Once it became apparent that the Axis Powers would restore a reasonable measure of liberty as part of the peace settlement, I do not think that even the majority of Members of Parliament would be in favour of continuing the war, for, completely destitute as they are of intelligent imagination and, in certain directions, not over-endowed with principle either, I am willing to credit them with sincerity in the emotional outbursts against Axis tyranny in which, under the inspiration of the Press, they so freely indulge.

Another critic of my views, Mr. Don McGregor, puts forward the curious idea that labour is displaced by the system of private ownership and control motivated by profit and not by the use of machinery and the utilisation of the forces of nature in human service. How any intelligent person can maintain such an opinion in view of labour-destroying inventions such as a huge turbine engine in the United States of such power that, with the addition of three similar engines, it would represent a greater energy capacity than that of the entire working population of the United States, it is difficult to see. Obviously such a piece of machinery cannot, either in its manufacture or its tending, employ anything like the total number of human workers that its labour displaces. Mr. McGregor also takes me up for employing the phrase, "unfair exploitation," and appears to suggest that I believe in an exploitation which is fair. This, however, I have never suggested. If one employs the phrase "an unscrupulous rogue," it does not usually suggest to the impartial mind that one thinks that some rogues can be scrupulous!

"MORE HUMBUG"

By

The Rev. W. GRAINGE WHITE

(Vicar of Haughley.)

[. . . The Rev. Walter Grainge White was ordained at Lincoln, in 1906. In 1908 he became a chaplain at Moulmein, Rangoon, and retained that post until 1913. in that year he became a missionary on the Rapurnium River to Makucki Indians, and continued as missionary till 1915. The next year he became Acting Chaplain to H.M. Penal Settlement, British Guiana. In 1917, he returned to Britain and was appointed Curate at Deddington. In 1922 he became Vicar of St. Mary's, Haughley.—Ed.]

In 1924, the year in which J. Ramsay Macdonald became the first Labour Premier of Great Britain, I was staying, for a few days, with the Vicar of one of our Abbey Churches. We were talking about Macdonald. At first, my host thought that, being an Anglican Priest, I must be a diehard Tory. (As a matter of fact I belong to no Political Party at all, for the honest reason that I can not be loyal to the *shibboleths* of any of the existing Political Parties.) When my host thought that I was rather more open-minded, he opened out. And this is what he said (referring to Macdonald):

"They will not argue with him. They will not tell him that he is wrong. They will not try to put him right. But . . . . they will invite him to dinner."

They did this, with the results that are, now, matters of Historical Record.

So many men lose their balance when they change their social surroundings. Peter did so once and was rebuked for this lapse by Paul. The late Arthur Henderson and George Lansbury never lapsed. They realised that *one never abandons principle.* One does abandon professions which one has not regarded as principles, but professions which were mere opportunist, or due to insufficient knowledge.

A few years ago, I was asked by a Day School Teacher to help to convert her sister and brother-in-law to sign the Peace Pledge. As my relationship to her brother-in-law was an official one, I would do nothing of the kind. Coercion, direct, or indirect, will not secure the maintenance of any principle. Since the war has started, I have met this teacher. When I remarked that we were passing through difficult times she blandly replied: "Oh! I have changed my mind."

Then it is clear that she did not sign the Peace Pledge because she was convinced that, as the Lambeth Conference of 1930 declared, "*War is contrary to the Will of God.*"

But those who signed the Peace Pledge and have since "changed their minds" (I wonder if they would be prepared to be examined by a Psycho-analyst?) do not constitute the worst aspect of humbug.

Far worse are those who hurl abusive epithets about and try to make out that folk who, years ago, saw that "War is contrary to the Will of God," and know that God can have no part in helping some of His children to destroy, mutilate and ruin others of His children, and, since war has been declared, have maintained their principles, are "Fifth Columnists," "Pro-Nazis," and (the form of abuse used amongst Clergy) "Heretics." This last term of abuse has appeared in a Church Weekly. Sacred Scripture may not be the vogue. And the Theology of Israel was, until after the Captivity, monolatrist and not monotheist; but, nevertheless, had the King of Judah listened to the political advice of the prophet Jeremiah (*vide* Chapter xxxviii.) then the History of those days would not have taken the turn recorded in Chapter xxxix. Similarly, had Ahab listened to the political advice of Micah he would not have fallen at Ramoth-Gilead. Both prophets in their days, were regarded as being *unpatriotic*! A prophet is not necessarily an ordained Preacher. Amos was not.

When, in this Suffolk Parish, I was striving to obtain those decent conditions of living promised so stridently to the men of England during the "War to end war,"—(I came here at the end of 1921)—I was violently opposed. Legal aid was obtained to object to our having proper arrangements for disposal of sewage (bedroom slops and all other slops were piped into the storm-water channels—open channels—on either side of the main street, and the stench was abominable) at the Inquiry held by the Ministry of Health. Similar legal aid was engaged to oppose, at another Inquiry held by The Ministry, our having a deep bore well and a proper water-supply, piped to street standards. (We now have houses served.) What was the abuse then? I was a "Red" and a "Bolshie." This was the common talk of the Village Inn and Reading-room. But History pays no respect to Falsehoods. And, now, even Beaverbrook, whose paper certainly used not to laud the Bolshies, tells us what a pleasant man Stalin is and how capable.

But Beaverbrook is not being put to a concentration camp. And why not? The answer is that the former abuse of Russia was humbug. It was based upon ignorance of the masses and the fear of certain folk who knew, or guessed, that the Soviet System was a menace to their vested interests.

Times have changed.

But what useful deductions can be made?

First of all, the need for a proper knowledge of events preceding any Revolution . . . whether the French, the Italian, the German, or the Russian. We can not *condone* the *methods;* but we can *understand* them. And we must recall the fact that, at one period of our History, we had a Dictator, Oliver Cromwell. His work included many horrible and ugly happenings; but it was not devoid of lasting benefits to this beloved Land of ours. We can hardly affirm that Charles II, who followed on, had a Court of which England should be ever proud!

The second deduction is—and it is essentially a principle of Divine Love—that we need to cultivate a sympathetic understanding of other peoples, their hardships, their outlook, and their aspirations.

The third is: That differences are by no means always antagonistic. More often than not they are complementary. The task before us should be to find the synthesis. Then the good in each will be enjoyed by all.

Some years ago, Mrs. Chandra Sen (whose husband was a Leader in the Brahma Somaj ("Indian Theistic Church" is a convenient explanatory expression), was lecturing in England. She sought to explain India to the women of England. I took the trouble to go to London to have a talk with her. And I recall the words which she uttered at a Public Meeting.

"We want your sympathetic understanding. We do not want your pity. We resent it."

There is no quarrel, when one *understands,* between the "Personal Idealism and Mysticism" of Inge and the "Pragmatism" of William James. This I have been able publicly to demonstrate.

Those engaged in conducting the war concentrate upon the ways of "winning the war." They feel that they are paid to do this.

But if we are to "win the peace" this time, we must clear our minds of falsehoods, half-truths and humbug, and see the principles which alone can bring peace. How many people know the meaning of the word "Peace?" The Dictionary gives no guide at all. Dictionaries are often wrong. They are in regard to the derivation of the word "Educate."

If, because we seek to think the Truth, and to try to help others to do the same, we are abused, we remind ourselves that their abuse of us is not evidence of the truth of the outlook of the abusers. People who have no case resort to abuse.

Often such people will not allow us even to remind them that if we see our own faults of the past and in the present, we have a right to speak because we are not cuckoos. *We are birds of the nest.* Parents who care for their children will not fail to help them to see their faults. They wish their children to overcome their faults and to become better and greater.

Herbert Morrison might think of this. During the last war, he spoke vehemently against war. Was he incarcerated? I think not. He will deserve better of his Country if he allows to others the freedom which he enjoyed . . . and became the better citizen for this liberty. But it would appear that his then denunciation of war was not because he regarded it wrong in principle but only in policy.

If we are abused, we recollect that abuse is, simply, "More humbug."

BRIXTON PRISON CONDITIONS.

At West Ham Police Court, London, on Tuesday, January 27 last, three conscientious objectors were each fined £15 or one month's imprisonment. They were: Frederick J. Pimm, 36, of 36 Windermere Gardens, Ilford; Arthur L. Cole, 37, of 122 Wanstead Park Avenue, Wanstead; H. Rainbow, 34, of 233 Wilmington Gardens, Barking.

The magistrate was Mr. S. A. John Morrow.

Rainbow complained that in Brixton prison he had spent three nights lying on a stone floor. He suffered from hemorrhage, and came to court with no breakfast. He had been two days without food. "I have had a week in the company of a vast majority of bugs," he added.

Cole said he had had no sleep at all in seven days. As he seemed on the point of collapse, he was allowed to sit down and drink a glass of water. When he recovered he said "I am not in a fit state to defend myself, due to the conditions of Brixton gaol."

The Magistrate said that these matters had nothing to do with the charge.

But they call for public investigation. What has our ex-conscientious objector Labour Home Secretary to say?

Glasgow F.O.R. Percy Bartlett, the Author and Social Worker will address a meeting at the Y.W.C.A., 80 Bath Street, on Tuesday evening, 10th March, at 7-30, when all interested friends are invited.

United Socialist Movement. Meetings every Sunday, 106 George St., Glasgow, C.1, 7-30 p.m. questions, discussions. Study Circle, Thursdays, 8 p.m. Group meetings. Mondays, 8 p.m. Comrades wishing to become national members should write Secretary, enclosing stamp for reply.

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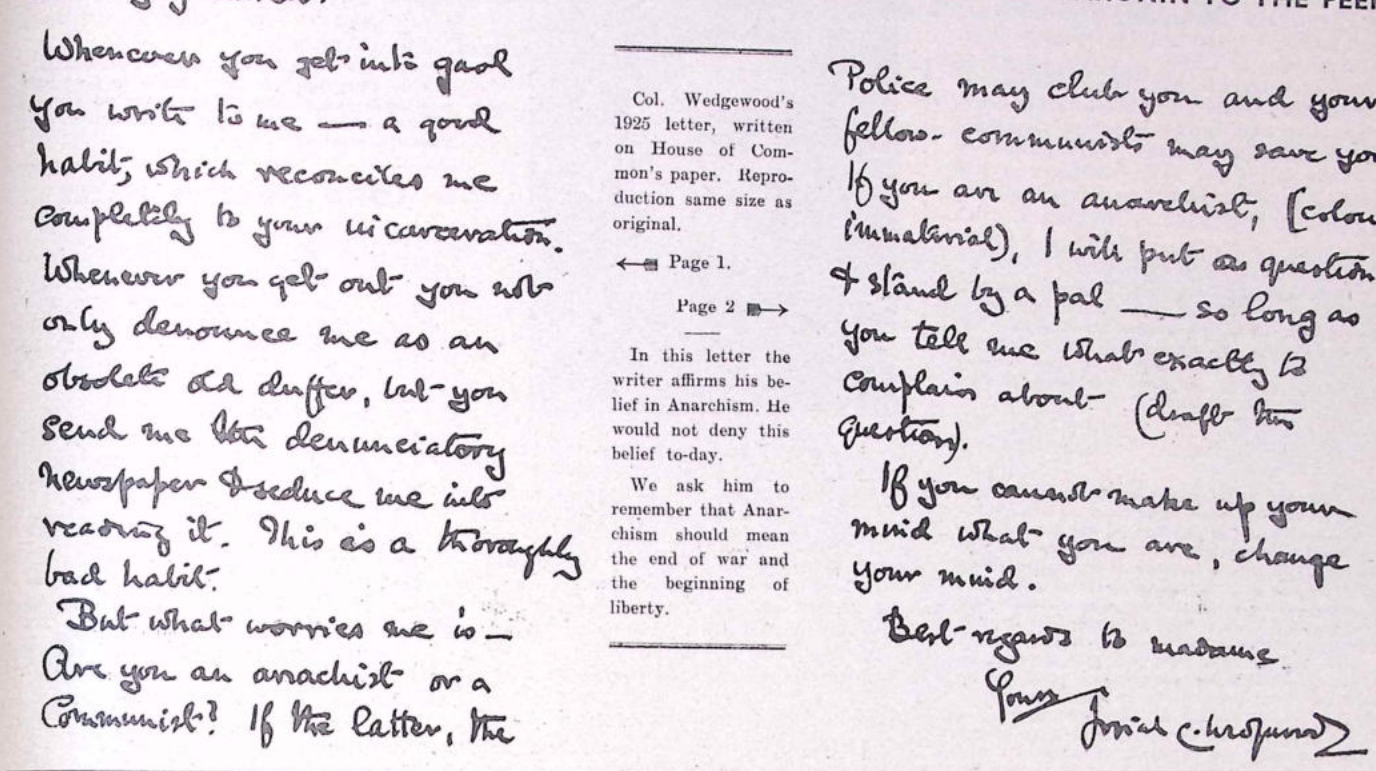
AN ANARCHIST PEER!

WILL LORD WEDGEWOOD READ BAKUNIN TO THE PEERS?



26-2-25.

Dear Guy Aldred.

Whenever you get into gaol you write to me — a good habit, which reconciles me completely to your incarceration. Whenever you get out you not only denounce me as an obsolete old duffer, but you send me the denunciatory newspaper & seduce me into reading it. This is a thoroughly bad habit.

But what worries me is — Are you an anarchist or a Communist? If the latter, the Police may club you and your fellow-communists may save you. If you are an anarchist, [colour immaterial], I will put a question & stand by a pal — so long as you tell me what exactly to complain about — (draft the question).

If you cannot make up your mind what you are, change your mind.

Best regards to Madame

Yours

Josiah C. Wedgewood

Col. Wedgewood's 1925 letter, written on House of Common's paper. Reproduction same size as original.

← Page 1.

Page 2 →

In this letter the writer affirms his belief in Anarchism. He would not deny this belief to-day.

We ask him to remember that Anarchism should mean the end of war and the beginning of liberty.

THE NEW "SOCIALIST" PEERS

It was announced officially on December 31 last that four members of the Labour Party had been created peers.

(1). *Reginald T. H. Fletcher,* M.P. for Nuneaton. The peerage followed an announcement that he had resigned his position as Parliamentary Private Secretary to the Admiralty and no longer wished to be styled Lieut.-Commander Fletcher. He made his first and last speech in the role of "Mr." at Dagenham on December 21. In that speech he denounced want of pre-war preparation for war, and added :—

The First Lord (Mr. Alexander) has great qualities of energy and determination, but he is Alexander not Aladdin, and he has no magic lamp he can rub to produce new ships for old or cause an aircraft carrier to appear wherever she is wanted.

Fletcher was born on March 27, 1885. He entered the Navy in 1899, served in the world war, and retired in 1921. He contested Basingstoke twice and Tavistock once, as a Liberal. In 1929 he joined the Labour Party. From 1935 to the date of his peerage he was Labour M.P. for Nuneaton. One can hardly refer to his Socialist thought or Labour traditions. Indeed, his status and elevation are a satire on Labour Parliamentary politics and records.

(2). *Wedgewood Benn,* M.P. for Gorton since 1937. Benn was born on May 10, 1877. He was liberal M.P. for St. George's Division, Tower Hamlets, 1906-1918, and for Leith, 1918-27. In the latter year he joined the Labour Party, and became Labour M.P. for North Aberdeen, 1928-31. From 1929-31 he was Secretary of State for India. Benn has a scholastic record and won much military honour during the Great War. He has rendered no life-long service to Socialism and possesses little real knowledge of Socialist thought and teaching.

Benn took part in the Commons debate on E.P.A. regulations, following the collapse after betrayal of the Miners' Strike, and opposed their renewal on the ground that they were unnecessary. Here is an excerpt from this speech (Official Report, July 5. 1926, Col. 1732) :—

The Common Law and the ordinary procedure is quite sufficient to deal with these cases. If hon. members imagine that people who make foolish or disloyal speeches cannot be dealt with under these Regulations they should read their newspapers more carefully. They will find that almost every week, certainly every month, some person is prosecuted. I give as an example Mr. Guy Aldred, who makes what in my judgment are remarkably foolish speeches but he is summonsed for inciting a breach of the peace.

We wondered why Captain Benn, as he was known then, had to introduce our name so gratuitously into this debate.

(3). *Colonel Josiah Clement Wedgewood* has been mentioned in our columns in connection with our 1921 Sedition trial. He was M.P. for Newcastle-Under-Lyme, to the date of his peerage, since 1906, first Liberal and then Labour.

Descendant of the celebrated potter, he was born on March 16, 1872. Wedgewood has had a distinguished naval record and served in the first Great War.

Wedgewood was Resident Magistrate at Ermelo, Transvaal, 1902-4.

A disciple of Henry George, he is President of the English League for the Taxation of Land Values.

A militarist in action, he defends anti-militarism and boldly championed conscientious objectors during the years 1916-1918 and has defended their successors since the outbreak of the present war.

Despite his militarism, he is interested in Anarchists and Anarchism.

Wedgewood is one of the few outspoken men in British Parliamentary politics. He is the only really interesting man among the new peers, the only one possessing genuine personality and vigour of expression, even though what he says may seem sometimes to be outrageous and contrary to his actions. He was one of the few M.P.'s who manage to command occasional respect and to cause his audience to suspect that he might possess a little sincerity. With pugnacity he combined wit and charm.

When Emma Goldman came to London in 1926, after her exile from the Soviet Union, and addressed a decidedly Anti-Proletarian audience at South Place Institute, on Thursday, January 29 of that year, on *The Bolshevik Myth*—a sound enough subject—Wedgewood took the chair. We dealt with this matter in *The Commune*, Vol. ii. No. 6, p. 59, February, 1926. About this time, Wedgewood also attended the inaugural meeting of an Anti-Fascist movement in London. Goldman has written of Wedgewood at length with a sense of indebtedness to his understanding and consideration.

When we were arrested for speaking in Hyde Park in February, 1925, on a series of counts that combined riot, sedition, and blasphemy, Wedgewood was asked to raise the matter. He addressed to us, from the House of Commons, the following typical letter :—

House of Commons,
26/2/25.

Dear Guy Aldred,

Whenever you get into gaol you write to me—a good habit, which reconciles me completely to your incarceration. Whenever you get out you not only denounce me as an obsolete old duffer, but you send me the denunciatory newspaper and seduce me into reading it. This is a thoroughly bad habit.

But what worries is—Are you an Anarchist or a Communist? If the latter, the Police may club you and your fellow Communists may save you. If you are an Anarchist (colour immaterial), I will put a question and stand by a pal—so long as you tell me exactly what to complain about (draft the question).

If you cannot make up your mind what you are, change your mind.

Best regards to Madame,

Yours,

JOSIAH C. WEDGEWOOD.

When Morel was prosecuted and imprisoned in 1917, Wedgewood defended Morel against his accusers and slanderers, in a powerful speech made in the House of Commons, on October 31, 1917. We excerpt a passage :—

"I am proud of my country and her traditions and history, but the imprisonment of E. D. Morel will go down to succeeding generations as one of the most serious blots on the history of this country."

The Anarchist has reached the House of Lords. We shall read his questions and speeches with interest.

(4). *Charles Latham*, leader of the London County Council since 1940. Born December 26, 1888. Joined the Labour Party in 1905. At one time a member of, and in 1915, President of the National Union of Clerks. Devoted himself to London Municipal life, and, through his work as an accountant, seems to have become an active business man, and director of several companies and manufacturing concerns. The account of his career in *Who's Who* displays no real interest in Socialist thought or struggle, despite his proletarian beginnings in Norwich.

The official notice from 10 Downing Street, making known these peerages, said :—

"These creations are not made as political honours or rewards but as a special measure of State policy. They are designed to strengthen the Labour Party in the Upper House where its representation is disproportionate at a time when a coalition Government of three Parties is charged with the direction of affairs."

Commenting on the creations, and this announcement, *The Patriot*, for January 1, 1942, says :—

In olden and better days peerages were conferred on those who had spent their lives in the service of the country and in building up the Empire. This fine idea of recognition of work well done brought into the Upper House the pick of the nation. Subsequently, and to a disgraceful extent a generation ago, the country witnessed the sales of what were called honours when all idea of honour was lacking. Now we have come to a new reason for the making of peers, and we have been told that the creation of four new Socialist peers was "designed to strengthen the Labour Party in the Upper House, where its representation is disproportionate at a time when a Coalition Government of three parties is charged with the direction of affairs." The excuse seems inadequate, and, it would be thought, would make little appeal to anyone but the cynic. In the first place, we have had Coalition Governments before this, when such creations did not take place, and the present Coalition is temporary, whereas the peerages are as permanent as nature will allow. In the second place, in a crisis like the present there is supposed to be a truce in politics, and the case is not easy to make out for one party to be strengthened when there should be no party, and only men of outstanding ability are required to direct the affairs of the nation. Such men once proved could be given honours at the time when these are usually conferred. In the present case the idea of reward for services has gone, nor is there any suggestion of honour being given where honour is due.

We are not sure about the older and better days. The pick of the nation often rotted in poverty and the jail. We agree, however, that there used to be a pretence of reward for services rendered; and that, in the present case, the pretence is not advanced. Either we are growing more cynical or else more nakedly and unashamedly honest in our political misdeeds.

It is to be noted that when the new "Socialist" peers took their seats in the House of Lords, they did so with the usual ceremony, and each one took the oath. At least Lord Wedgewood should have contented himself with a simple affirmation. As reported in our February issue, the Duke of Bedford, on taking his seat, dispensed with all ceremony and contented himself with a simple affirmation. If the Duke could leave out God's name, why could not the alleged Socialists?

By GUY A. ALDRED.

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PETER SHAND

Our Comrade Peter Shand appeared before the Glasgow Local Tribunal in June, 1941. In many cases this Tribunal has reached understanding decisions. In Shand's case, although we should have thought that his sincerity was obvious, the Tribunal reached an adverse decision. Shand did not appeal. In due course he was called up for military service. He endeavoured to silence his anti-militarist objections but found that it was impossible to do so. On his last Glasgow leave Comrade Shand visited the Strickland Press and said that he was returning to his regiment to declare his conscientious objection. This was on February 7.

Shand returned to his regiment and refused a command on 10th February. His letters from Gosforth will enable readers to follow his adventures since he took his stand definitely for conscience :—

13/2/1942. 9-30 p.m. I was taken before the Major this morning. I stated that I had disobeyed the command of the officer because I was a C.O. to war, and not through any personal animosity. He remarked that, in this case, he could do nothing but take me before the Commanding Officer. I made a similar statement to the latter, supplementing it by explaining that I registered as a conscientious objector and appeared before the Glasgow Local Tribunal. I was refused exemption. After a talk with my father I decided to submit to militarism. On entry into the army, I tried to adapt myself to army life and to be in harmony with the demands and requirements of militarism and war. Each day I found my surrender of principle growing more and more impossible. Finally, I resolved to disobey military commands.

The Commanding Officer was impatient at my explanation and barked out finally: "Do you realise what is happening at Singapore?" He then asked if I would accept his punishment or did I want a Court-Martial. I replied that I wanted a Court-Martial. I was taken to the Battery Headquarters and now I am in the guard-room.

I get on champion with the lads and I have been very polite in my actions, making clear that my opposition is firm against militarism, but is not personal against anyone. They know that I regard them as my comrades and friends, oppressed under an evil social system. I feel quite at one with myself now I have taken my stand and I am not afraid of any punishment. I have managed to get a book to read, by Raphael Sabatina, "Captain Blood," and I am reading that to pass the time. Cheerio Comrade! Yours in thought!

SATURDAY, 14/2/42. It is now Saturday and I've been inspected by the troop officer to see that I am properly dressed and clean. I was taken before the Major, who is acting for the Colonel. He asked me if I still thought the same. I said: "Yes, and I still want a Court-Martial." I am to be taken to headquarters to hear the evidence read and checked.

17/2/42. I received your letter of the 16th this morning. I was very glad to hear from you. Comrade John Morley visited me yesterday afternoon. We had a chat for a few minutes and I gave him some notes concerning what had happened. I hope he sees me again soon.

The priest visited me this morning. I must say I enjoyed our chat together. As he was leaving, he said that if I wanted anything, I was not to be afraid to ask him. This afternoon I was medically examined. It is now 4 p.m., and rolling on to bed-time.

WEDNESDAY, 18/2/42. I believe Comrade Morley will help all he can. I have refused to have a defending officer, as I believe in relying on the advice and assistance of Comrade Morley. We are better to keep to ourselves.

Our loyal and consistent comrade, John Morley, as soon as he heard of Comrade Shand's situation visited him. He saw Shand. Comrade Morley concludes a long letter, dated February 16, with the promise :—

"We will see that Shand is well looked after and will do everything for him. He is in good health and spirits and seems eager to see the thing through to the end this time. Will write further as the situation develops."

LORD HUGH RUSSELL

Lord Hugh Hastings Russell, the younger son of the Duke of Bedford, may, before long, be coming in for his share of persecution as a C.O.

He appeared before the East Anglian Tribunal at Cambridge on Thursday, February 12. He asked for total exemption but was given whole-time civil defence.

A student of mechanical science at Christ's College, Cambridge, he said he was a Christian Pacifist, and wanted complete exemption. He was prepared to make any sacrifice to help reconstruction after the war, but he would not assist the cause of war in any way at all.

Professor J. H. Clapham, a member of the Tribunal, said :—

Your objection appears to be to fit yourself for a good job after the war!

A wise saying reminds us that people who live in glass houses ought not to throw stones. It could have been retorted on the Professor that he was enjoying a good job during the war; a very comfortable by-product of war. For the rest, if the war continues long enough, there may be no job after the war anywhere. Civilisation will be reduced to a desolation, thanks to wisdom like that uttered by the most learned professor.

Naturally, Lord Hugh Russell is appealing against this decision.

Canon C. E. Raven, Master of Christ's College, accompanied Russel and was himself abused for doing so.

Canon Raven said that he was convinced of Russell's sincerity, the genuineness of his Christian belief, and his honesty in trying to face the issue.

Judge Lawson Campbell, the Chairman, commented :

"It seems to me rather nasty and selfish."

One who was present writes :—

"It was a disgraceful performance. Clapham, the University member, shouted and raged at Russell without any sort of provocation—a real attempt to bully and blackguard the boy. He stood up to it very well, quietly and pluckily, but the result was a foregone conclusion. Indeed, I am surprised that he was not struck off the register altogether. Canon Raven spoke in his support and was rather browbeaten."

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The Kaiser's Call Against Japan "The Yellow Peril"

In 1908, the Kaiser collaborated in producing—and signed as the reader will see—this drawing called "THE YELLOW PERIL." It is inscribed "NATIONS OF EUROPE! JOIN IN THE DEFENCE OF YOUR FAITH AND YOUR HONOUR!"

The Kaiser protested against British Statesmen and his uncle, Edward VII., signing a treaty with Japan. He declared that the treaty with Japan menaced the British Empire and the White Nations, including the United States of America. He denounced as "A TRAITOR TO THE WHITE MAN'S CAUSE" any European Statesman who made a treaty with Japan against any other white nation.

"A TRAITOR TO THE WHITE MAN'S CAUSE"

Kaiser's View of Man who would Make Japanese Alliance.

HISTORIC INTERVIEW THAT WAS SUPPRESSED

In his drive for power and empire in the name of the so-called Germanic race, Hitler has completed an all-embracing military alliance with the Nipponese of Japan. The menace of this alliance is being discussed now in the United States of America and all parts of the British Empire. At such a time of crisis it is instructive, and of more than academic value, to recall an almost unknown chapter of history which throws considerable light on to-day's events.

The Hitler programme is not new. It embodies the dream, and continues much of the policy, of William II., Emperor of Germany, who, in 1914, protested against "encirclement," proclaimed his faith in power politics, and worshipped the image of the Teuton supreme. The Kaiser scorned the British, but he warned Britain and Europe against the Japanese. He distrusted the Japanese, called them yellow devils, and was obsessed by the "Yellow Peril." And so Britain and Italy combined with America and Japan to destroy the Kaiser. To-day the Kaiser's warning makes interesting reading.

William II. succeeded to the German throne in 1888, at the age of 29. He was ambitious, arrogant, aggressive. He disliked Bismarck, retired him from political life, undid his policy of isolating France, and alienated Britain and Russia. He acquired a naval base and trade centre in China, and threatened the United States' influence in the Philippines. He saw 16 million Germans in middle Europe outside the German Empire and evolved a policy for German dominance in Europe and Asia, extending all the way to the Ottoman Empire. The Berlin-Baghdad railway became the symbol of this policy of development and expansion. Britain checked that programme. The Kaiser protested against "encirclement"! Britain proposed naval limitation, and made a treaty with Japan. Such was the situation in June, 1908.

Theodore Roosevelt was President in the United States. William Bayard Hale was an ordained United States minister who had turned to journalism. He had worked for several magazines and for *The New York World;* had been managing editor of *The Philadelphia Public Ledger* four years, and had served as Paris correspondent of the New York *Times*. He was well acquainted in Europe, and was sent there to write a special series of articles about the Kaiser's daily life. He arrived in Germany early in July,

1908, and learned that the Kaiser was willing to grant him a political interview. He objected to articles on his daily life.

On July 19 the Kaiser was at Bergen, Norway, on the imperial yacht, Hohenzollern. Hale secured an audience, through his friendship with General von Lowenfeld, Commander of the Prussian Guard Corps, and Privy Councillor von Ihne, Court Architect. The audience lasted two hours.

The Kaiser wanted this interview to be published. But it was suppressed on the demand of the German Foreign Office, which overruled the Kaiser's wishes, and of the President of the United States, Theodore Roosevelt. Had the responsible editors of *The New York Times* published that interview the superficial course of history might have been different, and two world wars might have been avoided. *The Kaiser's opinions ought to have been published fully and freely, whether they were right or wrong.*

Down to the day of his death in 1935, the documents of the Kaiser's interview—letters, notes, and memoranda—rested in the personal files of Adolph S. Ochs, publisher of *The New York Times.* Four years later they were discovered—in June, 1939—during the process of classifying the contents of these files.

On July 20, 1908, Ochs received a note from William C. Reick, one of *The New York Times* executives, which said in part :—

Last night I received the following cable (from Hale): "Just had two hours audience with Emperor. Result so startling that I hesitate to report it without censorship of Berlin."

Reick replied that there must not be *"even appearance betrayed confidence,"* and that Hale must consult Lowenfeld and David James Hill, the United States Ambassador to Germany.

While waiting on the cable from Reick, Hale was busy, in his Bergen hotel, making a 5000-word transcript of his conversation with the Kaiser. They had walked the deck of the yacht as the Kaiser talked clearly and definitely in English.

When he had finished his record of the conversation, Hale wrote a letter to Reick, in which he said :—

The Emperor talked to me eagerly for nearly two hours. He is exceedingly bitter against England and full of the Yellow Peril.

Among other things, the Kaiser said to Hale :

KAISER'S STATEMENT.

Everybody understands what must come to pass between Asia and the West, the Yellow race and the White. It is imbecile folly for us to close our eyes to the inevitable. We are unworthy of our fathers if we are negligent of the sacred duty of preserving the civilization which they have achieved for us, and the religion which God has given us.

All the world understands that the gravest crisis in the destiny of the earth's population is at hand. The first battle has been fought. Unfortunately, it was not won. Russia was fighting the White Man's battle. Many did not see it then—all do now. What a pity it was not fought better! What a misfortune! My God! I wish my battalions could have had a chance at them! We would make short work of it.

The danger to us is not Japan, but Japan at the head of a consolidated Asia. The control of China by Japan—which is sharply and bitterly antagonistic to the White Man's civilization—that would be the worst calamity that could threaten the world. We shall be wise if we divide the East against itself. That means, at this stage of the game, that we must not allow China and Japan to get together, either fraternally or one inside the other. The particular duty which the White Man owes himself at this moment is to prevent Japan's swallowing China.

It's no good talking about Great Britain. England is a traitor to the White Man's cause. The ninnies there have got that government in an absolute impossible position. I tell you that empire is going to pieces on this rock. If that alliance of theirs with Japan is persisted in, I don't see how the British Empire can be saved from dismemberment. When self-interest enters the door, sentimental patriotism flies out of the window.

I know that British Columbia has made it plain that it must be handled very tenderly or it will be lost to the empire. . . .

In India conditions at this hour even as they are publicly known are worrying Englishmen. If they knew the whole truth, they would be more than worried. The peculiar danger there springs directly from the fact that the British Government has made an alliance with Japan. It has done this, it has exchanged honours and pledges of friendship, on the basis of equality, with one Asiatic people, whilst it holds another Asiatic people in bondage.

The long slumbering disaffection in India has been fanned to a blazing spirit of rebellion through the use of this humiliating argument.

Now, mind you, I don't believe that public opinion is behind this treaty in England, but the ninnies who run the government are determined to stick to it. So long as they do stick to it, England is in the position of a traitor to the White Man's cause.

This was very effective criticism from the standpoint of Western imperialism. Those who believe in such imperialism, if they were really propagandists, would remind the Fascist peoples of the Kaiser's reasoning to-day.

After pointing out the common interests, largely of race, that linked Germany and the United States of America, the Kaiser continued to expound the white man's philosophy of Imperial domination as well as any British jingo could do it. He said :—

Oh, it will come out all right. The future belongs to the White race. It does not belong to the Yellow nor the Black nor the Olive coloured. It belongs to the Blond Man and it belongs to Christianity and to Protestantism. We are the only people who can save it. There is no power in any other civilization or any other religion that can save humanity, and the future belongs to us—the Anglo—Teuton, the man who comes from Northern Europe.

The Kaiser spoke of his intense admiration for Theodore Roosevelt, the United States President, just as Winston Churchill speaks to-day of his intense admiration for Franklin Roosevelt, the United States President. He defended the idea of a dictator with zeal in the following remarks, often echoed in essence by the enemies of democracy that have risen in different parts of the world since the conclusion of the Great War that deposed the Kaiser and sent him into a long exile, terminated only by death :—

All the big things in the world are always done by just a man—one man—one strong personality. History in its times of crises cries out for a man. Everything waits until a great personality appears—nothing happens until there arises a man with burning convictions in his heart, a man of absolute fearlessness, a man who doesn't mind laughter, derision nor misunderstanding, nor abuse. A man who knows what he wants and goes straight for it. . . . That's the way of history.

That is the law of social progress—a big man has got to do everything. . . . I tell my people that it doesn't matter whether it is an empire or a republic. There has got to be one man to take the responsibility. Parliaments may criticize, Parliaments may hold back, Parliaments may be very wise—but Parliaments do not do things. You may gather all the wisdom in the world in a parliamentary chamber; but you will never get any action out of a parliamentary chamber. One man has got to lead.

The Kaiser spoke strongly against pacifism. He said :—

"In a world of practical facts, we have to fight even for righteousness' sake. The Bible is full of fighting—jolly good fights some of them were. It is a mistaken idea that Christianity has no countenance for war. Christianity inimical to all war! Why, the early Christians had no scruple about propagating the faith of the sword. We are ourselves Christians by reason of forcible conversion.

Mind, I don't advocte that method now, but how can our missionaries reach the barbarians unless we win and keep open a road for our missionaries, by force if necessary? I tell you, our religion wants us to employ in her behalf all the powers and gifts we possess—our knowledge, our science, our military skill.

Might not the result, for the Kaiser himself, for Germany, and for Europe have been better if he had been a little less willing *"to fight even for righteousness sake"*?

In his letter to Reick, Hale wrote :—

This interview is unquestionably of first importance. I realize it, so much so that I am leaving for Berlin to let the German Foreign Office object, if they want to (and I fear they will) BEFORE publication. No restrictions of any kind were laid on me, except that Baron von der Bussche of the Foreign Office said that I could not be received as a newspaperman. Everybody concerned knows that I am. . . .

I believe the Emperor was eager to talk for publication, and to be talked to. He hears little except through a court circle. The Foreign Office I feel will object, but I'll do the best I can at Berlin.

Hale consulted with the German Foreign Office. Four days later he wrote to *The New York Times* from Berlin :—

I have just been obliged to cable that the officials here absolutely forbid any publication regarding the audience with the Emperor. They are, in fact, horror-stricken at the idea of what he said to me being repeated even in private, and declare that the worst results would follow. Dr. Hill, to whom I had given a full account of the audience, is of the opinion that the Emperor was perfectly willing to be quoted.

The interview was not published. The Kaiser's warning against the Japanese alliance was buried in the files of the publisher of *The New York Times.* War came. Revolution followed. Counter-revolution succeeded. Hitler took the Kaiser's place. And Germany made the alliance that the Kaiser condemned Britain for making. In the Kaiser's words, and as a result of the policy of British diplomacy, Hitler is a traitor to the white man's cause. But are not all statesmen, careerists, and diplomats traitors to the white man's cause?

Japs knew all secrets of Java army

"1,000 AIRCRAFT COULD HAVE SAVED ISLAND"

Express Special Correspondent, RALPH JORDAN
WITH THE ALLIED FORCES,
SOUTH-WEST PACIFIC, Monday.

The above headings are reproduced, half-size, from the *Daily Express*, Glasgow edition, for March 10, 1942. We daresay that the same article and headings appeared in the London edition. The text explained how fighter aircraft could have saved Java.

In the same issue our contemporary published an interview with Dr. Van Mook, the Governor of the Netherlands East Indies, on his arrival at Adelaide, on Monday, March 9. Dr. Van Mook complained that the Dutch forces had *"only five fighters and three bombers."* He added :—

It is no use hiding the bitterness felt in Java; we were expecting more help.

The *Express* featured this interview beneath the heading :—

ONLY 8 PLANES LEFT IN JAVA

How far do the facts revealed in the Truman Report explain this sorry state of affairs? Does not this report call for full and sober discussion throughout Britain?

THE EDITOR REGRETS

Readers are asked to sympathise. Type is not elastic and space is limited. We have had to hold over several important essays, which were set for publication in this issue. These features have been sacrificed to the task of summarising and explaining fully the Truman Report and depicting United States "Big Business" Interests at work, destroying and profiting. Cold, unanswerable facts have been placed before our readers. We regret holding over essays planned for publication this month. But April's loss will be May's gain. We have had to postpone also till May the special November 1940 fund appeal. We asked for £1,971 11s. 3d. We are still short over £270. Perhaps the month will enable us to collect the amount needed.

Paper restrictions still further affect us. We are unwilling to reduce our size. We are using lighter paper. But we must decrease still further our circulation. We can supply only about one in twenty of our regular readers. And yet we must reach other workers and citizens who are thinking also. So perhaps you will lend this issue to your friend. And to your friend's friend. Lend it on—but get it back.

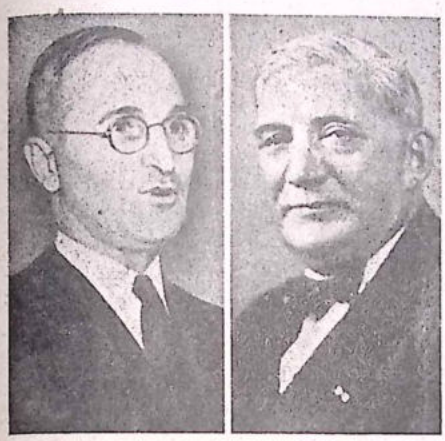
Cost of production has increased. Illustrations make this an expensive paper to produce. We carry no advertising. Losses are heavy in each issue. They are very heavy this month. Will you help? Our desire is to give readers a worthy and thoughtful sheet, to counteract the errors and follies of this period of crisis.

THE TRUMAN REPORT

ALL-OUT WAR PROFITEERING EXPOSED IN U.S. SENATE

"DOLLAR A-YEAR MEN" MENACE VICTORY EFFICIENCY

AUTO BOSSES DEMAND NEW PLANTS AS GIFT



Senator Harry S. Truman William S. Knudsen

Waste, inefficiency, self-interest, corruption, and criminal failure to serve or develop the national defence programme were charged in an interim report filed by the Senate's special investigating Committee of ten members at Washington on Thursday, January 15 last. The indictment was extensive. It criticised persons and conditions both inside and outside the Government. The investigation had extended over a period of nine months.

The Committee consisted of Senators Truman, of Missouri (Chairman, a Democrat), Conally, Wallgren, Mead, Brewster, Hatch, Herring, Kilgore, and Bone.

The Committee was submitted to considerable questioning by the members of the Senate.

The report stated that the O.P.M. (the Office of Production Management) failed to perform the administrative functions for which it was created and became a "rubber stamp" for War and Navy Department procurement policies, involving graft and incompetence.

DOLLAR-A-YEAR MEN.

A handful of giant monopoly corporations made tremendous war profits through "outrageous" contracts which they secured with the aid of the O.P.M. The O.P.M. was controlled

by persons holding important positions with large companies who were willing and anxious to serve on a dollar per year, or without compensation basis.

On January 5, 1942, there were 255 dollar-a-year men, and 631 "*without compensation*" men on the O.P.M.

dealing with matters involving the welfare of the class of clients by whom they were formerly employed and by whom they naturally expect to be employed in the future."

These men were "loaned" to the Government by the big capitalist corporations. They retained their remunerative business connections. They drew their company pay. *In some cases they received substantial pay increases for their services to the companies.*

The meaning of the "dollar-a-year man" is evidenced in the following list of some of the biggest companies which secured the lion's share of war contracts, as the Truman report shows, together with the amount of contracts they secured down to June, 1941, and the name of the dollar-a-year man they "loaned" to the United States Government from a sense of patriotism :—

Bethlehem Steel: $71,449,442—George F. Hocker.

Chrysler Corp.: $34,179,529—Edmund S. Chapman.

Crucible Steel: $14,184,481—Frank Spencer.

General Electric: $106,754,743—F. B. Cliffe and Carl Lynge.

General Motors: $324,403,009 — William Knudsen, E. F. Johnson, Frederick Horner, Benson Waderlow, Bayard B. Kunkle, and John Pratt.

Procter & Gamble: $24,720,000—Rich Duepree.

United Aircraft: $186,439,438—George J. Mead.

Westinghouse Electric: $37,747,430—E. C. Brandt.

On July 16, 1941, Bethlehem Steel had Navy contracts totalling $1,060,000,000. It estimated that its net profits, after all deductions, amounted to $59,233,000. This corporation—cited as "typical" in the Truman Report—held up expansion of steel production. In August, 1941, after months of denying the possibility of steel shortages, the O.P.M. admitted reluctantly that expansion of the steel industry was necessary.. At this date, Bethlehem Steel war orders had increased to $1,368,000,000, representing "staggering profits." *It refused to invest its own tremendous capital for plant expansion.* But it demanded that the U.S. Government build a $55,000,000 plant under contract terms which made the proposed plant a virtual gift to the company.

This "outrageous" demand led the Truman committee to conclude

"that Bethlehem was using the defense program to obtain, at Government expense, modern facilities which would have a material value in peace-time operations."

According to the terms of the contract drafted by Bethlehem—and approved by O.P.M. director Knudsen—the plant would be built on Bethlehem Steel land. The Government's lease on the land would end with the expiration or cancellation of Bethlehem's lease on the facilities. Thus, all the Government could do with the plant at the termination of the lease would be to remove it

"a right of dubious value, as the cost of removing the facilities might well approximate, if not exceed, the salvage value."

The plant, according to the contract, would be leased for 35 years, a period having "*no reasonable relation to the present emergency.*" The Government could not terminate the lease unless Bethlehem operated the plant at less than 25 per cent. capacity for five successive years and then the Government could remove the plant—at its own expense.

When the word was given out that the Truman committee intended to investigate the Navy contracts, several of the leading companies "voluntarily" hastened to the Navy to ask for a reduction in their contract fees.

The eagerness with which the Naval procurement committee sought to co-operate with the profiteering corporations is indicated by the fact that private companies were given contracts for 70 per cent. of the Navy's new tonnage, while the public yards were producing only 30 per cent. Instead of expanding the Government yards, "the Navy provided the bulk of the funds to expand the (private) shipyards." It costs from $8,000,000 to $10,000,000 more to build a battleship in a private than in a government yard.

Like Bethlehem Steel, with its over a billion dollars in war orders, the Aluminium Company of America, a 100 per cent. monopoly, blocked expansion in its industries until it secured from obliging O.P.M. and Defense Plant Corporation officials contracts giving it a huge new plant virtually as a gift at government expense.

Another failure listed against the O.P.M. in the Truman Report was in connection with the automobile industry.

The auto corporations did not turn down any juicy war contracts which were a "very important and profitable sideline of ordinary commercial activity." Nor did they exhibit excessive patriotism until the Government came across with the gift of new plants; however, the industry heads saw no harm in taking advantage of the war boom to concentrate on commercial production.

Between their "profitable sideline" and the expanded consumer market, the big three of the industry, General Motors, Ford, and Chrysler, raked in $430,604,778 profits in the first nine months of 1941 as compared with $408,212,589 for all of 1940 and $296,075,775 in 1939.

The auto industry knew that war was coming. It knew that it would be one of the basic war industries. But the auto barons delayed the job of conversion and waited for the Government to give them new plants. The automobile industry had a lot of idle tool makers and convertible unused facilities, but

"announcements were made to the effect that automobile plants could not produce tanks and airplanes, and that it was advisable and necessary to build new plants for that purpose."

The industry heads advised the O.P.M. that only ten per cent. of its tools could be utilized in the production of airplane engines. William Knudsen, former G.M. president and "*master of production,*" as Roosevelt has termed him, accepted the estimates of his former colleagues.

The Truman Committee says that

the information furnished to the Under-Secretary of War by the automobile companies and the Office of Production Management was quite inaccurate.

When war compelled the industry to discontinue auto production, the auto manufacturers and O.P.M. took

the position that the plants can in fact be convertible in a relatively short time.

Instead of considering the urgency of utilizing its facilities for defence production without waiting on Government aid, the industry concerned itself with the production of cars for private use and pleasure so thoroughly that it attained a peak in 1941 nearly as great as the total of 5,621,040 cars and trucks manufactured in 1929.

"*In plain language,*" adds the report, "*the job was not even started well.*"

The Army in purchasing land for camp sites used agents who were paid a percentage of the purchase price, and who naturally bought land at the highest possible price.

Among the outstanding Army contract cases cited by the report was that of the Wolf Creek and Milan ordnance plants in Tennessee. "Excessive costs" increased the originally estimated $35,741,000 cost of this project to almost $50,000,000.

The report explained these scandals by stating that the "dollar-a-year" men had the power and the tendency to favour big business.

"All important procurement contracts must be approved by these men, which means that contracts must conform to their theories of business. Since they represent the largest companies, this means that the defense program in all its ramifications must obtain the approval of the large companies."

The "dollar-a-year" and "without compensation" men running the war-production programme

subconsciously reflect the opinions and conclusions which they formerly reached as managers of large interests with respect to Government competition, with respect to taxation and amortization, with respect to the financing of new plant expansion, and with respect to the margin of profits which should be allowed on war contracts.

Even when they could not pass the contract formally to their companies, they knew

what type of contracts the government is about to let and how their companies may best proceed to obtain consideration.

They also are in an excellent position to know what shortages are imminent and to advise their companies on how best to proceed, either to build up inventories against future shortages, or to apply for early consideration of priorities. They can even advise them as to how to phrase their request for priorities. In addition, such men are frequently close personal friends and social intimates of the dollar-a-year and no-compensation men who do pass on the contracts in which their companies are interested.

"FREE SERVICE" PRACTICE CONDEMNED.

The committee declared that it was opposed to the Government taking free services "from persons with axes to grind," and recommended that if the Government retained the services of "dollar-a-year" and "without-compensation" men it paid them salaries and required them to

give up their private business and industry salaries.

This was a prelude to charges which startled the Senate.

"FRANTIC" PRODUCTION WITHOUT RESULTS.

After two years of "frantic" production effort, the report asserted, there were too few airplanes "*to allow adequate flying time to our own pilots.*" This situation could not be blamed upon aircraft shipments under the lease-lend programme.

While these shortages persisted *there were more than sixty small aircraft manufacturing companies, capable of turning out at least 2000 planes a month, frozen out of the programme.*

Since 1939 the aircraft industry in the United States had all the military and naval construction business it could handle,

and since May, 1940, when the President requested an air force of 50,000 planes and an industry geared to the production of 50,000 planes annually, the armed services have had more money for airplanes than they could contract to spend. . . .

Apparently, there never has been and is not now any real planned and co-ordinated program for the procurement of aircraft. Our services have merely purchased what the manufacturer had to offer instead of planning to use available facilities to produce what they needed at maximum capacity.

Though it was seemingly created to organize and manage production facilities, it appears that, as far as aircraft production is concerned, the Office of Production Management simply acted as a rubber stamp for the service agencies, allowing them to follow their own policies of procurement.

There is a tendency throughout to place everything on order wherever possible, and put the sole responsibility for delivery on a few large producers. They tend to select a few producers and expand them to the limit without regard to delivery dates, . . . and the possibility of future expansion to meet unforeseen needs.

At the present time, everything is being done that can be done under existing conditions to speed production by nineteen favored manufacturers of military aircraft.

The report added that "the more than sixty aircraft companies in the country" already mentioned were being crushed out of business, their plants wasted,

while we are still placing billions of dollars with these nineteen aircraft manufacturers for planes to be delivered in 1944 or after, and have spent almost a billion in financing their plant expansion.

The report turned to the scandal of obsolete planes. *The U.S.A. Services had purchased obsolete models, totalling 75 per cent. of war production, from the "favoured" corporations.* Recent events and the aviation aspects of its investigation were summarised in this trenchant paragraph :—

Not only has it been shown that we have not had a great "quantity of planes in action," but information made available to the public demonstrates that too many of the ships used were of types long considered by our armed forces to be obsolete.

The plain and distasteful truth of our situation was indicated by Major Gen. Henry H. Arnold in a speech delivered in October and subsequently released to the press. General Arnold said: "A shortage of equipment has been acute and a very dangerous threat to pilot morale. . . ."

Aircraft companies explained that quantity had been sacrificed to quality in plane building. The report denied this excuse, and added :—

In the heavy bomber field production has been standardized on two types which are being manufactured by several companies. These types are generally considered as being equal to or superior to any such plane produced elsewhere. In other bomber types we are producing at least one model of each type which is generally rated above similar types of foreign manufacture.

The report quoted General Arnold—"*the highest officer in the air forces*"—to the effect that the pursuit ship had been allowed to "*drift in the doldrums.*" Continuing to quote Arnold, the report added :—

We no longer rate the (name deleted) as better than a good pursuit trainer, because of its limitations in speed, ceiling and fire power.

Of the future of this inadequate plane, the report said :—

Unless service procurement policies are changed, this ship will constitute more than half of our total pursuit production until the end of 1942, when the company which builds it is scheduled to begin production on a model which may be equal to present-day fighting needs. . . .

On the drawing boards we have many high performing pursuit ships, but in January, 1942, very few will be produced which can be considered better than mediocre. And there will be no long-range pursuits, a type so vitally needed for our present operations.

Dismissing as *excuses* the "reasons" given by the Army, Navy, and the O.P.M. for slowness of production at a time of grave crisis, the Committee stated that it was evident, from an examination of all available information, that *the production weaknesses were almost entirely the result of the procurement policies of the Service agencies and the O.P.M.* The War Department explanation of labour disputes and strikes was untrue.

SPAB.

The day before the Truman report was presented to the Senate, the Supply Priorities and Allocation Board was abolished and the responsibility for all defence production was put into the hands of Donald M. Nelson. He had been the head of the S.P.A.B.

The Truman report stated that the S.P.A.B. lacked "initiative" and "force." It called for its reorganisation under one head.

The report then attacked the "Influence Peddlers" :—

Big business has had its lobbyists in the form of dollar-a-year men and w. o. c. (without compensation) men. Small and intermediate business men have sought to obtain the same benefits by hiring those whom they think have influence.

DIPLOMACY, FASCISM and WAR

DODD'S DIARY

The late William E. Dodd served as United States Ambassador to Germany from June, 1933, to December, 1937. During those fateful years preliminary to the Second World War, Dodd had an unexcelled opportunity to observe the inside workings of capitalist diplomacy. He recorded facts and observations in a daily journal. Under the title, *Ambassador Dodd's Diary*, 1933-1938, Dodd's intimate private observations were published in 1940 by his son and daughter.

Dodd indicates the part played by the capitalist "democratic" statesmen of Britain, France, and the United States in paving the way for the rise of Fascism, and the coming, in some form, of world war, in the following passages :—

"French politicians have for ten years violated the spirit of the disarmament clauses of the Versailles Treaty. The German Social-Democratic movement was ruined by French policy."

"France played a sad game in 1919 and then continued her mistake under the League from 1930 to 1932. That helped to give Germany Hitler . . . Now, as Sir Eric (Sir Eric Phipps, British Ambassador to Germany, 1933-38) says, all Europe must watch Germany day and night, living under an encirclement system which may even bring economic collapse."

Dodd reports the attitude of Lord Lothian—who died while British Ambassador to the United States—in May, 1935 :—

"Lord Lothian, who as Philip Kerr, was secretary to Lloyd George during the World War, wrote me . . . a letter which I received to-day . . . He indicated clearly that he favours a coalition of the democracies to block any German move in their direction and to turn Germany's course eastwards. That this might lead to a war between Russia and Germany does not seem to disturb him seriously. In fact he seems to feel this would be a good solution of the difficulties imposed on Germany by the Versailles Treaty. THE PROBLEM OF THE DEMOCRACIES, AS HE SEES IT, IS TO FIND FOR JAPAN AND GERMANY A STRONGER PLACE IN WORLD AFFAIRS TO WHICH, IN HIS OPINION, THEY ARE ENTITLED BECAUSE OF THEIR POWER AND TRADITION. He hopes this can be accomplished without any sacrifice to the British Empire and with as little destruction to human liberty as possible."

Dodd accuses William C. Bullitt, American Ambassador to the Soviet Union, of engaging in a similar intrigue, at the same time, with British and French diplomats, to forward an armed attack on the Soviet Union by Germany and Japan.

Bullitt made his reputation at the end of the first Great War as a radical, liberal, and pacifist thinker. His reputation advanced his career, and so he developed his reaction as soon as he was established politically. Dodd points out that Bullitt is the heir to a great fortune, and was a generous contributor to the Roosevelt campaign of 1932.

Dodd writes :—

"Bullitt said Russia had no business trying to hold the peninsula which projects into the Japanese sea at Vladivostok. That is all going to be taken soon by Japan . . . I was amazed at this kind of talk from a responsible diplomat who had done much to get Russia recognised in 1933. The President must know the man's mentality, but if so, how could he have appointed him Ambassador to Soviet Russia?"

Dodd accuses British diplomacy of sabotaging all aid to democracy and loyalism in Spain and aiding Franco. He writes, under date, January 11, 1937 :—

"Sir Eric Phipps was as discreet as ever, but he revealed more sympathy for the Fascist crowd in Spain than I had noted before. I believe now he is almost a Fascist, as I think are Baldwin and Eden."

Dodd denounces British and American capitalism and diplomacy for directly re-arming Germany and Fascism. Here are some excerpts :

"I visited Sir Eric Phipps and repeated in all confidence a report that Armstrong-Vickers, the great British armament concern, had negotiated a sale of war material here (Berlin) last week, just before a British Government commission arrived to negotiate some plan with Schacht for payment of short-term debts . . . due on current deliveries of British cotton yarn from Lancaster. It is impossible, Schacht said to me yesterday, to pay British debts. Yet, last Friday, I reported to Sir Eric, the British arms people were selling for cash enormous quantities of war supplies. And I was frank enough—or indiscreet enough—to add that I understood that representatives of Curtiss-Wright from the United States were here this week to negotiate similar sales. The British Ambassador pretended to be surprised . . ."

"Norman Ebbutt of the London "Times" came in to give me a report on the effects of the London protest to Hitler about rearming—a protest made after England and the United States have sold millions of dollars worth of arms to Germany . . ."

"Ebbutt confirmed the report of mid-October (1934) that a British woman, connected with Hitler's inner group, was here just before the negotiations on Lancaster debts, to sell war equipment for Armstrong-Vickers. The British Ambassador 'had not known about it' according to previous conversations. I am sure now the British staff members did know."

"Colonel Edward A. Deeds of Akron, Ohio, and New York City, president or director of twenty great American industrial concerns came here to lunch to-day . . . Deeds had negotiated a deal with a German corporation for sending over our airplane patents so that the German company could manufacture and sell a hundred planes to Italy, the American company to share the profits . . . This sort of thing is done all the time in this European war atmosphere . . .

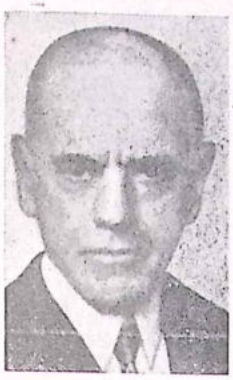
". . . Our Commercial Attache said, 'In two years Germany will be manufacturing oil and gas enough out of soft coal for a long war, the Standard Oil Company of New York furnishing millions of dollars to help.' . . . Mr. Phillips (Under-Secretary of State, 1933-36) was amazed and distressed, although all this information has been going to the Department for two whole years."

These brief extracts from a diary redundant with evidence and indictment gives an idea of the real worth of the capitalist "democratic" leaders who armed Hitler, planned a Russiain war, sacrificed Spain, and now demand the conscription of all youth for the grand carnival of carnage and dance of death, that they might keep their place in the sun.

PETER SHAND.—Our comrade, Peter Shand, has been sentenced to 56 days military detention, and is serving his sentence at Northallerton Detention Barracks. We ask the Labour movement to take up Shand's case and demand that he be sent to civil imprisonment, and that his case may be reviewed. Shand is a genuine and convinced Anti-Militarist and should be treated in the same way as other conscientious objectors.

ROBERT CAMPBELL.—Shortly after his case was reviewed in the February "Word," Campbell's sentence was reviewed, and he was returned to camp. He was sentenced by another Court Martial to two years' imprisonment with hard labour and will have his case reconsidered by a Tribunal.

WAR PROFITEERING AND DISASTER



Eugene G. Grace
From 'The New York Times.'

On another page is discussed the Truman Report, which exposes so completely the scandal of war-profiteering in the United States. The defeats of the Allied Arms in the Pacific and the triumph of the Nazi Powers is due to that profiteering, and to that profiteering alone. The sacrifice of the proletariat on the field of battle is an outrage beyond comment. Not only the public trial of the profiteers but the indictment of the politicians and statesmen who connived with them is demanded by the facts. To indict these financial patriotic masqueraders is to condemn Capitalism and to raise the only conceivable slogan of our time. A Socialist Administration to inaugurate Socialist Society. The war of Capitalism must be liquidated in the industrial, political, and social revolution of Socialism.

How the European war benefited the various American Corporations, without really benefiting thoughtless and exploited John Doe, is shown in the following statement of profits for 1940 and 1939 and the net increase of the second war year over the year that witnessed the declaration of war by Britain on Germany following the invasion of Poland :—

	1940	1939	Increase
Kennecott Copper	$43,837,330	$33,947,443	$9,889,887
General Motors	195,601,721	183,290,222	12,331,499
Union Carbide	42,247,274	35,847,599	6,399,675
American Radiator ...	7,349,011	3,712,193	3 636,818
Western Electric	32,787,030	16,476,086	16,310,944
American Rolling Mills ...	7,642,713	4,011,909	3,630,804
Pittsburgh Plate Glass ...	13,793,937	10 766,412	3,027,525
Crucible Steel	6,220,179	2 103 596	3,426,583
Amer. Telephone & T'graph	210,497,453	190,280,877	20,216,576
General Electric	56,242,083	41,235,644	15,095,439

In the case of the following firms the increase is stated in the terms of per cent. so that the reader may better appreciate the tremendous increase :—

	1940	1939	Increase
Babcock & Wilcox	$3,588,199	$1,168,782	206
Bath Iron Works	2,052,180	660,703	400
Bell Aircraft	264,745	5,203	3000
Bethlehem Steel	49,679,524	24,635,384	97.5
Douglas Aircraft	10,831,971	2,884,197	275
International Harvester ...	23,161,110	7,952,810	191
Lehigh Coal Co.	1,101,853	18,674	5700
New York Shipbuilding ...	2,178,748	928,246	135
Vultee Aircraft	374,457	25,488	1370

Scots readers will note that Babcock and Wilcox is also a British firm, and so makes profits out of war on both sides of the Atlantic.

In the case of the following firms we are able only to show the net profits during the first half of 1940, and the increase over the first half of 1939. The full year's comparisons show a much greater indictment of war, from the standpoint of its being a pursuit of murder condoned by profit :

	Net Profits during First Half of 1940	Net Profits during First Half of 1939
United States Steel	$36,315,003	$34,344,692
Remington Arms	1,219,000	1,075,000
Republic Steel	6,449,453	5,366,142
Tidewater Oil	5,904,865	4,698,455
Glen Martin Aircraft ...	4,291,490	3,323,866
Youngstown	2,423,212	1,877,019
Minnesota Paper Co. ...	1,120,788	881,852
Atlantic Refining	5,266,000	3,913,000
Commercial Solvents ...	1,046,551	608,451
Libby-Owens-Ford Glass ...	5,176,748	2,521,935
Caterpillar Tractor	3,509,514	1,194,134
Chrysler	30,484,274	5,148,593
E.I. DuPont de Nemours ...	45,853,695	6,982,160

Analysed, these figures mean that, during 1940, the workers engaged in the war industries of the United States of America earned their daily bread by pouring billions of dollars into the banking accounts of idle stockholders and useless coupon-clippers. Of course, the workers themselves were engaged in a senseless and criminal occupation, that of manufacturing the instruments for the death of their class. The famous, or infamous, Sixty Families, the Republican aristocracy of the United States, have found a veritable gold mine in the valley of death.

The total profit for 20 companies for 1940 was $642,559,048. This was an increase of 31 million dollars over their profit for 1939.

In January and February, 1941, 1005 corporations gave the rich "democrats" of United States "Big Business" 625 million dollars in dividends. This was 26 million dollars more than these same people got for January and February, 1940. These payments, of course, did not include the millions of dollars paid to the rich on corporation bonds that are locked away in their safe deposit boxes. The Standard Oil Companies alone gave the Rockefellers and other wealthy oil people over 22 million dollars in dividends.

General Motors made a net profit of $977 on each of its employees! American Telephone and Telegraph (Bell System) gobbled up $528 on each of its workers! General Electric took $826 per employee and U.S. Steel $420. But Standard Oil of N.J. made $2000 on each worker and du Pont gouged $2200 out of each! All of this for 1940 alone.

At the general meeting of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation on Thursday, January 29, 1942, Eugene G. Grace, president of the company, declared that the report for 1941

indicates clearly that Bethlehem cannot be charged with profiteering for war nor with propaganda for war.

The shareholders were feeling good and comfortable and applauded this report. They were feeling good and comfortable precisely because the report did not support this conclusion. The report showed a considerable profit from the organised preparation of death and devastation. Here are some of the figures on which we found this observation supplied by Grace in person to his coupon-clipping admirers.

Sales of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation in 1941 set a new high mark of $961,240,737, nearly 60 per cent. above the previous high sales mark of $602,202,618 in 1940 and more than twice the volume of $448,000,000 reported for 1918, the best sales year of the first World War.

Net profit during 1941 was $34,457,796, or $9.35 a common share. This compared unfavourably with $48,677,524, or $14.04 a share, earned in 1940, for reasons detailed below, which proved that this did not proceed from want of prosperity.

The directors voted a quarterly dividend of $1.50 a share on the common stock, and declared the regular quarterly preferred dividend of $1.75 a share.

Taxes paid by Bethlehem Steel in 1941 were $110,002,700, or about $36 a common share, against $41,345,349 for 1940, a tremendous increase.

In addition, the company charged $12,950,000 to earnings in 1941 for amortization of emergency plant facilities, although only $2,500,000 of this amortization was allowable as a deduction from 1941 income for tax purposes. In 1940 the company provided only $1,500,000 for amortization. Some difference. Further, the company added inventory, contingency, and insurance reserve, $12,630,000, as against $8,070,000 passed to reserve in 1940.

Earnings of the company before taxes were at record levels. Net profit before Federal taxes in 1941 was $119,758,000, against $72,554,000 in 1940 and $47,743,000 in 1929. Profit before all taxes was $144,460,000, against $90,023,000 in 1940 and $54,243,000 in 1929.

Cash expenditure for plant additions and improvements in 1941 were $42,127,091, against $29,994,523 for 1940.

Billings by the company for the fourth quarter of 1941 were $297,900,000, the largest for any three-month period on record, comparing with $260,052,000, the previous highest record in the preceding quarter.

Earnings for the fourth quarter and calendar years compare as follows for two years :—

	1941.	1940.
Fourth Quarter:		
Total Income	**$62,533,698**	**$35,208,097**
Full Year:		
Total Income	**$162,778,500**	**$105,055,228**

In Britain, we have heard a lot about American canned food coming to the "rescue" of the British war-workers and slum-dwellers.

The Federal Trade Commission of the United States reports that 10 companies in the vegetable canning industry made 13 per cent. on the stockholders' investment in 1939. The individual companies made all the way from 1½ to 24 per cent. on the capital investment.

American workers may be blamed for being engaged in war industry. They may not deserve the cheers thoughtless British audiences accord their images on the screen. But they cannot be indicted for stealing huge profits.

Senator O'Mahoney, chairman of the United States Monopoly Committee, reported that

ABOUT 35 PER CENT OF THE DIVIDENDS PAID BY AMERICAN CORPORATIONS GO TO ONLY 25,000 INDIVIDUALS. IT IS ESTIMATED THAT BETWEEN 60 and 70 PER CENT OF THE TOTAL GOES TO PERSONS WITH INCOMES OF $50,000 or OVER.

The United States Bureau of Labor Statistics states that the average hourly wages of workers in the industries covered by the firms mentioned increased 2 cents per hour in 1940 over December, 1939. The actual increase of wages was 4 per cent. Yet many of these corporations of death increased their profits over 100 per cent., as the tables show.

TRUMAN REPORT EFFECT

[The following news item is culled from the "New York Herald Tribune" of January 17.—Ed.]

Judge Charles S. Colden suspended sentence yesterday on Harry Goldberg, of 1645 Forty-Seventh Street, Brooklyn, who had pleaded guilty of forgery in the third degree in Queens County Court, in appropriating $3250 he obtained on a check he signed as the representative of a furniture compny.

"To-day we are suffering from the shock of the terrible things that we have discovered in the report of the Senate investigating committee," said Judge Colden. "Men who were supposed to be men of great character and moral integrity and patriotism have been guilty of things displayed by that report. We find men who are gorging themselves with the wealth that is being contributed by patriotic Americans, so that they can enrich themselves like swine in the feeding trough. We read such things as one man saying that the profits of his company were so great that they needed a steam shovel to handle them.

"Until we have a firing squad to take care of people of that kind, we ought not to deal harshly with some foolish individual who has a good record and has been a pretty decent sort of a man and who has made a slip. So to-day I am going to suspend sentence upon you, Henry Goldberg, upon the understanding that henceforth you will never do anything which will cause you to be brought into court."

Goldberg fainted.

PROPAGANDA SUGGESTION

"Our Letter Box" is held over. The following letter from Comrade C. Philip Skilton, of the Fellowship of Conscientious Objectors, merits publication for its propaganda value :—

Dear Guy Aldred—You may be interested to hear that I was reading the February issue on an Underground train in London when the man sitting next to me became very interested in the "Word," engaged me in conversation and offered to buy it. I was of course glad to let him have it.

The March issue I started reading on a bus. The man on my right inquired the name of the editor, said that Socialism must come, that he had had his eyes opened when he went to India, and that he didn't trust the Labour leaders, least of all Herbert Morrison. As he supported the war, however, I thought the "Word" would do him good, so gave it to him.

In view of the obvious magnetism of the "Word," other readers might like to try their hand in vechiles and restaurants!

Yours fraternally,
C. PHILIP SKILTON.

Forest Hill, London, S.E.23.
March 14, 1942.

HOW CAPITALISM ORGANISES WAR

TRUMAN REPORT AFERMATH

The following facts will enable the reader to follow easily the details of the Truman Report summarised elsewhere in this issue :—

OPM (Office of Production Management) was created in December, 1940, to co-ordinate United States' defence output. The O.P.M. superceded the

NDAC (National Defence Advisory Commission), President Roosevelt's first board in charge of defence production, established in May 1940. In June of that year Donald Marr Nelson had the job of co-ordinating purchasing. On a late May Day in 1940, he was summoned to Washington from Chicago by telephone, to undertake the job of procuring airplanes. He had been called from his office in the Chicago headquarters of Sears, Roebuck & Co., where he had a private job giving him $70,000 a year. He was 54 years of age and had served previously with the NR.A. and the wages and hours administration. He took over a dollar a year desk in the Treasury Department.

SPAB (Supplies, Priorities and Allocations Board) was established in August 1941. The OPM was subordiate to this board immediately. It became known as the " Supreme Court of the American Economy." Nelson became Executive Director of SPAB and OPM Priorities Director. The SPAB was abolished by President Roosevelt on January 13, 1942, and its powers were taken over by the War Production Board, established by the President under the direct supervision of Nelson, who became United States War Production Chief. Three days later he received absolute powers. On January 21, he abolished the OPM. Since August 1941 he has been the chief administrator of United States Production and intimately concerned with the conditions denounced in the Truman Report. Until his appointment as WPB chairman, Nelson was a dollar-a-year man, and retained his annual salary of $70,000 a year from Sears, Roebuck & Co. He then gave up that salary and receives $10,000 from the State instead. Nelson has worked for Sears since he left college in 1912.

On January 21, Nelson sent a request to Senator Harry S. Truman, of Missouri, chairman of the Senate Committee investigating war production. He appeared before the Committee one week later.

Nelson told the Committee that the continued employment of dollar-a-year men was an indispensable adjunct to the war programme. Thereupon the Committee, headed by Truman, went back on its recommendation to the Senate that dollar-a-year and without-compensation men be dispensed with or put on the Government payroll.

Nelson said that the dollar-a-year men were industrialists who could not afford to give up their regular salaries. The Committee's report had " hampered " his efforts to revitalise the defence set-up. These men and their companies were *" afraid to come to Washington."*

Truman replied :

" If you need dollar-a-year men to win the war, this Committee feels that you should have dollar-a-year men."

The other Committee members agreed.

Nelson explained that only the *very wealthy* could serve the nation for $8000 a year Government pay. His one test of value was whether the man delivered on the job.

After he had finished his prepared statement in defence of the dollar-a-year man, Nelson was questioned on the high profit-returns and the failure of the O.P.M. and the S:P.A.B. to expand aluminium, magnesium, and steel production at a sufficiently rapid rate. Was the bias of the dollar-a-year man responsible? Nelson sidestepped the question that economic bias developed by a life-time of experience could not be wiped out by a salary of $8000 a year.

U.S. WAR PRODUCTION CHIEF BEFORE SENATE COMMITTEE

[*Associated Press Wirephoto. Reproduced from U.S. newspaper reproduction.*

Donald M. Nelson listens to a question, attacking the dollar-a-year men, and then insists that they be re-appointed, at a hearing granted him by the special Truman Investigation Board, Washington, on January 28, 1942.

Then why not abolish capitalism entirely and establish Socialism? Why not follow Debs instead of Wall Street?

Nelson said that " unconscionable profits on war contracts " was wrong, but both capital and labour were entitled to a " fair profit "! What is *" a fair profit "*? And how can labour, which sells its power to live, and dies in poverty, be said to receive *any profit*?

The capitalist press congratulated the Truman Committee on its fair-mindedness!

The same day Nelson announced that he had set up an organisation of seven divisions :—

PURCHASES—Douglas MacKeachie, of the Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company. Called to Washington, October, 1940. Assistant Co-ordinator purchasers, N.D.A.C. Deputy Director Purchases, O.P.M.

PRODUCTION—W. H. Harrison, of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company. Dollar-a-year appointment. Arrived Washington June, 1940. Director Construction, N.D.A.C. Chief, Shipbuilding, O.P.M., January-September, 1941. Since, O.P.M. Director, Production.

MATERIALS—William L. Batt, of the S.K.F. Industries, Inc. Appointed N.D.A.C., June, 1940. Deputy Director, Production, O.P.M., January-September, 1941. Since, Director, Materials, O.P.M.

INDUSTRY OPERATIONS—J. S. Knowlson, of the Stewart-Warner Corporation. Deputy Director, Priorities, O.P.M., September 16, 1941, at Nelson's request.

LABOUR—Sidney Hillman, of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union. Associate Director-General, O.P.M.

CIVILIAN SUPPLY—Leon Henderson, economist. Formerly N.D.A.C. and O.P.M.

AUTOS. TO PLANES—Ernest C. Kanzler, auto. finance executive, formerly with the Ford Motor Company.

Early in January, 1941, the O.P.M. was boosted in the capitalist press throughout the United States. We have cuttings before us as we write. On January 4 there is a picture of an airplane, with headings about U.S. air supremacy and letterpress stating that such a plane, manufactured at such a place (names given in full) could " out-manoeuvre and out-hit " German planes. A few days later big headings told us that " O.P.M. STARTS MOVES TO AID SMALL FIRMS." All this O.P.M. boosting was exposed as so much window-dressing by the Truman report.

With Nelson's appointment as boss of America's gigantic war production, we were told his WPB chief day began at 8.30 a.m. and ended at 7.30 p.m. His callers, talks, conferences, hasty dinner were listed. For why? He and his associates were not entirely without responsibility for the conditions lamented in the Truman report. That report explains Java and the Pacific, and the growing menace of what the Kaiser termed " The Yellow Peril," Japan in command of a concentrated Orient.

Roosevelt gave more power to Nelson than Wilson gave to Bernard M. Baruch, when the latter became chairman of the War Industries Board in 1918. Baruch was in Washington the day Nelson's appointment was announced. He told the press, that, on the basis of the White House statements, the chairman of the War Production Board enjoyed powers and status which Cabinet rank would only dilute, since that would put the Cabinet members on equal terms with Nelson. Baruch concluded that the individual status was the workable one. This means that capitalism can work only through dictatorship and that the delegation of power to Nelson, the long established dollar-a-year man, is the greatest in the history of the United States.

Nelson was born in Hannibal, Mo., and studied chemistry at the University of Missouri. A professorship was his goal but he became a chemical engineer for Sears Roebuck instead. He gave up his job to become technical adviser, then manager, general manager, vice-president, and finallly chairman of the company. In 1938 he became chairman of the National Industrial Recovery Administration's Industry Committee No. 1. He worked on a Board that included Leon Henderson, Sidney Hillman, and William Knudsen. These men remained his colleagues on the NDAC., the OPM, and the SPAB. These men were attacked in the Truman Report. These men are Nelson's colleagues on the WPB.

William Knudsen was the chief target of the

Truman Report. Knudsen was an unpaid member of the NDAC. He drew no salary, not even a dollar-a-year as OPM director general. The Truman Report disqualified Knudsen for a seat on the WPB. Nelson declared that he must remain. On January 19, Knudsen dined with Roosevelt at the White House. The President issued a most eulogistic statement to the press, in the course of which he said that Knudsen was accepting the post of War Department Production Director "*at my request.*" The President said: "*Bill Knudsen is one of the great production men of the world.*" He announced that he had made Knudsen Lieutenant-General in the army, the first civilian Lieutenant-General in United States' history, and that, as such, he would draw a base salary of $8,000 a year, plus subsistence and other allowances. Roosevelt sent the nomination to White House while Knudsen was dining with him. The Senate confirmed the nomination on January 27.

Knudsen was born in Copenhagen over forty years ago and has been in the United States since he was 21 years old. He was the son of K. P. Knudsen, a customs inspector, and was named Signius Wilhelm Poul Knudsen. By trade a bicycle mechanic, he became known as William S. Knudsen in New York. He has been unpaid adviser in Washington since 1939.

"Billions of dollars" were "allocated to the national defence programme." The Truman report showed that these funds were spent, not in the interests of patriotism, but on behalf of the big corporations, which took control through their dollar-a-year men. Nelson's "reorganisation" was an attempt to offset the public reaction to the Truman report. The big business domination of war production remains and is entrenched. A new sign—WPB—has been placed over the entrance. It is the same company, with the same bosses, and the same slogan: "Business as usual." This fact cannot be denied. Even the same old "Labour-Leader" remains—Sidney Hillman, who gave a "Labour" colour to the OPM. He remains head of the WPB "Labour Division"!

On the day that Roosevelt made Knudsen a lieutenant-general, Thurman Arnold, head of the Justice Department's anti-trust division, told the House of Representatives' Small Business Committee that the defence programme had disclosed "*a great tendency of established business*" to keep competition out of the defence field.

Price-ceiling regulations had developed "many types of conspiracy" to keep up prices of necessary goods, including those of which there was an ample supply.

In answer to a question by Chairman Patman, Arnold said that "monopolies, restraints of trade, and the private seizure of economic power" were the bases of unpreparedness in which the democracies found themselves at the outbreak of war.

His testimony was described as "alarming" by Representative Fitzgerald, who said that "*in my opinion what we should buy is about* 100 *machine-guns and go out and shoot about* 1000 *of these guys.*"

Elaborating on his charge that big business has shown a tendency to try to keep out competition, Arnold cited as examples a large shipbuilding company's offer to assist a newcomer in the field prepare bid forms upon promise of payment of "5 per cent. of its earnings for ten years," and of the offer of another large company controlling vital material to allow new companies to use its patent during the war if they agreed to go out of business when the war ended.

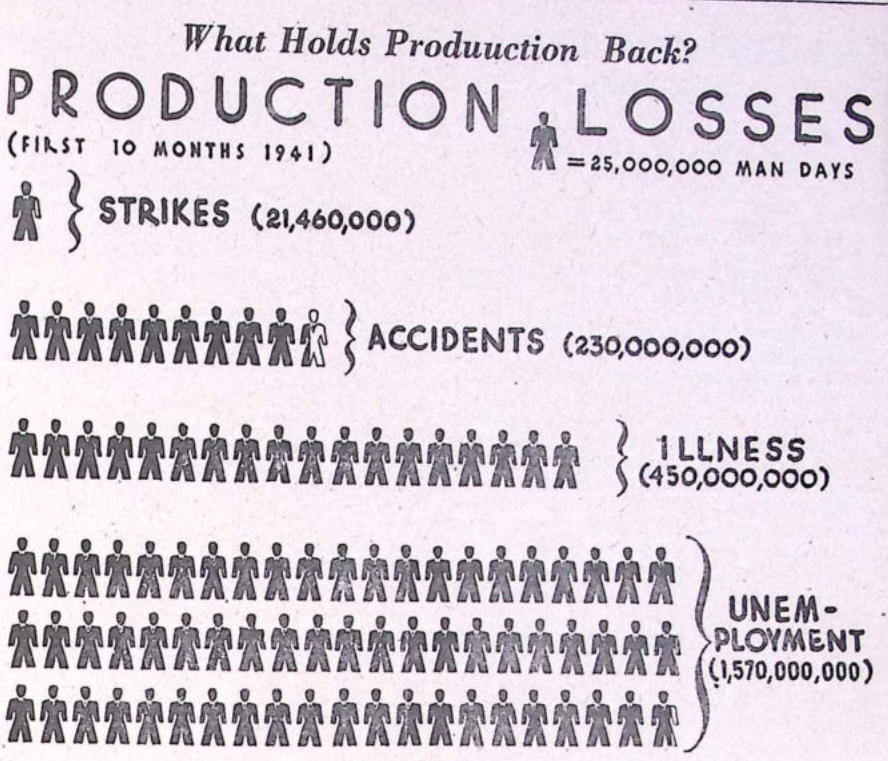
The larger companies, he commented, operate on the theory that "we must dominate after the war."

Arnold spoke of an investigation of corruption in relation to scrap iron, sulphuric acid, etc., which he promised to disclose in executive session later.

He said that there had been "a systematic effort" to retard production of synthetic rubber, but declined to expand on this at an open session.

This statement by Arnold emphasised the

What Holds Produuction Back?



This chart, from the December 1941 issue of American "Economic Outlook" shows the time lost by workers through strikes, illness, accidents and unemployment. The figures must be read in conjunction with the Truman Report, as illustrating that report.

Production has not been held back by the workers but by the profiteering executives of industry. The workers may, and OUGHT, to oppose war. They do NOT sabotage production while pretending to be patriots.

section of the Truman report describing how the copper, zinc and lead monopolies deliberately withheld increases in production because of their desire for bigger prices and hence bigger profits. *This resulted in thousands of metal miners being thrown out of work and also created a criminal war-defence shortage.* Yet, after exposing the vile rapacity of these capitalists, the Truman Committee meekly proceeded to urge that their demand for higher prices be granted!

The very next day the Government signed new contracts with the metal companies which increased the price of copper by 42 per cent., the price of zinc by 33 per cent.., and the price of lead by 62 per cent. for all quantities of these metals which are produced above the amount mined in 1941! This is expected to yield an additional 30 per cent. of these metals.

Is it not clear from this scandalous arrangement that the United States Government put a premium on the actions of the metal companies for the past 18 months, when they refused to produce at maximum capacity since they could make a higher rate of profit when they produced below maximum.

The figures offered by the Truman report showed tremendous profiteering on the part of the metal monopolies—the average profit of the 51 corporations increased by 30 per cent. during the first nine months of 1941 over the corresponding period of 1940. Despite this, the Government granted these corporations fantastic price increases! This is "equal sacrifice" in practice.

When the Truman report was discussed in the Senate on the day of its publication, one Senator asked a member of the investigating committee what happened to those dollar-a-year men who were responsible for this state of affairs. The reply was: "*They are usually promoted.*"

Actually, this is what has happened.

Having agreed to the happening, on January 23, the Truman Committee was voted an additional $60,000 to *continue its investigations*! Senator Truman said this would serve its purposes until the end of 1942.

The Committee on Audit and Control, which proposed the amount voted, anticipated a continuance of the committee's life for the duration of the war.

Senator Lucas, the Audit Committee chairman, said:

It is absolutely indispensable that such a committee should function. I think the kind of a report which was made last week by this committee is highly pleasing to the American people. . . .

The report demonstrates inefficiency and laxity and selfishness upon the part of a great many persons who have something to do with attempting to give this country the type of national defence that is so necessary if the American way of life is to continue.

As shown in these columns, the Truman report is comprehensive and important, despite the later public cowardice of its authors in reference to the reappointment of the dollar-a-year men to public position. The report examines the procurement of such strategic metals as lead, copper, zinc, and steel; the production of airplanes, ships, armaments; the excessive cost of armament plants; the function of the dollar-a-year men; the activities of lobbyists for Government contracts, etc. It is for the workers of Britain to discuss this report and insist on its being considered in every factory and household throughout Great Britain.

As an appendix to its own report, the Truman Committee publishes a summary of the report of the Select Committee on National Expenditure of the House of Commons in Britain. This is an excellent example to adopt. Why does not some member of the House of Commons or of the House of Lords demand the official publication in Britain of the Truman report? The matter is an urgent one.

United Socialist Movement. Meetings every Sunday, 106 George St., Glasgow, C.1, 7-30 p.m. questions, discussions. Study Circle, Thursdays, 8 p.m. Group meetings, Mondays, 8 p.m. Comrades wishing to become national members should write Secretary, enclosing stamp for reply.

CATALOGUES: Strickland Press Catalogue, 24 pp. Also Allen and Unwin booklet sent on request. Send **1d.** stamp.

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beaten."

THE EDITOR'S TRIALS
IN THE DOCK

II.—GLASGOW SEDITION TRIAL, 1921

(Concluded from page 92)

XV.—POLITICS, THE DOCK, THE BAR, AND THE BENCH.

Legal biography constitutes an important and thrilling chapter of the true history of social progress. How men rise to the bench, how they come to condemn their fellow-men, how they play at politics, and murmur platitudes, soberly pretending they are pronouncing wisdom: all this is a valuable study in the vulgar pursuit of power and fame, only that the animal frame of man might luxuriate in a little mortal comfort at the expense of the integrity of his soul, and by the pandering sacrifice of the eternal principle of justice. Verity denied for a parade of ermined fashion that mankind might live as jailed and jailors, to no true purpose and no real or lasting end. Such is the story of legal triumph and advancement from age to age. It was so in the days of Thomas Paine and Richard Carlile. It is so to-day. Nothing brings this out better than our two trials for sedition: 1909 and 1921. In this chapter we will consider the Bench and Sedition in relation to the 1921 trial.

William Campbell, Lord Skerrington, K.C., S. G., of Ayrshire, who presided at our 1921 trial at Glasgow, retired from the Bench in December 1925. He died on July 27, 1927, aged 72 years. We have wondered if he found his life satisfactory. Was it worth while living after all?

William Campbell was the first Catholic Lord of Session since the Reformation. His elevation to the position of a Senator of the College of Justice in 1908 signified the advance of Tolerance, so much progress of thought and democracy in the history of mankind.

Campbell was born in Skerrington, Ayrshire, in 1855. He was educated in Edinburgh and graduated in arts. He was admitted to the Faculty of Advocates in 1878. He was appointed Queen's Counsel in 1898, a year after the order had been instituted. In 1905, he was raised to the Deanship of the Faculty of Advocates. Three years later he was appointed Senator of the College of Justice and a Judge of the Court of Session. In 1919, Pope Benedict XV. conferred on him a Knight Commandership of the Order of St. Gregory for his services to the cause of Catholic Education. To some of us who have studied the religious history of mankind and the teachings of the first Christians that reads more like honour for playing the part of devil's advocate, the propaganda of priestcraft and authority, rather than the promotion of education.

In legal circles, Skerrington was supposed to possess a keen and rapier-like intellect. Legal repute is earned easily and is based on appearance rather than reality. Theologians and judges enjoy reputations in their own craft circles which are not appreciated in the court of worth, and pass all understanding outside of their own narrow professional, pedantic, and actually unscholarly circles of parasitic imposture. Law ought to define human right without regard to power. The profession of law merely asserts human power without regard to right. It ought to be a science and is actually a delusion of sound. The scholarship of a judge, like the apparent learning of a theologian, is the idle pedantry of a reference library loosely linked by a very thin chain of false reasoning. With rare exceptions, and there are such exceptions, the reasoned conclusions of judges lack wisdom and understanding. Their judgements want the essential social character of depth. Sitting with the solemnity of owls, they pronounce with the zest and intelligence of parrots. Thus is humanity and poverty condemned in class society.

That was our conclusion of Skerrington, as we listened to his summing up and ruling in the Anti-Parliamentary Sedition Trial in the Glasgow High Court in 1921. His behaviour throughout the trial was courteous enough, but his summing up was neither law nor common sense. He exhibited no sense of justice nor function. He played an innings, the innings of power, and deemed the panel the other side, to be triumphed over at all costs. That his reasoning was accepted by a shopkeeper jury by a majority of fourteen to one argues nothing at all in Skerrington's favour as a judge. The verdict shows that one intelligent person, able to think for himself, had strayed into a jury box in error.

Skerrington's definition of sedition has been reproduced in the newspaper reports quoted in previous chapters. There was nothing clever nor original, nothing dynamic in it. It was static and oppressive, a definition in bar of progress and equity. Skerrington's definition confirmed the warning uttered by Professor Dicey (1835-1922), the great constitutional student of the relation between law and public opinion, as to the menace to liberty of utterance and opinion that lurks hidden in the utterly unconstitutional law of sedition.

Addressing the jury, awed by his robes, as ignorant men are awed by the robes of a priest or the mumbo jumbo of a fortune teller, Skerrington placed Parliament above the will of the people. If Parliament is an institution of democratic change, it exists by no higher divine right than the will of the democracy, which must, at all times, be supreme even unto the exercise of the critical democratic right of social revolution. What right has Parliament to withhold power from the people once the people have willed, as a democracy, to possess or to use that power? Has Parliament more divine right than a king? We think not. And if Freedom of Speech is right against the monarch, it is no less right against the parliament. It was a strange constitutional doctrine that Skerrington pronounced, that the power of the people exists only by the will of Parliament. In our democratic zeal and love of liberty, we thought that the power of Parliament existed solely and directly as a consequence of the will, and by virtue of the happiness and well-being, of the common people. We thought that the *actual* Commons was above the *mere House of Commons*. Maybe our thought was right.

Skerrington's definition of sedition was like the Advocate-Depute's prosecution: not one of law, except in name, but rather one of politics and class, one of social oppression and exploitative necessity. As Advocate-Depute, Mr. A. M. MacRobert, K.C., submitted to the jury that our proposed Shettleston programme, involving the obstructionist tactic, as well as boycotting the ballot-box, was sedition. As though the right to sit does not imply the right to abstain! As though the right to vote does not include the right not to vote; not as an apathy, but as a challenge and a declaration, an evidence of social unbelief in parliamentary careerism.

Subsequently MacRobert made an application to the High Court concerning the Productions. He urged that the Glasgow Communist Group, later the Central Group of the Anti-Parliamentary Communist Federation, was an illegal organisation. It was an unique attempt, under the Summary Jurisdiction Act, which did not apply. It was a smuggling attempt to anticipate the present war-time emergency power legislation of irresponsible government suppression by decree. Finally, although sympathetic to him, the Court refused to entertain his application based on the assumption that Anti-Parliamentary organisation was illegal. Lord Ormadale refused to give expenses against MacRobert with great reluctance; and the then Lord Justice Clerk declared that, had he been deciding the case alone, such expenses would have been given. This attempt, therefore, to have our work and Movement prescribed as illegal failed. This story will be told in the third part of our trials, in the chapter treating of the Case of the Documents. MacRobert died in October 18, 1930, and it would be hard to term his routine career of official legal and political mediocrity a success. He fed and clothed well at the expense of his fellow man and misery was concentrated in Scottish prisons that he might enjoy the freedom of the sun. Is this success or culture?

Was MacRobert, in his proceedings against us, moved by affectionate anxiety for the principles of law; or was he concerned with a private, sectarian, and class prosecution of challenging heretical political opinion?

Formally adopted by the East Renfrewshire Unionists as their candidate on his appointment as Solicitor-General, MacRobert said he would do his best to combat Socialism, whether evolutionary or revolutionary. Thomas Johnston attacked him in the *Forward*, and exposed him and his party. Johnston denounced MacRobert's reactionary careerism and anti-working class policy and record. The same Thomas Johnston, on another occasion, in the *Forward*, exposed the Court of Session from the Lord Advocate and the Senators of the College of Justice downwards as an institution of privileged parasitism. In those days he did not expect to become Secretary of State for Scotland and a member of the Churchill Cabinet.

MacRobert, as the new Solicitor-General, presented his commission and was invited to take his seat within the Bar at the left hand of the table, on Tuesday, January 5, 1926. The same day, Mr. D. P. Fleming, K.C., then but recently Solicitor-General, and Mr. Alexander Moncrieff, K.C., were installed as Senators of the College of Justice and Lords of Session. Both are still functioning. Moncrieff was called to the Scottish Bar in 1894 but he did not take silk until 1912. Fleming was called to the Bar in 1902. And there they practised, waiting for Tory and Labour Parliamentarians to unite, whilst class society carried on undisturbed, social misery perpetuating itself the while Labour agitators turned into careerist Tory place-men with the consent of Socialist Parliamentarism and Trade Unionism.

It will be remembered that, in November 1924, Moncrieff appeared against us as counsel for the Glasgow Corporation in the war on the right of public meeting in Glasgow Green and in the public parks of Glasgow. We renewed this struggle with some success in 1931, since we conceived it to be one of the most urgent duties of the citizen to uphold fearlessly the right of public meeting. In consequence the By-Laws were changed and the right publicly accepted and legalised. No attempt was made either by the I.L.P. Councillors or the Labour Party Councillors to implement the By-Law. These men conspired to assassinate, by calculated negligence, a right established by much effort and struggle. Both factions have produced their quota of corruption, bribery being more in line with municipal "Socialism" under capitalism than zeal in the public interest. Which is why more "Socialist" Labour Leaders become magistrates instead of political prisoners. When they enter the jail it is with reluctance, not as Socialists, but as disgraced councillors or magistrates, who have modelled their careers too closely, and with unfortunate personal consequences, on that of their alleged political rivals.

Part I. of these trials, our Indian Sedition (1909) Case, appeared in "The Word" for September 1940. The 1921 Trial commenced in the September 1941 issue. Part III., recording the Case of the Documents and other consequences or surrounding incidents of the 1921 Trial, will be published in these columns soon. Then will follow our Court Martials; Hyde Park Sedition and Blasphemy Case, 1925; Irregular Marriage Trial, 1916; Birth Control Case, 1923; and our 1938 Hyde Park Case, the police court proceedings of which were reported in this paper.

BURNBANK ACTIVITY.—Special propaganda work is being conducted in Burnbank, Blantyre, Hamilton, and Motherwell by our comrades of the Burnbank Group. These comrades have carried on consistent and loyal Socialist, Anti-Militarist, and Anti-Parliamentarian propaganda for years; and during this period of crisis maintain a firm and uncompromising stand. To circulate literature widely, and to rouse discussion, despite the handicap of not holding many meetings, is a great achievement. Our comrades are centre of thought and vital revolutionary understanding in Lanarkshire.

U.S.M. MEETINGS.—Although not advertised, the Sunday meetings of the U.S.M. at 106 George Street have been attended well. They will continue during the summer months. Also the **Study Circle, on Thursday.** Sundays, 7.15 p.m.; Thursday, 8 p.m. Bigger meetings will be convened later.

ALL WE—

By

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD

There are more ways than one in which sheep can go astray and more ways than one in which human beings can imitate them.

"Of course, I quite admit that war is madness and that it does not get you anywhere, *but*"—and then our non-pacifist friend proceeds to put forward one of the too-familiar and of necessity wholely inadequate excuses for going on with that which, on his own admission, is madness and does not get us anywhere.

Some years ago I and two friends were walking through a pasture containing a number of black-faced rams. As we passed them, two of the rams started a quarrel and began, after the manner of their kind, to back and charge at one another. A third ram immediately joined in and a few minutes later about half-a-dozen others. They formed themselves into a kind of football scrum and every now and then one of the combatants would deliver a violent butt at someone near him, upon which the injured party promptly passed it on, more often than not to a different sheep to the one that had attacked him. After indulging for a while in this free-for-all the rams stopped fighting for a few moments and galloped round in order to rope in such of their companions as hitherto had been peacefully feeding. After that they recommenced operations on an even larger scale. We were unable to wait to see how it all ended but there must have been a good many bruised ribs and lame shoulders by the finish and I am quite sure that no issue of any importance was settled.

It may be that during the course of the battle some of the rams said to themselves "Of course this is madness and will not get us anywhere—butt!" If only they had been able to stop at "anywhere" and act in conformity with the sensible ideas contained in the sentence which that word concluded, all would have been well: it was their fatal inability to withhold the following butt that kept the thing going! So with our militarist friends—*must* they always proceed to add that most unnecessary "but"? Surely if a thing is madness and will not get you anywhere, *nothing* can justify you in going on with it, and if you possess the rudiments of intelligence, you will decide to stop and try an alternative course of action, for it cannot be worse and may well be better?

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CAPITALISM & THE FAR EAST

By

LORD WEDGWOOD

[The following essay was published as a preface to a pamphlet issued by the I.L.P. in 1921. The pamphlet was written by George Horwill and preface by Col. J. C. Wedgwood, D.S.O., now Lord Wedgwood. To-day, Wedgwood's essay makes most interesting reading.—Ed.]

It is high time that the attention of Socialists was drawn to the "penetration of the Far East by international capitalism." This pamphlet exposes the seeds of war which are being sown there and which may bear fruit at any moment.

China, with its vast undeveloped resources of coal and metals, is being parcelled up and "developed" by the Great Powers, in accordance with the traditional attitude of West to East. The Chinese have an ancient civilisation; they still retain the philosophy of gentleness and Anarchism taught them by Lao-Tsze and Confucius five hundred years before Christ. But their philosophy is not Western philosophy; and the Great Powers have taken upon themselves the task of teaching them Western business methods.

The newly-Westernised Japan has come out of the last war with the lion's share in the East. At Versailles, in accordance with the principle of self-determination, control of Shantung was taken away from Germany and given to the Japanese, whom the Chinese have learned to hate even more than their Western exploiters. Shantung's contentment at being controlled by Japan "as a sacred trust for civilisation" is shown by an anti-Japanese boycott movement. Japan's policy is based on the well-known Prussian principles of enforcing culture at the point of the bayonet, and it is carried out with a more than Prussian thoroughness. As a civilising agent, she has already achieved wonders in the Korea. It must be remembered that while China was producing philosophers, Japan was producing jiu-jitsu and a military caste. To-day the philosopher is bottom dog.

Japan is undergoing a rapid industrial revolution. Her industrial conditions are at least as bad as those in Britain a hundred years ago, though no worse perhaps than those in the Bombay cotton mills to-day. In the chief industry in Japan, the textile industry, twelve hours a day is the rule. About seven-eighths of the textile workers are females, particularly between the ages of sixteen and twenty. These girls are usually housed in the factories; the human tools eat and sleep with the machines. The provisions of the recent factory law are eloquent of the degraded condition of the Japanese workers. Meanwhile, the Japanese capitalist has grown richer than ever as the result of three successful wars in the last generation. He finds himself with splendid markets for his goods in China and Siberia.

The growing power of Japan has attracted the envy and fear of capitalism on the other side of the Pacific. Consequently there is taking place a race for armaments between America and Japan. Japan builds twelve big ships, and America goes one better with sixteen. Canada and Australia, who fear the emigration tendencies of Japan's sixty millions, side with America. British interests favour Japan, and British diplomacy has hitherto backed Japan as the winner; but the attitude of the Dominions means that Britain must adopt a more neutral position. Another bad omen is that the big munition firms have, since the war, been going East. War between America and Japan, with peace-loving China as the prize, is at least a probability. At any rate, it will not be the fault of the international pack of financiers and concession hunters if it does not occur. The gods make mad those whom they wish to destroy!

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TRIUMPH & DISASTER

AN INCIDENT OF WAR

By

JOHN TAYLOR CALDWELL

The little engine chuffed and chugged itself into motion. Its carriages jerked like smart soldiers numbering off from the right. With quickening puffs it gathered speed. Soon the last carriage was receding into the gathering shadows, and the little arm with the waving handkerchief could no longer be seen. Mrs. Golspie took her son by the hand.

"Come on, Robin," she said; "it's getting dark."

They descended the wooden stairs to the deserted country road and walked in the direction of the village. For a time the boy trotted at her side, then he disengaged his hand and went running on in front. He climbed the grassy embankment at the roadside and ran along its steep slope. He pretended that he was mounted on a big fiery horse. He clutched imaginary reins with his left hand, and beat the prancing animal's flanks with a non-existent whip. When he looked back his mother was some distance behind. He waited till she caught up on him, then he asked: "Mummy, why don't you walk up here? It's softer."

She smiled. None who saw that smile could fail to notice its wealth of affection. His lively, capering little body filled her with delight.

"Watch you don't fall," she said.

As they approached the village they came to a place where the hedge had been torn down, and the embankment flattened. This opening led into a field which had been churned into mud by the wheels of heavy lorries. In the centre of the field stood a brick building. It had sprung up during the past six weeks. Part of it was still in scaffolding; and heaps of bricks, planks, and cement showed that it was unfinished. Despite the lateness of the afternoon the field was alive with workmen, and a soldier stood guard by the torn hedgerow. A huge steam pile-driver steadily drove great posts into the ground.

Mrs. Golspie took her little son's hand as they carefully picked their steps past the muddy entrance to the field.

Before they reached the village proper they came to a row of little semi-detached houses of red brick; each had a tiny front garden. They had just been built when Mrs. Golspie, newly married, had gone to live there twenty-five years ago. In the village they were still referred to as "the new houses."

As usual, like a permanent part of the landscape, Mrs. Ferris stood outside a garden gate, talking rapidly. With a twinge of annoyance Mrs. Golspie noticed that she must pass the gossip to get to her own house. She quickened her step, hoping to get by with a smile and a reference to the lovely evening. But it was no use.

"Oh, there you are! We were beginning to think that you'd gone on the train yourself. Did they get away all right?"

Mrs. Golspie smiled and answered, "Yes."

"You know," said Mrs. Ferris, in her faintly Irish accent— and Mrs. Golspie had to stop to listen—"I think it was wise of Sarah to evacuate herself and her children. You never know, do you? They say there were invasion barges off the coast last night, and Peter says there were guns firing this morning. They're not building that place over there in the field for nothing. Peter's got a job there, you know. If I could only tell you the things he tells me—but then, of course, I daren't." She noticed Robin and paused, but only for a moment.

"Don't you think it would be better to send the boy away, Mrs. Golspie? Now that you're working all day it's too much for you, you know. And it would be much safer."

The mother looked down at her little son, and smiled.

"Robin and I are pals," she said. "We can't desert each other."

"Of course"—Mrs. Ferris felt herself being "broadminded"—"he's company, that's right enough."

The long evening was ending, and the deep mauve sky sent down a violet haze of dust. The last tip of the dying sun lay on the horizon like a far-off golden island in a sea of rippling flame. The western rim was streaked with pink and green, and the darkening continents of cloud had southern coastlines of glowing red. The hush of the sea, breaking on the rocks of the little bay made a back-ground for all the other sounds that seemed to project themselves on the still evening air. The wheeling gulls cried hoarsely. The little engine shrieked from a distant valley. A flock of birds hurried across the sky. The monotonous thud of the pile-driver could be heard from the near-by field. Robin clung to his mother's skirts, his large eyes staring dreamily on the ground.

"Yes, he *is* company," Mrs. Golspie agreed.

"Especially now that his father's—gone." Mrs. Ferris made a slight reverent pause before the "gone." "It's hard to be all alone. And none of us are getting any younger."

The last remark rattled the widow. At forty-seven she was at least fifteen years younger than the grey-haired gossip. She knew the observation had a bearing on her chances of ending her state of widowhood; and, as her husband had been dead less than twelve months, she felt indignant.

"It's getting late, Mrs. Ferris," she said shortly; "and Robin wants his bed."

A few minutes later when she closed the front door and stood in the tiny hall she was quite surprised to find herself still angry. Why couldn't the woman mind her own business? Not getting any younger—as if that mattered. All alone. She'd never be alone as long as she had Robin. There had really always been just two of them. During the long years before the boy had been born she and Bob had been company enough for each other. Then Robin came and claimed something from each of them. Now he had his father's share of affection as well as his own. There were still two of them.

"Mummy," complained the object of her thoughts, "I'm hungry."

Hastily she stuck her hat and coat on the hall-stand, and picked up Robin's scarf from the floor.

"Well, we'll soon fix that," she said cheerily and strode through the living-room into the kitchenette. Two minutes later the kettle was on the gas stove; and while she laid the cloth Robin, standing on his tip-toes, got the knives and spoons out of the sideboard drawer.

The table spread, she stirred the dying fire into life and sank into the armchair. She held out a hand to Robin and he came and stood beside her.

"Mummy," he said, before she had time to say anything, "when's Daddy coming home?"

She made no reply. Some day she would tell him. Just now she wanted to forget. She wanted to forget a picture of a water-logged boat, rising and falling on the long swell of the Atlantic, with a single passenger: a man with staring sightless eyes, and a swollen tongue protruding from his blackened lips. For she knew that was how they had found him.

"What will you do now, without Ronald and Jim to play with?" she asked.

"Oh, I don't care," he said. Then after a pause he asked, "Why did Ronald and Jim have to be—'vacuated?"

"Well," she began, "Ronnie's mother thinks it's not safe—" He interrupted her.

"*I* would like to be 'vacuated."

Somehow it shocked her to hear him say so. She put her hands on his shoulders and looked into his face.

"What!" she exclaimed, "and leave me alone?"

"Oh, no, Mummy," he hastily assured her. He struggled to her knee and laid his sleepy head against her breast. She put her arms around him and placed her cheek on his hair.

"You and I are pals," she said. "Aren't we?" He nodded assent. For a few minutes they sat quietly, then she cried suddenly: "Up, quick; the kettle's boiling."

In the west the sky darkened. The sun had gone, and bars of mauve and burning gold traversed the deepening red. The thin haze spread over the sea, and in the east dark clouds gathered. Out of the black, pewter-like water stood a rugged headland, alone and strong in the hush of the breaking waters that gathered in foam around its base. The complaining gulls still circled and swooped over the surface of the sea.

As the last gleam of reflected light died on the restless water, a gentle droning sound filled the air. Out of a wisp of low-hanging cloud a black shape appeared. It seemed to pause for a moment, like a huge hovering bird, then it vanished into another bank of cloud.

Herman Gotz was well aware of the clouds. The darkness of the night and the broken mists were ideal conditions for his work. He noted the jagged headland and increased his altitude. There was need for caution. They had told him this job was important and dangerous.

He wished it were over. Any night but this. Elsi would be sitting up to-night again. She had scarcely left Han's bedside for a week. Last night he had managed to be there too. Together they had watched his little chest rise and fall spasmodically, as he struggled for breath; and they had wiped the beads of perspiration that had kept gathering on his brow. He was their only child; and there would be no more. If he should die! The airman's lean, sad face paled, and he bit his lip as though in pain. Never! Never! That must never happen. He would get well. The doctor said the crisis would be passed to-night. Elsi would phone the airfield, and he would know as soon as he got back.

Below him he saw a little bay with a fringe of white curling foam.

Mrs. Golspie was just spreading a last slice of bread and jam for Robin when a knock sounded on the door. It was Mrs. Ferris. Peter had phoned from the office of the new building. He had forgotten his spectacles, and must get them at once. He wasn't allowed to leave the place, and there was nobody he could send. Would Mrs. Golspie *please* let Robin run over with them? It was *very* urgent.

Mrs. Golspie was very reluctant to let Robin out so late, but Mrs. Ferris really was upset; and, after all it was only a ten minute journey: a little boy could find his way across the muddy field better than an adult. With a large screened torch in one hand and the spectacles in the other, he set off.

He had been away about three minutes when the sirens went.

Mrs. Golspie rushed into the street and called after him. She began to run. A warden sprang from nowhere. She must take shelter, he said. She tried to get past him. He caught her arm. A police whistle sounded, and the warden relaxed his grip. She struggled free and ran on. When she reached the entrance to the field a soldier stopped her.

"Did you see a little boy—did you see a little boy?" she panted.

Then came a great flash, and a tremendous crash; then another; and a third; and half a

dozen minor crashes joined with the greater ones. The whole earth shook. Then there was silence; except for the drone of a departing plane. But the silence was only comparative, for the air was filled with shouts and screams and the sound of men squelching through the mud. From somewhere came a swish of escaping steam, and from a great pile of refuse a tongue of flame spouted.

Mrs. Golspie tried to rise; the soldier lay heavily on top of her. She felt a dampness on her hair, and a warm stream trickled down her cheek. With an effort she rolled the man aside. Thick blood ran from his mouth. Suddenly his whole body jerked convulsively; then he lay still. Mrs. Golspie set out across the mud-churned field.

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When he landed on the air-field, Gotz ignoring those who tried to speak to him, made straight for the Intelligence Room. They were delighted with his report, and his own pleasure was clouded only by thoughts of his son. He succeeded in answering all their questions without any show of irritation. At the conclusion of his report the Wing Commander grasped his hand.

"Great work," he said. "You know what this will mean for you——"

"Thanks," said Gotz. "Has there been a phone call for me?"

"A phone call? Oh, yes—you were expecting—no, there hasn't—as a matter of fact the wires are down. There's been a raid."

"What, a raid?" For a moment he hesitated; then he ran to the shed where he kept his motor cycle.

Soon he was speeding through the country road in the direction of Hapszig. As he neared the city the roads were thick with all sorts of army vehicles and relief vans.

The red glow in the sky was brightening, and sometimes a collapsing roof sent up a shower of sparks. His heart sank as he realised that the district he lived in had been the centre of attack.

As he approached his own street he felt himself go sick with apprehension. The place was littered with debris; and at one point he had to make a detour to avoid a stream of seething flame. He was held up while a whole kindergarten of small half-dressed children were hurried to safety. At last he reached his street; it was an inch thick in broken glass, and without any windows—but intact.

In the hallway his wife rushed to meet him.

"It was awful—awful," she said. "All night long."

He tried to calm her. "But you're safe," he said. "I'm glad you're safe; how is he?"

"He's going to be all right. The doctor said so; he's just left."

Gotz felt as though a heavy shadow had passed from over him. Together, he and Elsi went to the boy's room and stood looking at the little sleeping figure.

"Did the raid not disturb him?" asked Herman.

"No," said Elsi. "Even the guns didn't seem to annoy him. Once he heard a diving plane. He thought it was you. 'That's daddy,' he said."

Gently Herman bent and kissed the little brow and needlessly tucked in the bed clothes. Then he turned to Elsi. He saw the tears shining in her eyes and with a smile he kissed her too.

"Go to bed now," he said tenderly. "You're tired."

Left alone, Herman went over to the broken window. The night was almost over, and the eastern sky showed the first pale light of the approaching dawn.

A great exilaration filled his tired limbs. Hans was well, Elsi safe; and he was due for promotion and more pay.

A few minutes later sitting on the chair by his son's bed he was dozing peacefully.

&

Down on her knees in the mud a woman tore with her fingers at a heap of shattered bricks. Suddenly she touched a little lifeless hand.

PACIFISM IN THE CHURCH

CHURCH OF SCOTLAND SOCIETY REPORT

The Conference held in Glasgow on the 20th and 21st of February to study the relation of the Society's message to the social and economic order proved to be an important event in the life of the Society, not because of any resolution passed or decisions taken by the Conference but because of the new awareness that was aroused of the need for Christian pacifists to relate their faith to the underlying economic causes of war.

The first lecture was given by Mr. W. H. Marwick of Edinburgh who traced the origins of modern economic thought back through the nineteenth century to the Industrial Revolution. The philosophy underlying the economics of this period conveniently identified self-love with social well-being. Its weakness was its neglect of the fact of conflicting interests within the industrial order. A particular example, recognised by Marx, was that between worker and capitalist; but another was the conflict between the interests of agriculture and those of other industries, and another the divergence of interests between industry and finance. Forces in society such as the lust for power had also been underestimated.

An important feature of the mid nineteenth century was the freeing of economic life from State control, a development which never occurred in Germany. During the war of 1914-1918 however the State resumed control of economic life. The failure of Versailles was due largely to its economic inefficacy. The multiplication of political boundaries set up new economic sovereignties. The whole idea of reparations was absurd. Exchange was dislocated and the gold standard virtually destroyed.

A wave of reactionary feeling arose in the later twenties. By this time Europe was again as prosperous as in 1913 and indulged an illusionary desire to return to "the good old days." A deflation policy was launched. The workers were defeated in the General Strike of 1926. Then came the Crisis. The mechanism of international trade broke down. Dictatorships sprang up all over the world and in Britain a National Government was formed. In a crisis of plenty the discrepancy between production and consumption was eliminated by the wrong method—production, which had been enormously increased by scientific progress was artificially reduced. The Ottawa agreement was typical. The unemployment problem was solved at last by re-armament of which Germany was the most thoroughgoing example.

While the economic factors were important they must not be confused with economic motives. Men did not stir up war for personal gain. It was impossible that war could produce economic profit. It does utilise planned economy. In passing it was observed that in war the ascetic ideal of sacrifice is given an enhanced value.

Turning to current schemes of reform the speaker dismissed Right Wing proposals with little comment. On the Left were the Communists who exploit war conditions in the cause of social revolution holding that the end justifies the means. Then there is what Mr. Marwick called "the New Statesman" school of thought, to which Tawney and Laski, though not identical in outlook, both belong. This school is inclined to overestimate the regenerating power of the economic factor, assuming that a new economic order will change character and mould behaviour.

Mr. Marwick criticised the methods of the U.S.S.R. as based on force, emphasising the importance of collective Man rather than the worth of the individual, and thereby denying the sacredness of personality and trusting too much to elaborate mechanisms.

This country, said Mr. Marwick, had lost initiative and independence, and was now adopting from abroad institutions and devices which formerly we had scorned. After 1918 we had had to face seriously problems of dislocation. These would be with us again, and, unless the war were not protracted as long as seemed likely, they would be much more serious than before. Material damage would require repair. We had lost and were still losing markets, mainly to the U.S.A. Foreign investments, a very valuable source of imports, were depreciating. A lower standard of living was inevitable. Production was seriously upset by redirection to war purposes, and much compensatory production had been established abroad. We were now aware of the poverty of our internal resources. Coal, which had been the foundation of our industrial prosperity, could not be replaced.

There were, however, palliatives. Stock rearing and market gardening could be expanded. We could make good our dwindling stocks of coal by hydro-electricity. Light industries could be set up and de-urbanisation encouraged. The recent appointment of Professor Keynes to the Bank of England might indicate a movement towards an expansionist credit policy.

While planned economy is essential it must be such as to safeguard personal liberty which can best be done by decentralising power and working through voluntary co-operative groups.

In the second session of the Conference the Rev. Dr. George Macleod said it was necessary to recognise the essentially religious nature of the world crisis. It followed a familiar pattern-thesis, antithesis, synthesis. In the individual life there was first of all the simple unquestioning faith of childhood. That was followed by the sceptical adolescent stage. Those who grew up came to the stage of permanent, settled, adult conviction. On the larger scale the pre-Reformation age represented the stage of thesis. The Renaissance brought the antithesis with its spirit of rebellious adventure. It flowered in the nineteenth century, but it was the sickly flower of individualism. To-day individualism was worked out. Russia offered the thrill of a planned society, yet she had four million of her people in concentration camps. Democracy preserved a surprising measure of individual freedom, but it had no plan.

Christianity could supply the synthesis. The value of the individual, denied in Germany and Russia was declared in the sacrament of Baptism which also laid emphasis upon the community. Christians must plan how to share their daily bread. Dissatisfaction with the Church arose largely from the fact that it was still too individualist as it had been in the Victorian age.

There was a popular fallacy that Christianity and Communism had similar plans for society, the communist method being harsh and quick while the Christian method was nice and slow. The real difference between Communism and Christianity was that the Communist had formed a plan into which society had to be made to fit, whereas the Christian was in a community already made by Christ.

Dr. Macleod made a plea for more sacramental worship. The consecration of bread and wine in the sacrament was a demonstration that there was no ultimate division between the spiritual and the material. The economic, social and industrial order was all part of the world which Christ came to redeem.

In the third session of the Conference the Rev. Stewart Mechie of Edinburgh declared that the true order of values, God—man—things—money, had been inverted. Man under our present economic system lives not for the Glory of God but for the production of things. The unemployed had been described as "surplus population" because they were not required for the production of things. Things on the other hand

MISDIRECTED TALENT

By

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD

Very pathetic figures in the present-day political world are those men of the Left who, while possessing more courage, principle, and independence of mind than the majority of their fellows, have yet allowed personal ambition or a mistaken ideology to lead them to give their support to the mass-murder of war. Fearless in their criticism of the blunders of our present rulers, they demand drastic changes and greater sacrifices, not, however, for any useful or constructive purpose, but only for a bigger and better slaughter.

The task they have set themselves is a hopeless one, for they are trying to build a house of granite with materials which, to an increasing degree, must crumble in the hand the more firmly the hand attempts to grasp them.

Before these men can come prominently on the scene as leaders, the pitch will already have been badly queered by the mistakes of their predecessors and their predecessors' allies. Churchillian strategy has gone far towards losing the war. Roosevelt's ill-advised quarrelsomeness has produced in the East a new enemy, with whom neither he nor we seem able to cope successfully and graft handicaps the war-effort of his country. The Soviet's record in the matter of cruelty, tyranny, and aggression does not inspire with wild enthusiasm people whose faculty for remembering past events has not been put to sleep.

If, at a time like this, the nation is to welcome drastic changes and be willing to endure greater sacrifices, it must be united in the profound conviction that it is engaged on a great crusade and that, at the end of the crusade, dies a bright and worth-while future. That conviction is lacking in the minds of very many of our people, nor will these politicians of the Left be able to establish it. War, as the last war proved, is *not* a crusade but a piece of futile bestiality which defeats its own ends. Men and women are beginning to realise that the attempt to save, by war, freedom and democracy in remote parts of Europe has merely resulted in the loss of freedom and democracy in our own country, and they do not place over-much confidence in the Government's promises of a post-war restoration of those liberties which have been sacrificed in wholesale fashion.

A friend tells me that he finds that sixty per cent. of the working-class people of a poor district in London declare the war to be a "capitalist ramp" — an opinion doubtless strengthened by the fact that everywhere they keep seeing, or hearing of, graft and corruption on a scale so widespread that the authorities are often powerless to interfere.

The fact is that, war being an evil thing and the propaganda methods used to promote war being often false and evil also, the net result on the nation's character is to degrade rather than to uplift. This we can see in the increase of juvenile crime and in the racketeering that goes on throughout the economic life of the country, from black markets to Government war ministries.

The British people, like the people of other nations, are doubtless united in their desire to avoid defeat. They are not, however, in any true sense united behind the war. In many cases they merely tolerate it because, with what I can only describe as criminally short-sighted foolishness, they derive a certain amount of contentment from war jobs and war wages and fear post-war unemployment. They do not see that if only they will demand monetary reform, then, war or no war, they can always have incomes proportionate to the supply of goods which the country can produce and import; but if, by prolongation of the war, they allow the rest of our trade to be lost, it will be no use their having large incomes, for there will be little for their incomes to buy. The luxury (?) of another year or two of war-employment may therefore be bought by heedless people at all too terrible a price in future privation which even the most extreme form of Socialism or Communism would not be able to prevent by reason of the size of the population of our crowded islands which are largely dependent on imports for many of the necessaries of life.

Not only is war in general futile, but many people realise—and indeed have always realised—that the Polish issue was as rotten an excuse for war as could well have been discovered, and this feeling does not help the "crusade" spirit. They have never wanted to "die for Danzig," and the Government's vague and belated statement of war aims, dragged out of them at last in the form of the Atlantic Charter, is not encouraging and gives little promise of a brighter future. The same old gang of politicians, completely under the control of the same old gang of financiers, would never give the country prosperity, even if the physical resources for producing real wealth were still there; and as I have already pointed out, if the chance of obtaining essential imports is allowed to slip still further from our grasp, even the physical possibilities of obtaining real wealth—possibilities which were once so great—may, in their turn, vanish. This unpleasant fact I would recommend very particularly to the consideration of those Social Credit militarists who still prattle about the age of potential abundance, blind to the sinister changes in the economic situation which are being produced by the war of which they are such ardent supporters.

Some of our war-mongering independents of the Left hope to strengthen the war effort by measures restricting still further facilities for public amusement and by distributing more equally the burden of war privation. They may succeed in getting their measures passed, but only, I think, at the price of increasing discontent and diminishing still further the amount of energy which will be put into war production. They will, in fact, be likely to lose more on the swings than they are able to gain on the roundabouts, because they persist in trying to create enthusiasm for a venture in which the wise and good can put no faith and in which the selfish can no longer find profit and enjoyment.

They would therefore do well to stop flogging a moribund charger and put their money on a different animal. They may feel that peace, in these days, rides on an ass, but they should remember that the Son of God, at any rate, desired no better mount.

IGNORED SPEECHES.—Labour M.P.'s speeches in the House of Commons unreported in the daily press. Post Free, **10½d**; also Parliamentary Peace Aims Group, Labour Party, reply to **The Atlantic Charter.** A complete analysis. Post Free, **4d.**

FALSEHOOD IN WAR TIME.—We do not know when Ponsonby's book will be received. Comrades who have ordered it may have other books in its place if they wish.

Ready In April.

THE DEVIL'S CHAPLAIN.

A biography of the Rev. Robert Taylor, B.D., M.R.C.S., founder of the Christian Evidence Society, colleague of Richard Carlile, and Freethough Pioneer. A work every Freethinker ought to circulate. Price, 4d.; Post Free, 6d.

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Owing to paper restrictions, every reader should become a regular annual subscriber.

PONSONBY AND MOREL

Interesting Items.

The following item is culled from the Glasgow *Forward* for Saturday, April 20, 1918 :—

Mr. E. D. Morel Joins the I.L.P.

Last Saturday the Bradford I.L.P. had as principal guest at its Annual Reunion, Mr. E. D. Morel, in addition to Mr. F. W. Jowett, M.P., and Mr. Charles Roden Buxton.

On rising to deliver a short speech to a crowded audience of members of the I.L.P. and the Union of Democratic Control, Mr. Morel received a remarkable ovation, and was not allowed to speak for some minutes whilst the members indulged their need to give him round after round of cheers.

At the conclusion of his speech Mr. Morel notified his intention of joining the I.L.P., and he has now selected the Bradford Branch and handed in his membership.

The Labour Leader for December 19, 1918, published an account of Arthur, now Lord Ponsonby's joining the Dunfermline branch of the I.L.P. :—

Mr. A. Ponsonby Joins the I.L.P.

On Sunday, December 15, at a meeting of the Dunfermline Branch of the Independent Labour Party, Mr. J. Mitchell presiding, Mr. Arthur Ponsonby was enrolled as a member. Mr. Ponsonby said it was a very natural step for him to take, as he had been constantly working in conjunction with members of the party for some years past, both inside and outside the House of Commons. His reasons for not taking the step sooner were that the Labour Party was till recently part of the Coalition Government, and that even after it had withdrawn he was most anxious to test the opinion of the constituency at the election solely on his policy and principles, and did not want to adopt what might have been interpreted as an electoral device for inducing members of the Labour Party to vote for him merely because he was a Labour candidate. We can assure Mr. Ponsonby of his hearty welcome into the I.L.P.

(Church of Scotland Peace Report—*continued from page* 107).

existed for the accumulation of money. "A favourable balance of trade" meant an excess of exports over imports, an impoverishment of ourselves in return for a money, or credit, income. Food had been destroyed while people went hungry for "food is not stuff to feed, but stuff to sell." The Christian purpose must be to put God first and to put money back in its place.

Mr. Mechie advocated economic reconstruction by means of monetary reform. He was followed by Mr. A. B. Mackay who advocated economic reconstruction by means of a planned economy. The exploitation of man, he said, started before money became a god, and the solution cannot therefore be found simply through reform of the use of money. The trouble is that our distribution is planned for an age of poverty, while we have passed into an age of plenty. The competitive system reduces buying power by keeping wages low, while the owning class is accumulating wealth which ceases to be purchasing power, for the millionaire has not needs enough to use his wealth. A million pounds actually distributed among a million people would actually increase buying power, but concentrated in the hands of one person only a small part of it is used as purchasing power. The rest has to be used otherwise, chiefly in investment to produce more goods for which there will be no effective demand because of the absence of purchasing power.

The competitive system in danger of collapse has had recourse to palliatives, chiefly the arms traffic. The real solution lay in planning. If we can plan for war why not for peace? Money should be equated to producing power, and distribution planned according to needs.

At the closing session, Professor G. H. C. Macgregor gave a summary of the foregoing lectures and the Conference proceeded to group discussion.

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Liberty! Equality!! Fraternity!!!

THE WORD

To Rouse The People, To Combat Fascism, and To Speed Commonweal.

An Organ of the United Socialist Movement, Edited and Published by Guy A. Aldred, at The Strickland Press. 104 George Street, Glasgow, C.1. All unsigned matter is from the pen of the Editor. Annual Subscription, 3s. 0d.

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SAD CASE OF THE REFORMERS WHO SUPPORT WAR

[*Specially drawn for "The Word" by Gowrie.*

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD and "THE WORD"

House of Lords Discussion Reviewed

An Open Letter to

THE RT. HON. VISCOUNT SIMON
LORD CHANCELLOR OF GREAT BRITAIN

Requesting to be heard at the Bar of the House of Lords in Defence of the Truth

My Lord,

Following upon the question that was initiated in the House of Lords on Thursday, 26th March, last, by Lord Nathan, on the question of

FREEDOM OF PRESS

I venture to address a public letter of complaint to you, alleging that:

(1) A member of your House who participated in that debate was guilty of an abuse of function whereby grave injustice was done to me as a citizen of these realms.

(2) Another member of your House, reporting the remarks of the said member in the columns of the press, aggravated the misdemeanour.

(3) Where the remarks of said member were reported soberly and without comment in the press, they broadcasted as fact that which was untrue, and that which must have been known to be untrue by the spokesman in question.

(4) The statement, having been made in the House of Lords, encouraged the established but irresponsible press to comment and enlarge upon that which was not true as though it were true.

Whereby a grave injustice has been done to me as a citizen. I ask that reparation shall be made for that injustice.

The member of whom I complain in the first instance is Lord Vansittart of Denham.

VANSITTART INDICTS "THE WORD"

My Lord, I draw your attention to the House of Lords Official Report, vol. 122, No. 39, Thursday, 26th March 1942, columns 499-500. Lord Vansittart's speech is being reported. He says:

In the March issue of the Duke of Bedford's organ—I am using too sonorous an expression—"The Word," there is an article which goes far beyond anything attributed to the "Daily Mirror." On page 89, your Lordships will find an article, etc.

Lord Vansittart's summary of the article is unfair and is of no consequence. He makes the Duke of Bedford make a reference to the Prime Minister, as being his own opinion, whereas the Duke is quoting another person's view. It may be said that this is but the Duke's method of approach. Even so, if one is quoting a declaration for the purpose of censure, one ought to quote scrupulously and exactly. Any departure ought to be on the side of allowance and generous understanding. Such an approach but strengthens the condemnation. Lord Vansittart preferred to secure his condemnation by enhancing the complexion of the facts.

After suggesting that the Duke of Bedford "**is perhaps concerned to defend himself from such a charge**" as that of possessing a low intelligence, Lord Vansittart adds: "**But I am afraid that charity is not one of His Grace's long suits.**"

Which is charming.

Vansittart complains next about the Duke of Bedford's views as to the continued success or otherwise of the struggle in Russia, and his references to graft and corruption in the United States. The Russian view is but an opinion. It is one to be considered, without alarm or despondency, but as a matter for discussion. The question of American graft is one of fact, calling for most serious discussion, without heat or partisanship, but as a matter of cold fact and enquiry.

THE WIDOW OF HOVE

Lord Vansittart refers to the case of the Hove widow who, on March 23, "**very properly received one month's imprisonment for saying precisely that about Russia**" that the Duke said.

Very properly! As a matter of fact, the sentence was an outrage. What did it matter what a widow of 63 years of age said to two officers in a cafe! Do we not ridicule this carry-on in Germany and Italy? Have we not ridiculed it in Russia? Why tolerate it here?

The widow was expressing a private opinion that may not even have been an opinion. Her expression may have been thoughtless. But it did no harm and carried no weight. The woman may have been worried and tired. The sentence was cruel and stupid. The report of the prosecution and sentence did all the harm

that the original offence failed to achieve. The prosecution and sentence broadcasted as something urgent, a careless utterance, probably made, as stated above, under strain. Who is not living under strain these days? The prosecution gave that statement a grave and sober setting and suggested that the country was alarmed whereas no one was alarmed, not even the magistrates responsible.

The Bench was irritated, shocked and disturbed. It exercised its pompous brief authority most unwisely. If the casual remark uttered by an old woman, wearied of her daily round, could disturb the magistracy, it must be wanting in the courage and audacity possessed by our forefathers.

Lord Vansittart comments:

. . . and it goes without saying that there is not one law for a widow and another for a Duke.

Naturally the Duke is free and the widow ought to be free. But Vansittart does not want the Duke of Bedford prosecuted before his peers. Vansittart wants the Duke interned without prosecution. Which is not the same law for the widow as for the Duke!

MISQUOTING THE DUKE

Lord Vansittart then "quotes" the following sentence from the Duke of Bedford's article:

"We shall have to overcome our objection to trusting Hitler and accept him as a feature of the post-war world."

My Lord, that sentence is not to be found in the Duke of Bedford's article on page 89 of *The Word* for March 1942. It is not to be found in any other part of the paper. Lord Vansittart has omitted an adverb and has altered the verb. He has torn a sentence from its context and has made the Duke of Bedford utter as prophetic fact, that Hitler **must** survive the war, whereas in the original the Duke of Bedford is arguing that democracies and dictatorships may have to exist side by side. An entirely different sentiment. On the ground of this travesty, your House was asked to consider the suppression of *The Word*. The author of this travesty lectured your House on the responsibility of the Duke of Bedford!

Having misquoted so ably, and with obvious deliberation, Lord Vansittart continues:

One cannot measure sin by circulation. The Home Secretary once said that he had his eye on the Duke. Why has he taken it off? Is it on the ground that the Duke has never grown up? And I think there is some justification for that view, because this same issue begins with a parody of "Onward Christian Soldiers," a piece of grubby doggerel that any third-form boy would disown, but which His Grace proudly signs. But in any case that line will not do, because if the Duke is dismissed on those lines why does he get paper? On the other hand, if he is to be ranked as a witting advocate of Hitler, why has he not been suppressed long ago?

I pause, my Lord, to consider the reference to "grubby doggerel." His Grace of Bedford is a member of your House and can make his own comment or explanation in due course. It is not my function to defend his thought or writing. Yet I cannot resist the temptation to comment. Venomous Vansittart incites comment even if he fails to inspire thought.

To parody "Onward Christian Soldiers" may be in good taste or in bad. That is a matter for discussion. I am an Atheist and would not like to decide. The Duke of Bedford is a Christian and can understand the Christian reaction much better than I will be expected to do. Since the original hymn is written in doggerel, the parody must be doggerel. The parody, to be a parody, must be as "grubby" as the original. Vansittart's comment of animus is absurd. The offence is committed not by the parodist but by his critic. The original hymn ought not to have been written in "grubby doggerel"!

PAPER RATION SUGGESTION

I pass now to Lord Vansittart's most honourable suggestion that the Duke of Bedford ought not to get paper. But the Duke of Bedford is not a printer. He is not a publisher. He is not an editor. He is not the proprietor of a paper. So far as I know he does not get paper. To whom then is Lord Vansittart referring. The reference is to *The Word*. Since I am the editor, publisher, and proprietor of *The Word*, the reference is to me. Then why not say so and why not state the charge against me? Why this underhand approach of bias and mean persecution?

When addressing your House, Lord Vansittart referred to the actual page of the March issue on which the Duke of Bedford's article appeared. Page 89. The Duke's essay does not take up the full page. It occupies less than a page of a 12 paged paper, that carries no advertisements. The alleged offending article was one of twelve articles. True, Lord Vansittart summarises two or three part paragraphs of that article, without venturing to give its purport. He "quotes," however, **but one short sentence**—a sentence that, as worded in the alleged quotation, is not to be found in the original. The discrepancy is calculated and not accidental as is proven by the effect of the change.

Lord Vansittart described *The Word* as the Duke's paper. He emphasised this description by asking the Ministry of Supply to stop paper supplies—an unconstitutional and illegitimate use of the principle of rationing. He gives force to the suggestion that *The Word* is the Duke of Bedford's paper, edited as well as owned by him, by drawing special attention to the fact that "**His grace proudly signs**" the parody. Why should the Duke of Bedford not sign it if he wrote it? It is not a question of pride. Nor of modesty. It is a question of truth. The Duke of Bedford wrote the parody. The Duke of Bedford signed the parody. To suggest that he ought not to have done so is to suggest that he was in a position to publish unsigned matter in the paper. In other words, the suggestion impressed on the House was that the Duke of Bedford was and is the editor, publisher, and owner of *The Word*. If Lord Vansittart had seen *The Word*, as his speech implies, he knew that that suggestion was false.

From its very first issue, *The Word* has carried at the top of its front page the same statement as to editorship, responsibility, and unsigned matter, as appears on the front page of the present issue. A similar statement appeared at the head of my previous papers: *The Council*, *The Commune*, *The New Spur*, *The Spur*, and *The Herald of Revolt*. This takes us right back to 1910, which is a very long time before I became associated with the present Duke of Bedford. Even *The Word* was being published before I met the Duke of Bedford. Nothing in our association has changed the status of *The Word*. As many members of both Houses of Parliament know, and some of them have been intimate with me for years, *The Word* is edited, owned, and controlled by me.

Elsewhere I have remarked that contact with the Duke of Bedford has convinced me of his honour and integrity. I have great respect for his sincerity and ability. I avow that respect merely because it is the custom to abuse him. My sympathies are with heresy. The English blood in my veins moves me in that direction. Attribute the fact to my Puritan and Freethought ancestors. I would have no objection to editing a paper under the ownership of the Duke of Bedford. If I did so, the fact would be declared. In matters of publishing I believe in clear, responsible avowal and declaration. I do not believe in conspiracy and concealment.

Lord Vansittart represents *The Word* as an organ edited and controlled by the Duke of Bedford, and, therefore, an organ given to the defence and eulogy of Hitlerism. Yet the issue quoted contained an essay from the pen of the Rt. Hon. F. W. Jowett, formerly a Cabinet Minister, a man noted for his long service to the workers of Britain, and one whom no one will accuse of being pro-Hitler. Jowett is probably the outstanding Socialist and democrat in Great Britain to-day, a veteran in the Labour struggle. Another article, from the pen of Rudolf Rocker, defended the British Empire and defined its place in social progress. It was translated specially from the Spanish for *The Word* by a comrade who had served in Spain in the struggle against Franco and Fascism.

True, there is another article—sober and mild—replying to Rocker. But the reply is not a defence of Fascism. The reply indicts Fascism equally with Imperialism. The reply is unsigned, because its arrangement is by me. This is in accordance with the declaration on the front page.

If I wished to condemn a paper I would find out all about it. If that paper had been running for some time, I would not judge its tone and style by one issue. If Lord Vansittart had acted in this way what would he have discovered?

He would have discovered critical, but not positively unfriendly references to Lord Wedgwood, who is a militarist as well as a libertarian, an enthusiastic enemy of Fascism, a man who was opposing Fascism when Vansittart was dining with the "butcher-bird." In January, *The Word* published a speech made by Lord Snell, who supports the Government. That speech was published by permission of the author. Likewise, we have reproduced regularly in these columns speeches and articles by A. Creech Jones, M.P., one of the few really able and sincere men who support, somewhat critically, the Government in the House of Commons. I admire the integrity of Creech Jones and I publish his articles on that account. For the same reason, I publish the Duke of Bedford's essays. It cannot be said that I endorse, at the same time, the views of the Duke of Bedford, Lord Snell, Lord Wedgwood and A. Creech Jones, M.P. I do not worry whether I share their views or otherwise. I simply say to myself: Is this a truthful man? Does he write sincerely? Has he a message? Will his views bear discussion and help mankind? If the reply is "Yes," I publish the article. I am not a censor but a defender and advocate of freedom of speech, thought, and writing. My ancestors stood for such freedom. So do I! That fact may leave me open to prosecution. Such treatment I have experienced. It ought to protect me against misrepresentation and abuse such as that of which I complain. For protection against such abuse, committed in your House, under your presidency, I turn to you, my Lord. I once respected and defended you for your loyalty to conscience. I would not like to think that I addressed myself to you in vain.

VANSITTART AND HITLER

Lord Vansittart accuses the Duke of Bedford of giving comfort in *The Word* to Goebbels. It is doubtful if any man has helped Goebbels so much as Lord Vansittart, the ex-Chief Diplomatic Adviser to the Foreign Office, who now poses as the fiercest Anti-German that the war has produced. It is a pity that Ward Price, of the *Daily Mail*, did not take a photograph of the Vansittarts at the Hitler dinner, which he describes in his book "**I Know These Dictators.**" Such a photograph would have made an excellent illustration for this article of protest. **Let it be remembered that the Duke of Bedford never attended a Hitler dinner.**

In February last, Lord Vansittart delivered a speech to the Never Again Association at Grosvenor House, London. The speech was reported widely in the British Press. **Berlin promptly broadcasted extracts.** Goebbels felt that this kind of propaganda would stiffen German morale. Dr. Goebbles did to Vansittart's speech exactly what Vansittart did to Bedford's article. He extracted a sentence and took liberties with the text. Vansittart

advocated "the complete destruction of the German Army." Goebbels propaganda machine broadcasted to the listening Germans the statement that Vansittart had talked about "a complete occupation of Germany after the war and the complete destruction of Germany."

The Black Record, Lord Vansittart's much boosted Anti-German propaganda pamphlet has had a huge circulation in Britain and the United States. Lord Kemsley's *Sunday Times* advocated its reactionary news with fervour.

Commander Stephen King-Hall, M.P., in his *News Letter* said of Lord Vansittart:

"Sir Robert Vansittart produces a pamphlet which is calculated to do everything possible to weld the German people into a homogeneous mass of Nazis!

"It is also calculated to cause all those Germans who are active or potentially active opponents of the Nazis to despair. One man will be glad. His name is Dr. Goebbels. No need for him to exclaim: 'Would that mine adversary had written a book.' Sir Robert has written Goebbels' book for him and it will be surprising if it is not at once translated into German and given away to every German with the compliments of the Fuhrer and without comment."

Backed up by such papers as the *Sunday Times*, this man claims the right to misrepresent *The Word* and the Duke of Bedford in the House of Lords. Here are five quotations from *Sunday Times*, the paper that slandered the Duke of Bedford, in an editorial, demanded his internment, and then refuses to publish his reply of fact, on the ground that he was friendly to Hitler:

"Herr Hitler is an honest man—a very honest man."

—June 25th, 1933.

"Herr Hitler in particular deserves congratulations on this agreement with Austria, and we are not disposed to look behind and around to find hidden and sinister motives."

—July 12th, 1936.

"He (Hitler) is not arrogant."

—Feb. 13th, 1938.

"Herr Ribbentrop has won the liking and respect of everybody who has met him and, better still, he has won the liking of the great public."

—August 16th, 1936.

"To deny all sincerity to Hitler and to represent him to the ruthless enemy of the causes that he professes to believe in is natural and easy, but not perhaps entirely just, judgment.'

—March 19th, 1939.

VANSITTART AND RUSSIA

In his speech attacking *The Word*, Lord Vansittart denounced any utterance that might suggest that all was not well with Russia. What hypocrisy! Lord Vansittart was Permanent Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 1930-38; and Chief Diplomatic Adviser to the Foreign Secretary, 1938-41. That is to say he played his part in Foreign Affairs, a not unimportant part, at a time when the British Government was assisting Finland to defend the Mannerheim Line against Soviet Russia. The Russia-Finnish War was a tragedy in which the British Foreign Office played an important part. When Soviet Russia became Britain's ally, the Finnish armies attacked Leningrad with planes, guns, hand grenades and bombs manufactured in Britain. Premier Neville Chamberlain read out the list of supplies sent to Finland, in the House of Commons, on March 19, 1940, when defending himself against the Anti-Socialist critics who accused the Government of not sending enough aid to Finland.

Aeroplanes—101.
Guns of all kinds—114.
Shells—185,000
Vickers Guns—100.
Marine Mines—400.
Hand-grenades—50,000.
Aircraft Bombs—15,700.
Signalling Equipment—800.
Anti-Tank Rifles.
Respirators—60,000.
Greatcoats—100,000.
Battle Dress Suits—100,000.
Anti-Tank Mines—10,000.
Ambulances—48.

So that in the Battle of Leningrad many mines and tanks on both sides came from Britain.

Mr. Chamberlain proceeded to tell the House about the plans made by the Supreme War Council on February 5, 1940, to send an Expeditionary Force to aid the Finns against Russia. Vansittart was the Chief Diplomatic Adviser to the Foreign Secretary during that period!

VANSITTART AND LAVAL

In *Forward*, for January 8, 1938, the late L. MacNeill Weir, M.P., wrote an open letter to Anthony Eden, in which he describes the part played by Vansittart in Foreign Affairs:

From 1931-1935 the late Ramsay MacDonald insisted on sharing whatever publicity was going with the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. The MacDonald-Simon comic combination had disastrous results.

When Sir Samuel Hoare became Foreign Secretary in mid-summer, 1935, you were associated with him as a Cabinet Minister without portfolio to deal with League of Nations' affairs. . . . I have always thought that to describe the treacherous betrayal that followed as the Hoare-Laval scandal does not do justice nor fairness to the present Home Secretary. . . . It should rightly be called the Vansittart plan, for it was the joint product of the permanent officials of Downing Street and Quai d'Orsay.

It is hard to conceive of anything more discreditable than your replies to questions in the House on Spain. Your interpetation of the phrase "Both Sides" in every answer on intervention in Spain was always eagerly awaited. It became the joke of the day.

It has always appeared to me as particularly discreditable that you should have made yourself the champion of what was to the eyes of all the world a shameful fraud—the Non-Intervention Committee. . . .

But you have not done enough. Sir Robert Vansittart takes up your executive duties. I see it is said that he is to have direct access to the Prime Minister. . . .

Now I happen to know Sir Robert Vansittart. . . . I believe his being in control of foreign affairs at this time is calamity. . . .

Sir Robert Vansittart's policy was at first a close association with Mussolini in the hope of drawing Italy away from Germany.

Now his policy is the same as the Prime Minister's. . . . Now the policy is Western European Pact, the overthrow of the Popular Front Government of France and an end to the Franco-Soviet Pact.

Nor is it possible to conceal any longer the shameful policy of the Government with regard to China. There is no doubt that the Government is more hopeful of advantage from a victorious Japan than of any gain from an unconquered China.

Any question of Justice or national honour simply does not emerge.

This was the considered opinion of L. MacNeill Weir, for so long private secretary to the late Ramsay MacDonald, when the latter was Prime Minister. It was published in the columns of the *Forward*, when that journal was edited by the present Secretary of State for Scotland. It must be presumed to be a responsible opinion. It is factual and indicts the Fascist alliances and tendencies of Lord Vansittart, the very alliances and tendencies that made European and World War inevitable and have taken, therefore, such a toll of poor, oppressed humanity.

ARMED JAPAN

Lord Vansittart made a false statement as to the ownership and editorship of *The Word*. He made a false quotation from the Duke of Bedford's article. He demanded that no paper be supplied on the strength of that quotation. This ruthless present-day enemy of the Fascist powers was responsible for the policy that sent arms against Leningrad and gave arms to Japan against China, our present ally.

Japan, my Lord, would never have been able to capture Malaya or Singapore or to have sunk the "Prince of Wales" or the "Repulse" but for the policy of Lord Vansittart. He has attacked the Duke of Bedford for attacking American graft. The Truman Report is the Duke of Bedford's official answer. Pearl Harbour could not have been attacked if the U.S.A. had not supplied war materials to Japan. Singapore would not have fallen if Britain had not supplied war materials to Japan. The press and the statesmen who upheld these supplies being sent denounce *The Word*. We were opposed to arming Finland and Japan.

My Lord, consider the figures. In 1939, Japan imported 70.9 per cent of aluminium for aeroplanes, from the British Empire and 7.29 per cent. from the U.S.A. and 92.19 per cent. of her copper from U.S.A. and 7.5 per cent. from the British Empire. Of the iron and steel scrap which supplied the guns which were used against Singapore 91.01 per cent. came from U.S.A. and 6.2 per cent from the British Empire.

Lord Vansittart's policy armed the enemy.

PRESS REPORTS

In the press reports that I have seen Lord Vansittart's speech is reported fairly and without comment in the following journals: *Times; Daily Telegraph; Daily Express; Daily Sketch;* all of London; *Manchester Guardian; Yorkshire Evening Post*, Leeds; *Scotsman*, Edinburgh; *Glasgow Herald; The Belfast News Letter.* All refer to *The Word* as the Duke of Bedford's organ and some state that "Lord Vansittart launched an attack," etc.

The *Eastern Daily Press*, Norwich, heads the reference to *The Word*: "CASE OF THE DUKE OF BEDFORD."

The Wolverhampton Express carried the ominous and suggestive sub-heading: "WIDOW SENTENCED."

The Nottingham Guardian has the sub-heading: "WIDOW AND DUKE."

The Belfast News-Letter carried these headings:—

HOUSE OF LORDS
Reference to Duke of Bedford's Paper

The Glasgow Herald heads its report: "DUKE'S PUBLICATION," meaning *The Word*.

The Nottingham Journal reported the debate beneath the heading:—

LORD VANSITTART AND DUKE OF BEDFORD

The Western Mail, Cardiff, March 27, carries a two column heading: "LAW FOR WIDOW AND DUKE—VANSITTART."

The Newcastle Daily Journal, for the same date, states:—

DUKE OF BEDFORD'S PAPER ATTACKED

The Sheffield Telegraph has a sub-heading: "DUKE'S NEWSPAPER."

The West Lancashire Evening Gazette, Blackpool, for March 27, devotes a leading article to the debate, from which I excerpt:—

THAT MAN AGAIN

We commend once more the words of Lord Vansittart in the House of Lords respecting the Duke of Bedford, who is still at large to write pernicious nonsense.

In the March issue of the Duke's organ, "The Word," the Duke (according to Lord Vansittart) has the effrontery to call the Prime Minister a "grave-digger." . . .

If Mr. Morrison gets tough with the virile "Daily Mirror," he should not be tender with the Bedfordian "Word."

But the worse offender in the press was the Marquess of Donegall, who sits in the House of Lords as Baron Fisherwick.

The reader of these paragraphs will conclude that the Marquis of Donegall has read *The Word*, whereas he is serving up second-hand Lord Vansittart's assertions.

Under the heading *"Trust Hitler?"* he "requotes" Vansittart's Hitler and the future "quotation" which does not appear in the Duke of Bedford's article: and quotes it as though the article is really in front of him.

He passes on to the *"Widow's Case"* and gives it a special sub-heading. He concludes, repeating without acknowledgment Lord Vansittart's request for withdrawing paper supplies:—

Personally, I think that because he is a duke it is all the more reason to lock him up. It is his job to set an example.

Anyway, if the Government is chary, for one reason or another, of locking him up, it might at least take away his paper ration.

Since The Marquess of Donegall is, equally with Lord Vansittart, a member of your House, I ask to be heard at the bar of the House to protest against such grave abuse and misrepresentation.

I am aware that speeches in the House of Lords are privileged. But that ought not to be screen for irresponsible declamation. Does privilege means licence?

I have the honour to be, my Lord, your fellow citizen.

GUY A. ALDRED.

CIVIL LIBERTIES IN THE COLONIES

By

A. CREECH JONES, M.P.

(Parliamentary Private Secretary to the Minister of Labour; Chairman, Fabian Colonial Bureau.)

[Reproduced from 1935 Election Address.

[This important essay from the pen of our comrade was published in "Civil Liberty," the quarterly journal of the National Council for Civil Liberties, for Spring 1938. As our readers know, no one has asserted more strenuously the right of civil liberty in the Colonies than Creech Jones. Our columns have not done justice to his splendid stand but we hope to make amends at an early date. This essay makes better reading to-day than it did in 1938 and vindicates the soundness of the reasoning advanced by Creech Jones—Ed.]

Enshrined in the declarations of British Colonial policy are great liberal principles. The Colonies have been acquired in different ways for different purposes, and policy has been in the main empirical, determined less by liberating ideas than by the purposes of the settlers and the possibilities of the exploitation of native and natural resources. To these motives the native people have had to bend.

AUTOCRACY OR DEMOCRACY?

The Colonial Empire is extraordinarily complex. There are nearly 60 million people in forty non-self-governing colonies, protectorates, and mandated territories. Local circumstances are a vital consideration in discussing the degree of personal liberty and social responsibility in the respective territories.

At the one extreme, the native systems of Government have been replaced by autocratic control — benevolent autocracy — under the Governor. Higher in the scale of development are the bureaucracies in which devices have been adopted for obtaining the views of merchants, planters, investors, capitalists, and other interests in the Executive or Legislative Councils set up to assist the Governors. Sometimes these tend to become qualified autonomies in which increasing powers are delegated to purely native governing bodies. But in most Colonies, the Secretary of State for the Colonies retains the power to override legislatures by Order in Council. In the Gold Coast, for instance, the natives take some limited part in the Legislative and Executive Councils, while in Nigeria and Uganda native parliaments for peoples numbering millions have considerable powers for regulating native affairs. Sometimes, as in the Sudan, civil administration is carried out through native sheiks and chiefs administrating tribal law according to tribal custom.

TRUSTEESHIP.

The principles of British colonial policy are based on the great liberal tradition. How they have actually been interpreted and applied is another matter. As far back as 1833 we declared in the South Africa Charter "there shall be no discrimination on account of colour and race," and when, subsequently, we granted the demands of the white colonists for self-government we retained in London powers of reservation and disallowance in respect to discriminatory legislation. It is true that in the Union of South Africa the Statute of Westminster has obliterated these powers, and London has had to watch the destruction of the Cape native franchise and see a mass of repressive legislation enacted against the black people, but in the case of Southern Rhodesia such powers still exist and will continue until Rhodesia's demand for Dominion status is recognised. Then she will be free to enact what is already her social habit, discrimination.

In the liberal tradition also we have declared for the paramountcy of native interest: "if and when native interest and the interests of the immigrant races should conflict, the former should prevail." We have described ourselves as trustees and subscribed to the principles of the Mandates of the League: "the material and moral well-being, the social progress, respect of the rights and safeguarding of the interests of these native societies form a sacred trust of civilisation."

INDIRECT RULE.

In some of our colonies, under the influence of Lord Lugard, government through native institutions has been made a working principle. This is usually known as Indirect Rule and, at its best, it is based on an understanding and wise use of the capacity of deliberation and self-government which exists in the natives concerned. Mr. Ormsby-Gore said a few months ago that its object was "to give Africans a real share in their own government and to train them in the art and practice of civilised administration." But the administrative and practical difficulties of applying the principles of Indirect Rule are enormous. Different cultures are in contact. In this connection, Lugard recently said that in the administration of justice "we continue to apply rules of evidence and judicial formalities which, to the bulk of the African population, are wholly mysterious and meaningless, and to the sophisticated offer opportunity for malpractice."

Indirect rule as inspired by some administrators spells repression and stagnation; obviously it can prove rigid, conservative, and inflexible before the new forces at work on native society. What needs to be emphasised is that in view of the rapid changes going on in the world, indirect rule must imply patient and slow adjustment to western conceptions because, sooner or later, the native people have to be made at home in a capitalist and imperialist world.

But it is none the less true that in certain colonies, where the settled European population is negigible, substantial progress in the policy of Indirect Rule can be recorded, chiefly because the interests of the European merchant are not antagonistic at present to native political evolution. But where a local population of white investors desires to exploit native labour or to establish its own considerable farms, native development is not encouraged and efforts are made to obtain for the white people major control in the Government. The paramountcy of native interests is then subject to great strain, and justification is sought in a new theory of the dual mandate as if the rights of native and immigrant populations can be readily reconciled. But it should be said that there is a marked difference in policy as between West and East Africa.

THE NATIVE PROLETARIAT.

Already in Africa there is growing in size a native proletariat without land or tools and seeking to sell its labour power. It is estimated that there are one and a half million natives engaged in mining, in industries, and away from their own villages partly because of their poverty, their inability to pay taxes or to work their land profitably, or to find a place in the reserves. The old tribal customs are undermined: the old authority of the chiefs passes; the old social organisation no longer fits nor can be made to apply to the new conditions. It is in these circumstances that many of the restrictive regulations on movement, trade, activity, and ownership have been made and colour bars imposed. There is little industrial protection for the natives, and punishments of varying severity can be imposed. As to the right of combination, for industrial or political purposes, except in a few colonies, there has been increasing restriction. In Kenya and Southern Rhodesia any assembly or gathering together of the natives may be summarily dispersed or prohibited, and this is used to prevent the ventilation of grievances or the organising of industrial union. Combination among natives exposes them to legal penalties, and no strike can be organised without similar penalties.

It must be recognised, therefore, that new forces are operating among the native people and western influences are disturbing most of them in a profound way. The factors I have mentioned have a deep significance in respect to the status and responsibilities of the native, and, as someone recently remarked, it is not now in fact an adjustment in native social development between communism and individualism that is actually going on but a conflict as between increasing slavery and increasing freedom. Restriction of land, crowding of natives out of reserves, setting them wandering to sell their labour power, imposition of taxes in their extreme poverty are among the factors produced by white settlement and industrialism, which make for their servitude.

RACIAL DISCRIMINATION.

In British colonies undoubtedly the liberal principles in law may be observed in the courts, but there is a widespread belief among many white people that discrimination and segregation are sound principles. The colour bar is even stronger among white labour than among the professions. Segregation is aimed at in colonies like Kenya and Southern Rhodesia, Kenya continues to destroy the right of natives to their ancestral lands in the European Highlands, though an Italian or Portuguese may be free to buy land and settle. It is assumed that the black man (whether as an individual or as a group) is unequal or inferior or less civilised or less intelligent or less capable or less disciplined than the meanest of white men. In any case, the white settler is often in a superior and privileged position in the colony, and his economic position and resources, his powers of control and planning give him authority which magnifies his position in relation to the native.

Great Britain ratified the Slavery Convention of 1926 and in 1930 the Convention of Forced Labour, but in certain parts of the Empire we will have some way to go before we can feel content that every native is a free man, that there is no slavery, no forced labour, and no pressure on him to work for settlers. Among the natives themselves in Bechuanaland there is still servitude of one tribe to another; forced labour is still resorted to on occasion in one or other of our African colonies, and contract labour still calls for more careful regulation in the mines of Rhodesia, while native servitude with penal sanctions in Kenya should long have passed out of the code of colonial administration.

"EQUAL RIGHTS."

The conflict of principles in Colonial policy in Africa is well illustrated in Southern Rhodesia, where the white population to-day are demanding the fullest control of the government of that territory without the possibility of legislation of a discriminatory character being referred to Great Britain.

Discrimination is already abundantly manifest in the general policy of segregation which is typified in the land laws, trade restrictions, mining rights discrimination and pass laws already operating in the colony. But before the law black and white man both possess equal common rights in citizenship and franchise. Theoretically the dictum of Rhodes, "equal rights for all civilised men south of the Zambesi," is accepted, but it is not made working practice. The Transvaal Constitution was more blatant: "there can be no equality between white and black in the

church or state." Where law does not discriminate, the results are achieved by administrative action, trade restriction, and social opinion.

SEDITION.

Until recent years it was assumed that the inherent power of the Government to deal with seditious or riotous assembly was not strained against the holding of political and independent meetings. As a result, however, of the gradual enlightenment of the native and the effect of Western influences, authority felt it incumbent to retreat from the liberal principles it once professed. But the multiplication of sedition ordinances has gone on. In almost all territories there has been a new or amending enactment in the past ten years. The effect is to tighten up the law by imposing more severe penalties, by creating additional offences, and by granting despotic powers in certain circumstances to executive authorities. In the case of the Gold Coast in 1934, the ordinance put upon the accused person the onus of proving his own innocence instead of requiring the Crown to prove his guilt to the satisfaction of the court. Likewise there has been a considerable extension of press censorship, and extensive powers have been secured, and by proclamation the importation into the colony of literature is carefully controlled. In Gambia such a publication as Nancy Cunard's "Negro Anthology" and in Tanganyika and Trinidad the "Daily Worker" and "Labour Monthly" came under the ban. The extent to which these laws operate is difficult to discover, but from time to time we learn of prosecutions in cases which obviously indicate how severe are the restrictions imposed on the right of criticism and free expression in respect of public policy.

NEGLECT OF NATIVE AFFAIRS

This article can be no more than a cursory statement without any indication or detailed consideration of the numerous matters affecting civil liberty in the colonies. I cannot discuss the limited political rights in the West Indies and how events in Trinidad and Barbadoes have emphasised again the urgency of big constitutional changes. So far as this country is concerned, control by Parliament in these matters is negligible; our sources of information are inadequate; Parliament has no claim to see draft ordinances or to pass judgment on Orders in Council; there is little or no time for discussion. And frankly the British press are indifferent and the public not interested. Nevertheless, we have a very real responsibility to the millions of people whose destinies we have taken control of, and if these people are to grow in freedom and responsibility, and if they are to maintain their rights and liberty against the more aggressive and ruthless alien communities, an active interest and lively public opinion must exist in this country.

Editor's Statement—We ask our readers' patience for another month. Financial Report and Letter Box will appear then. Also we shall have caught up with most of our contributors, whose essays we have had to hold so long. Meantime, continue your solidarity. Remember this journal appears each month at a heavy loss. Lend your copy. Help.

Comrades who are horrified at the situation of the world to-day ought to read Strickland's last letter, "The March of Homicide," published at 2d., post-free 3d. They should order past numbers of "The Word" containing records of Strickland's career. We believe that 3 issues could be supplied still, post-free 8d., although some are entirely out of print.

United Socialist Movement. Meetings every Sunday, 106 George St., Glasgow, C.1, 7-30 p.m. questions, discussions. Study Circle, Thursdays, 8 p.m. Group meetings. Mondays, 8 p.m. Comrades wishing to become national members should write Secretary, enclosing stamp for reply.

CATALOGUES: Strickland Press Catalogue, 24 pp. Also Allen and Unwin booklet sent on request. Send **1d.** stamp.

THE MARTYRDOM OF THE PEOPLE

By F. W. JOWETT

[The following essay was published by our Comrade Jowett in the "Bradford I.L.P. News" for Friday, December 5, 1941. This moving appeal will be appreciated by all thoughtful readers.—Ed.]

Will this war be fought to a finish? I mean the finish predicted with such appearance of confidence by the Prime Minister, the President of the United States, and all who speak as leaders of Parties and as Ministers on behalf of the British and United States Government. Namely, a military finish to exterminate the German Nazi Government and totally destroy its military forces.

What is the ordeal of blood and sweat and tears through which all the peoples concerned will need to pass to the officially promised finish? And for how long will the peoples have to endure it?

These are questions that may well be asked with sad experience of the last two years behind us and the spreading, seemingly endless time prospect of martyrdom of peoples before us.

Let us—we who are readers of this little paper—think again about these questions. Think about them from the point of view of our own people, and of our own country which we love and wish to serve as ardently and faithfully as others do, but always realising THAT ALL PEOPLES OF THE WORLD ARE KIN, that the ordeal of war is the same for all of us, and the way to shorten and end it is THE SAME FOR THE COMMON PEOPLE EVERYWHERE.

Two things stand out clearly in relation to these questions I have stated. One is that both our own Government and the United States Government confidently expect the war to be a very LONG WAR with many more years to go before it ends in the military victory to which they are pledged.

The other is that the political approach to peace either by negotiations or by declaration of peace aims in fulfilment of the implication conveyed in point six of the eight-point statement issued to the world by agreement between President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill (namely "that men in all lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear of want") is NEITHER INTENDED NOR DESIRED by the Government supported by its three-headed party caucus Parliament.

To impose defeat of Germany by military armed force, the German army with its auxiliary allies must first be driven out of Russia, and the German Army itself be defeated on Germany's own soil—for it is there alone that Hitler's Nazi Army and his Nazi Government will accept defeat.

Campaigns, however long is needed to carry them through, will be required to end the war IN GERMANY if the German people are allowed to remain in fear of another Versailles Peace, or worse (as they surely will unless all the British propaganda of the Vansittart "Butcher-bird" class is officially repudiated). If this colossal military task is to be avoided, then British Foreign Secretary's threat of controlled disarmament of Germany for twenty years by armed Foreign Powers must be withdrawn, and definite peace aims stated, and supported by example, to enable "men of all lands to live out their lives in freedom from fear and want." In short a SOCIALIST PEACE.

What does it involve: this plan to overthrow Hitlerism by military victory alone? Russia must clear the Nazi Army and its auxiliary Fascist forces by counter-attack on the vast scale required for such a task. This means driving back hostile armies some 400 miles on a nearly 2000-miles-wide front. Brave and well-led as are the Russian armed forces and wonderful in their self-sacrificing heroism as the Russian people have proved themselves to be in defending their homeland and their Socialist achievements, counter attack on this vast scale cannot begin until Soviet Russia is re-armed to make good the loss of its own munitions and works. This cannot be done from the U.S.A., from Britain and from Soviet Russia's own production in less than, say, eighteen months or two years.

The final campaign, the decisive campaign, the biggest ever—will then, and not until then, be DUE TO BEGIN.

In the meantime the war is extending. We have a large army fighting a large-scale war in North Africa. We are preparing for another in the Far East. THERE IS NO FORESEEABLE LIMIT TO THIS MADNESS, either in point of time or space, now that our rulers have declared for a fighting finish.

Up to the present the war has SCARCELY TOUCHED the vast majority of our own people. It is coming more nearly to concern us all now. London, Coventry, Hull, Liverpool, Bristol, Newcastle, Yarmouth and other blitzed towns had had sad experience, but for more than six months THE PEOPLE OF RUSSIA HAVE BEEN SHOCK ABSORBERS FOR US.

We have been thinking little of late of the starvation blockade which our rulers neglected to prepare for, or of the intensive bombing operations which is part of the blockade strategy. But these are to become more real to us.

The evidence of scarcity is becoming manifest and undeniable. Soon so many of our adult and juvenile population will either be in uniformed service or on war work that there will be few left to produce necessary things. The streaks of shortage which Minister of Economic Warfare Hugh Dalton said were already being spread by our blockade "like weals" over the people of Germany, we shall be feeling ourselves. True, large quantities of food are coming across the Atlantic from the United States, but blitzing of our ports, internal supply and transport centres and industrial towns is sure to begin again, and be carried on with as much or even greater severity than our own attacks on German ports and towns since the Russian peoples' defence of their Socialist achievements and their homeland gave us temporary respite.

However well protected convoys of ships bringing food across the Atlantic may be, if a very large portion of their cargoes cannot be docked and transported, the blockade will be proportionately effective.

Is there no possible escape from the disastrous experience of a fight to a finish of this second world war without going through with it to the bitter end? Can the peoples concerned be expected to endure to the end the martyrdom their Governments have imposed on them?

I do not believe they will. Russia's defence of its Socialist State and exposure of the real truth about its achievements after more than twenty years of world-wide circulation of lies and misrepresentation is giving hope and encouragement for the ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SOCIALIST WAY OF LIFE IN OTHER LANDS and as the torment of the ordeal by battle grows, with the casualty lists, the CALL OF FELLOWSHIP AND PEACE will be STRONGER THAN THE WILL TO FIGHT, whatever Governments may say or do.

HENRY COOKE.

Henry Norman Cooke (27), of 60 Bryn Street, Ashton-in-Makerfield, is a member of the Ashton-in-Makerfield Pacifist Group, and a member of the local group of the United Socialist Movement. He is now serving a sentence of six months' imprisonment for refusing medical examination.

Comrade Cooke had made a firm stand as a Christian obsolutist as well as a Socialist Pacifist. He appeared in the dock at Wigan Borough Police Court first in January, 1941, for refusing to register on absolutist grounds. On March 15, 1942, he was sentenced, for a second time, for refusing medical examination. His statements in court will appear in an early issue.

Cooke declares that the ethics of the teachings of Jesus Christ cut across and go beyond the law of any country engaged in war, and must be obeyed by a Christian in opposition to the call of war, which is inhuman, anti-social, and anti-Christian.

THE INEQUALITY OF CONSCRIPTION

By C. H. NORMAN.

[This article appeared in "The Railway Review" for December 5, 1941.—Ed.]

One of the strange features of the time is the tendency for persons professing faith in democracy to lend support to every device for spreading the evil features of militant capitalism throughout the community, on the pretence that there is some virtue in putting everyone under the heel of misgovernment in its worst form, namely, Conscription.

The usual excuse is that conscription extends liabilities to service on an equal basis. In fact this is quite untrue. The inequalities of non-conscription may be great, but the inequalities and injustices of conscription far exceed them.

The citizens of Britain have allowed themselves to be jockeyed into a remarkable and terrible situation, in which a number of persons, elected on quite different issues, are asserting control over the lives of everyone in the community, themselves remaining outside the net of these laws by virtue of their positions as members of the Legislature and members of the governing clique which now includes a large proportion of members of Parliament. The bewilderment of the electors at the existing state of affairs is well shown by the figures of the Hampstead by-election, announced on 28th ult., when Mr. Challen, the Government candidate, received 7,630 votes, whereas his Conservative predecessor elected in 1935, obtained 28,334 votes. Yet one is asked to believe that the Government candidate represented the true feeling of the electors!

Why can it be said that conscription does not affect the people who pass it into law? Conscription compels one to perform certain duties: but does the House of Commons even compel its members to attend their duties there for which they receive the not inadequate payment of £600 a year?

A member of Parliament is not liable to be sent to a detention barrack for overstaying his leave. The Press recorded that when Sir Roger Keyes recently made an important statement on the military conduct of the war only fifty members were present at the debate! Where were the rest of them?

These gentlemen have exercised their authority recently by extending the life of the House of Commons contrary to the Statute which declared the life of Parliament should not extend beyond five years! The effect of that vote was that these gentlemen have installed themselves in a position of dictators against whom neither wisdom nor good sense can prevail.

Consider, also, the advantageous position in which some M.P.s have been placed by the changes of Government arising from the war. In August, 1939, Mr. Winston Churchill was drawing from public funds £600 a year as a member of Parliament. He is now drawing £10,000 a year as Prime Minister for the duration of the war or the duration of his life apparently; plus the increased emoluments arising from the greater sales of his books through his prestige as Prime Minister. Mr. Attlee moved up from £2,000 a year as Leader of the Opposition to £5,000 a year. Mr. Greenwood moved up from £600 a year as a member of the House to £5,000 a year as member of the Cabinet. Mr. Ernest Bevin moved up from his trade union salary to £5,000 a year as a Cabinet Minister. The minor Labour Ministers had advances less in proportion but also substantial—except Mr. Thomas Johnston, who is reported to be taking no salary.

On the point of equality, compare those facts with the ordinary citizen, who is dragged away from his ordinary occupation and placed in the army on a pittance of a few shillings a week.

There is no reason in equity why the members of Parliament and the Cabinet Ministers should not place themselves on soldiers' pay plus a subsistence allowance.

These gentlemen are glib about the beauties of sacrifice, but where is the evidence that they believe in practising what they preach and enforce by law on others.

It is interesting to observe, in passing, that the combined effect of the new income tax on wages and the purchase tax has been to reduce the actual spending income of the working classes by 30 per cent. and the middle classes by 40 per cent. That is another contribution of the Government towards the principle of the equality of sacrifice; but the profiteers pursue their nefarious methods.

A pear purchasable in 1938 at 6d. is to-day sold at 2s. A pound of grapes purchasable in 1938 at 5s. 6d. a pound is to-day selling at 15s. 6d. Scarlet runners were being sold last week at 2s. 6d. a pound. That is what the Government calls protecting the public from exploitation!

In the last war the financial and political class fastened upon the community a debt of £7,000,000,000. Between 1919 and the outbreak of the war of 1939 the community had paid over £6,000,000,000 in interest to that same political and financial class, without reducing to any substantial degree the capital liability. The same process is going on in this war, only on a more colossal scale. The financial and political class who, generally speaking, take no share in the inconveniences of the war compared to the humble citizen, is reaping a huge profit by the financing of the war. The National Debt must now be close upon £12,000,000,000, which means a doubling of the capital liability on the community compared with the position before the war began. Unless there is a repudiation or writing down of this capital liability—which did not take place at the end of the last war—the citizens of Britain will be economic slaves to the British and American financial and political class, which is to-day controlling their lives and property.

The conscription of women is an even greater abomination than the conscription of men. The function of women in the community is to maintain the domestic harmony of the home on a good economic basis. That is not a part-time job, especially in these times, if done well. The running of even a small home requires the expenditure of a great amount of time and energy. To compel the young women of the community to enter into the Army or into industrial conscription is a sin against society. The House of Commons has no mandate and no authority to place such legislation on the Statute Book, when it is quite possible to take a referendum on such a proposal.

The present position of the House of Commons under the law of England raises grave reflections. It is the general law that persons are not supposed to vote on matters in which they have a financial interest.

GRAVE REFLECTIONS.

Payment of members has never been passed by Act of Parliament, but only by financial resolutions. When the House of Commons voted the Act extending its own life, it would seem to have infringed the general law of the land,

which, properly, checks human weakness by providing that persons should not vote in their own financial interest except under the most rigid safeguards, with opportunity of appeal to the Courts if abuse has taken place. It is doubtful, however, whether any appeal to the Courts can be made against abuses of the authority of the House of Commons. In the past, the writer has indicated that there is some ground for questioning the legality of Parliament in authorising the declaration of war against Germany on Sunday, 3rd September, 1939. That doubt was based on the words of an unrepealed Statute, 21 George III, chapter 49, which is a statute to "prevent profanation of the Lord's Day" which specifically forbids "public debating on any subject whatsoever upon any part of the Lord's Day, called Sunday," which was the Statute which was believed to be the bar to Parliament sitting at all upon Sunday for any kind of business. If this contention is sound, then the results of it on the present Government and House of Commons can well be left to imagination.

It is a very bad thing for the community to be divided into two unequal sections: one tiny section of which, being endowed with power, spends its time haranguing the other section (which has unwisely abdicated its power) on its duties, while taking care to slip away from any responsibility itself.

A final and curious example is given in the restrictions on railway travel. The Minister, in making the announcement in the House of Commons on the 26th ult., coolly added "that a certain number of sleepers would be reserved for Government traffic and members of Parliament." Why? The Government and the members of Parliament only talk; the rest of the community does the productive work, which is more exhausting than talking at luncheon parties or at works on the duty of everybody (except the speaker, otherwise he would not be there talking) to do something different from what they think they are naturally equipped to do.

Which is one reason why it takes four people to do in the army what one person could easily do and willingly do in civil life. Conscription is the acme of inequality and the pinnacle of inefficiency: it is only the operation of military law and the Official Secrets Acts which hides the monstrous abuses which arise in a conscripted country, without economic equality. It is a system which corrodes the morale of society as a vast racket of manipulated exemptions grows up in the interest of those who have a "pull" over the humble in an unequal and class-ridden society. How on earth a movement which professes a belief in real equality can lend its support to the sham equality of industrial and military conscription is beyond comprehension.

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OUR RESPONSIBILITY

By Rev. H. J. DALE

(Assistant Minister, Baptist Church, Kings Rd., Reading).

In his book, *The Prophets of Israel*, the late Dr. Robertson Smith reminds us that "the basis of the prophetic religion of Israel was the conception of a unique relation between Jehovah and His people; not, be it observed, individuals, but Israel as a national unity. Simple as the idea is, it requires an effort to fix it in our minds. We are accustomed to think of religion as a thing between individual men and God, and we can hardly conceive of a religion in which a whole nation in its national organisation appears as the religious unit; in which we have to deal, not with the faith and obedience of individual persons, but with the faith and obedience of a nation as expressed in the functions of a national life."

This insistence upon national responsibility is of the greatest importance for the present time, and cannot be too strongly emphasised. The value which is rightly set upon the individual must in no way be allowed to detract from the equally essential fact that each individual is an integral part of a common national life, and has a definite concern in its conduct.

For this reason the large dimensions that national self-interest and self-righteousness have assumed are not only to be deeply deplored, but must be viewed as constituting a grave danger. By means of a sustained propaganda of falsehood and calculated distortion of facts, people are kept ignorant of the momentous issues at stake. Through lack of vision and a tragic inability to see beyond the happenings of the moment, both moral and spiritual judgment are ceasing to have any meaning.

How true this is can be seen in the general attitude that is adopted towards those against whom we are fighting. Of the countless evils of which war is the fruitful seed, not the least is that of trying to paint our enemies in the blackest possible colours, and to make everything they say and do appear altogether reprehensible and devoid of decency, while our own actions and designs are acclaimed as being prompted by nothing but the highest intentions and an unquestionable sense of honour. That this is entirely contrary to the facts needs little showing, but unfortunately loose thinking is all too common and people accept what is told them without troubling to test either its true character or its trustworthiness. Were access to the documents that relate to our national and international policies easier than it is, a very different face would be put on affairs. But every government knows how to take advantage of public gullibility. How long this ability to deceive can continue remains to be seen. Already enough has happened in the present war to shake people's confidence in the "truth" of what they hear and read.

From the standpoint of religion one of the most mischievous effects of this subjugation of the mind to mass suggestion is the encouragement it gives to the idea that the divine approval and favour must of necessity be on one side, while the nations that happen to be on the other are for that reason God's enemies. The appeal to religious feeling is one that can usually be exploited with reasonable hope of success and seldom fails to prove itself a useful ally.

To imagine that God takes sides in human conflicts, as many appear to think, is both unjustified and un-Christian and in direct contrast to what we know of Him and His working in history. Certainly the Old Testament prophets give no sanction to the idea. Rather is their emphasis in the opposite direction. For the most part it is upon their own nation's sins that they dwell; the Hebrew people, not their neighbours, are condemned and urged to repentance.

There is no escaping the fact that in time of war the whole sin of mankind is seen in all its stark ugliness and horror, and nothing is easier than to put the blame for it elsewhere than upon ourselves. Yet surely the wiser and more desirable course is to examine our own conduct and try to discover to what extent we are responsible for the disasters that have come upon the world. True, there are gross injustice and tyranny to be found, and man's cry under the cruel hand of oppression goes up to heaven for deliverance. But this is not the guilt of one nation or race. Those who entertain such an idea display a complete misunderstanding of the situation. It is a guilt in which all have a share, and it behoves each nation to give heed to the beam in its own eye before attempting to remove the mote that is in another's. Indeed, as Christ tells us, we cannot clearly see the faults in others until our own eyes are free from obstruction.

To this task of self-examination the great prophet of social righteousness, Amos, challenges us with a directness from which there is no escape. "You only have I known of all the families of the earth; therefore I will visit upon you all your iniquities," he declares, speaking in God's name. Would that there were more of his type to-day. The extent to which the prophetic voice is silent at the present time constitutes one of the major misfortunes of this tragic hour in human history. Even those who have the vision and courage to sound a different note from the jargon with which we are all too familiar in broadcast and press, are accorded scant attention for their pains, and not infrequently receive the prophet's reward of being looked upon as potential enemies of their country.

Responsibility is always in proportion to privilege and opportunity, with nations as with individuals. "To whomsoever much is given, of him shall much be required." Beyond all question Britain has been a favoured land. To us as a people have come blessings far in excess of those enjoyed by many. Why this should be, it is not easy to say, except that throughout history God has seen fit from time to time to advance His purpose by a process of selection. There are, undoubtedly, in our national constitution qualities which, when consecrated to the highest ends, may well serve the good of mankind. The crucial question is whether we have discharged those responsible tasks our favoured position has imposed upon us in a way and to the extent we might have done. In some respects possibly we have. It would be unfair as well as untrue to deny that our influence has very often had a determining effect for good in world affairs. Others have looked to us for a lead and it has not been wanting. But so often there has been such an admixture of selfish intention and seeking for political power in our conduct of affairs, that we have failed to achieve the good it was within our reach to do. The nation whose motives are not wholely unselfish and sincere can promote the real well-being of its neighbours; no amount of casuistry can make what is morally wrong to be politically right, as we are discovering to our cost. "Some of the criticisms made by Fascists and Nazis," says a recent writer, "have been all too true. Our democracies have tended to be masses of easy-going, selfish and complacent people, stressing their rights to pleasure, scornful of plain living and high thinking, avoiding responsibility except when they fought for their own private interests and throwing up leaders who were timid and indecisive and often loved political power more than their country." That is a severe indictment, but certainly justified. The writer might even have gone further and referred to the political oppression and economic exploitation that are such conspicuous features of world policy to-day. Though those guilty of these practices try to hide their real character under the pretence of conferring benefits on weak and less fortunate populations, the fact remains that their real object is to further the scope of power politics and increase the profits of big business and international finance.

If truth has any meaning at all, there can be no gainsaying the fact that as a nation we have been in the very forefront of this scramble for material advantage. In no small measure we are responsible for the tragedy that has come upon us and our fellows. It is no use our trying to deceive ourselves by employing pious phrases; God is not mocked; whatsoever we sow we must reap. When it was in our power to turn the issues in a course that might have changed the ship could have won the ready co-operation of most, if not all of the other nations in a great crusade of international reconstruction, we allowed temporal interests and all the reactionary influences attaching to monetary and class privilege to block the path. We ought to have known from the experiences of the last war that those who plunge a nation into bloodshed can always put forward sufficient reasons to "justify" their action. In 1914 people had little conception of what modern war meant and the intrigues by which those who plan for it attain their ends. Many at that time honestly thought they were engaged in a final struggle to banish war for ever from the earth. How mistaken they were all the world knows. But to-day no such excuse holds. By now it should be perfectly evident that all the specious arguments whereby peoples are drawn into conflict have very little, if any, foundation in fact and the high ideals by which they are deceived into lending their support to it are no more than dust cast in their eyes to hide the truth. Governments know full well that to disclose the real causes of war would make it impossible.

Though men may allow themselves to be misguided, the law of cause and effect is not thereby made inoperative. Moral judgment is as active in the earth in the twentieth century A.D. as in the eighth B.C. There is nothing sacrosanct about the British people that entitles them to immunity from the consequences of their wrongdoing. Except we repent we shall perish in the way that earlier nations and empires have done. Judgment is not necessarily a "far-off divine event" that will come upon us at some future time. It is already making its presence felt, in our slums, our unemployed, the under-nourished masses up and down the country, the starving peasantry in India, the huge profits that are made out of human degradation. "On the Gold Coast and in Nigeria," says Vegley Farson in *Behind God's Back*, "practically all the cultivation is in the hands of natives and the white men are merely Government officials or employees of the big trading companies, mines, or plantations—nearly all of whose capital is held by a few financiers in London. This, in the right sense of the word is not civilisation; it is exploitation." The Zulus have a saying something like this: "You had the Bible and we had the land; now we have the Bible and you have the land." If only we could see ourselves as others see us! Not by some sudden and startling calamity does retributive judgment come. It is in what, viewed from one standpoint, appears to be the normal interplay of events, we see, when looked at from a wider angle, its inescapable outworking. Wherever human rights and personality are despised and men are made to suffer and endure unnecessary hardship, judgment will inevitably result.

Opponents of war are frequently ridiculed as being idealists. It is a jibe against which they need not complain. The world is going to pieces for want of idealism. But actually pacifists are the most realistic of people, because they will not allow themselves to be deceived by propaganda and the claims of national self-interest. Had the nation as a whole possessed a clearer outlook and given greater heed to the trend of events when it had the opportunity, how much of tragedy and destruction could have been avoided! Now that disaster has overtaken the whole of mankind, we see where our folly has led us. To reiterate the guilt of others will carry us nowhere. It is with ourselves we have to be concerned. To thank God that we are not as other men will but add to our already heavy burden of failure, and intensify the bitterness that exists between ourselves and others. Only by the emergence of a new spirit shall we prove adequate to our task. If we would be truly great, we must first learn the meaning of humility and service. What this may involve in terms of personal and national renunciation, it is impossible to say. Possibly a great deal. Yet one thing stands out crystal clear amidst the surrounding gloom—by this way of renunciation and self-giving alone can we and

our fellows be delivered from the bondage to fear that holds us, and made to enjoy the glorious liberty we hear so much about, but at the present time seems so far beyond our reach.

MORRISON AND THE TRIBUNAL

WHEN HOME SECRETARY WAS CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR

Emrys Hughes is to be congratulated for having looked up the files of *Forward* and reprinting from its volume for 1916, a report of Herbert Morrison's appearance before the Tribunal as a conscientious objector. We make no apology for further reprinting this interesting account and adding it to the exposures already made in these columns of the present Home Secretary.

Forward, for April 22, 1916, published the following report:—

Mr. Herbert Morrison, Chairman of No. 6 Divisional Council of the I.L.P., appeared before the Wandsworth Tribunal under the Military Service Act. He appealed for total exemption on conscientious grounds and based his claim as a Socialist and Internationalist. After his claim had been read, the following dialogue took place:—

Question: How long have you had conscientious objections to warfare?

Answer: I have been opposed to war for six or seven years.

Q. Do you belong to any religious denomination?

A. I belong to the I.L.P. and Socialism is my religion.

Q. Have you anything further to advance?

A. I would like to advance in respect of my conscientious objection extracts from articles I have written. I do not concede that the duration of one's objections to war is a necessary test, but I am submitting this evidence in order that the tribunal may know that I have consistently held these views. I regard modern war as a product of Capitalism. It is to the Capitalist system that I ascribe war, and as a Socialist I have a deep conscientious objection to taking part in war.

Q. Would you take part in anything which would not be combatant? Suppose you were asked to take a clerkship under the military authorities,

A. No. I cannot take part in the military organisation for war.

Q. Anything connected with war itself you object to? You will take no part in the support of the country in which you live?

A. I repeat that I have a conscientious objection to taking part in the military organisation for war.

Q. There are plenty of positions which would not necessitate that.

A. I object to taking part in any non-combatant military service. The Chairman has asked me to give evidence—

Q. We grasp your views entirely. We take it that your main objection is on the conscientious side?

A. Yes.

Q. The others we need not trouble about?

A. I put the conscientious objection as fundamental.

Q. You have no religious objection?

A. My religion is Socialism.

After some further questions on the use of violence and wars in ancient times, the Chairman said: "Personally, I am satisfied. I do not want any evidence. We accept your statement and will not trouble your friends.'

On the suggestion of one of the members, Harry Dubery and James Mylles were allowed to give evidence. The Court was cleared while the Tribunal considered their decision, and after some delay and the readmittance of the public the Chairman announced that exemption would be granted, conditional upon taking up work of national importance. "You can apply to the Board of Trade. The Government have every desire to meet gentlemen of your conscientious objections, but at the same time you enjoy the freedom of the country, and we assume that you are perfectly willing to do something towards the maintenance of the country. Suppose you were asked to take work at farming or some similar occupation, would you be willing to do that?"

A. Yes, I would do that under civil control. I would take a job as a dustman if I thought it would be of service. You need some in this borough.

A Member: You apply to the Council and we shall be glad to have you up. We need men badly.

Forward, for April 4, 1942, in which this account is reproduced, adds:

Mr. Morrison subsequently obtained employment as a market gardener.

NEW ZEALAND C.O.'s

(Continued from page 71)

The Board allowed the appeal of Douglas William Chisholm, subject to obligation for non-military service at the discretion of the Minister of National Service. Chisholm stated that he was a member of the Christian Pacifist Society and had been discharged from the Post Office because he refused to do war work.

Questioned by Mr. Bell, Chisholm said that the beliefs of his society were against militarism and he was trying to spread Anti-Militarist thought.

Bell: Is that not a form of fifth-column activity?

Chisholm: I do not think so, but you can call it that if you wish.

On Monday, February 10, thirteen cases were heard. All were dismissed. Only four cases were interesting: Boyes; Bowyer; Burnett; and Barnes.

Rex Verdun Boyes said that the Versailles treaty, and reparations, compelled Germany to have recourse to force. The British people did not mean harm to Germany but they never realised the wrong that the Allied statesmen were doing.

Boyes read a statement of 12 typed foolscap pages. His religion was the non-resistance taught by Jesus. It was not confined to the creeds of any one church. He had been connected with two Presbyterian and two Methodist Churches, and also the Salvation Army. He had ceased to go to church on Sundays because *"one does not get up on a Sunday morning and have a set hour for religious observance like a piano exercise."*

Henry George Bowyer, analytical chemist, submitted a 17 paged statement. He said that he had been preparing himself for Holy Orders, for several years, with a view to missionary work. Bowyer was called up for 3 months' territorial service.

Bowyer had been a regular communicant at St. Mary's Anglican Church, Karori, for six years; Sunday School teacher, for five years; Bible Class leader for three years; and also Sunday School Superintendent at Makara for three years. He had been secretary to the local Bible Reading Fellowship for four years. He was B.Sc. In 1940 he was President of the Student Christian Movement, Victoria College branch.

When he passed his N.C.O. examination in the college cadets, his father gave him two military manuals in which were illustrations of bayonet fighting. This made him realise that if he participated in war it would mean willingness to thrust a bayonet into someone he had never seen before, against whom he had no grudge and who was personally probably a likeable individual.

By 1936, his first year at university, he decided to become a foreign missionary and communicated with the Board of Missions with this in view. In 1937 he took the pacifist view in Bible class discussion. Next year he became a pacifist.

He was willing to work with the ambulance corps of the army if he did not have to subscribe to that part of the oath requiring him to resist the King's enemies. He would also want a guarantee of non-combatan service at all times.

He had been offered a theological scholarship at Selwyn College, Dunedin.

Owen H. Burnett said that he would be prepared to fight in a war of labour against Capital. He saw in the present war the clash of Capitalistic interest, and the same envious glances of one nation at the trade of another. The only freedom to strive for was that of the masses from the economic oppression of Capitalism. He refused to be the cause of making German or Italian wives widows and their children fatherless. He would not do anything to kill an enemy worker with perhaps the same hopes and ideals as himself.

Appellant said he could not recognise the right of the board to judge his conscience.

The Chairman: If it was a war of labour against Capital would you fight?—Definitely.

Harold Barnes, labourer, Petone, is a returned soldier, called on in a home service ballot for three months' territorial service.

Barnes said he saw considerable service in the Great War after enlisting at 18. What he saw there—the waste of war, its futility and its aftermath—determined him never again to take part in war. He had since studied the causes, effects, and results of the Great War, and similar wars, and his view was unchanged.

Barnes said he had no religious objection; he objected to war because he saw its absolute futility. His view of the war was of one class of world dominators against another. The way to stop war was by not taking part. He would not give his life to aid any dominant class.

The chairman: What were you in the last war?—Just a common private in the infantry.

It is your view that the present war is a class struggle?—It is a struggle between the dominant people of other countries and those who dominate us in England.

On Tuesday, February 11, thirteen appeals were heard. Nine were dismissed. One was withdrawn. Three were allowed conditionally. The dismissed appeals included those of Raymond Lewis Weeber, house decorator, and Ronald Claverley Megget, wool clerk, both Jehovah Witnesses.

Weeber said that the Catholic, Protestant and Jewish religions were the religions of the scribes and pharisees. Jehovah was against them. The British Empire and the United States were Satanic organisations. Weeber added that he was strictly neutral in the war between Fascism and Democracy.

Megget said that he was prepared to do nothing whatever to assist war.

On Wednesday, February 12, the Board heard 11 appeals. It dismissed 8 and granted conditional exemption in the other 3 cases.

On Monday, February 17, James Thomas Majurk, clerk and draughtsman, asked for exemption from military service on the grounds of conscientious objection. He described himself as an International Socialist. He did not consider the board could judge his conscience but had appeared before it out of courtesy. When asked what he would do to protect the liberties he enjoyed he replied "just nothing."

The appellant, replying to Mr. C. O. Bell, said that he would not fight under any circumstances. He was a Catholic, but even if the Bishops of the Church proclaimed the war was a just one or even if the Pope did so he would not fight. He believed fighting was contrary to the law of God, and it was not necessary for him to consult his spiritual adviser on the matter.

Mr. Bell: Are you a Communist?—No.

Are you a Socialist?—Yes, I believe I am an International Socialist.

Can you be a Socialist and still be a Catholic?—Yes, I think so. I am still a Catholic.

Appellant said he would not help the wounded because to help the wounded would help to prolong the war.

The appeal was dismissed.

(To be concluded.)

C.O.'s IN TOTAL WAR.

They hold ajar the doors of hope and glory,
Their spirits bearing ostracism's scar.
To tired tribunals they recite their story,
Its truths to holden ears so faint and far.
They toil and pray, unmentioned, unanointed;
From many a happy junketing withdrawn;
But by the closing doors, the high, appointed,
Bright doors of hope they watch and wait—the dawn.

AGNES W. MACKAY.

WAR-TIME MENTALITY!

By
ALEXANDER RATCLIFFE

I do not claim originality for this article, for the reader is bound to know that what I submit is common knowledge. At the same time, I feel it is necessary that we all should be reminded that this disease, "War-Time Mentality," is a deadly thing: that its ravages are detrimental to the spiritual and moral welfare of free Peoples.

War-Time Mentality is the Thing that reigns supreme in this Year of Grace 1942. Its victims are found in every land. It drives all before it, and as the drive continues more and more people fall victims to the Disease. For this Thing is a Plague if ever there was one, and few escape its sweep. Readers of such journals as *The Word* mostly escape the violences of this Plague, and this simply because they have taken certain precautions against it. But the vast majority of the citizens of this and of every other country engaged in war, have very naturally succumbed to its devastations. What this Disease, "War-Time Mentality," is, all very well know, but it is only on examining the *results* of the Disease that one can clearly observe its pitiful reactions.

The victims of "War-time Mentality" are many and varied. For this Disease is no respecter of persons! It claims its victims from all classes and conditions of people; rich or poor, high or low, learned or illiterate. One and all they lie down under this dreadful Scourge which robs them of the very reason and senses which a merciful Providence has given them! And how willingly they succumb to the Scourge! For does it not *send them to sleep*? Does it not give them *peace of mind*? Does it not *build up their hopes*?

The victim of this Disease, Plague, Scourge, "War-Time Mentality" sees things thus. We put the Picture before the reader as it is seen by the *British* victim of "War-Time Mentality." We leave it to the reader to guess how the German, Italian, Japanese victims of this Disease picture the view.

To begin with, there is the War. Who was solely responsible for this War? Hitler and his Gangsters! This German and his fellows are the Curse of the Universe! Away with the idea that Britain could possibly be responsible for the outbreak of the present War. Away with it! Our hands are clean: they are absolutely spotless. They are as white *as the driven snow*. We wage a righteous war against the "evil things," and all evil comes from . . . Germany! What evil there is in this country is merely *domestic*. But the Great and Grand Evils always emanate from Germany. For are not the Germans Huns? And what *is* a Hun? It matters not what a Hun is, has not our Government, God-blessed and the Chosen of the Lord, said that the Germans *are* Huns? And so, we serve God: we serve mankind: we serve Democracy: we serve even the poor, down-trodden Germans themselves, as we array our arms and call upon God to bless the great slaughter which we intend to make against the Huns!

And so, we are at War. Thank God for that! The Churches say with one united voice that *God is on our side*! Protestants of all denominations (and there are hundreds of them), Roman Catholics of One Denomination (for there is only One of *them*), and all other Religionists who believe in God, be they "Christian" or "Pagan," who are on the side of Britain, acclaim the bloody slaughter, *and they praise God for every murder committed*!

Ministers, Priests and the common fry who go to Church, give of their substance to *make destruction*! Destroy! Destroy! Destroy! That is their eternal cry. Leave the building up till after the War! Meantime, subscribe to this and that War Fund. Give your hard-earned money for the purchase of guns, tanks, airplanes, bullets, etc. The more the merrier. The more production of that kind will please the ever-loving God of the Heavens. Never mind the Bible or the Catechism or the Creed! These are just playthings for a time of Peace. And this is *not* the time for Peace! We cannot have Peace till millions of human beings have been sacrificed upon the altars of the war-gods: mostly human beings themselves whose purpose in life is to plunder and steal and destroy.

The War is on! See how they run? Who? The Germans, the Italians, the Japanese! When the Germans invaded Russia and were on the Offensive, their losses were "terrible," "enormous," "huge." The Russians hardly lost a man! And when the Germans were on the Defensive, and retreating, their losses were ditto! The Russians again and once more, fighting Offensive or Defensive battles, got away with it. The losses to the enemy always have been greater than *ours*! Why not? Why believe anything else?

And the air-raids. What are the German airmen when they drop their bombs on British soil *in the dark*? They are Huns, Baby-killers, Murderers. But what are the R.A.F. boys when *they* drop bombs on German soil *in the dark*? They are heroes, patriots, the very servants of God! And what does it matter even if it *is* true that Britain started the night-bombing? What does that matter? Does that not show *how we were there first*? How ready we were to kill German civilians *in the dark*? And what does it matter although the R.A.F. have never bombed Berlin in the day-time? Have they not dropped bombs on Berlin *in the dark* on over sixty occasions, and thus effected death and destruction to the Berliners and their property?

Then there are the politicians. It matters not what Mr. Churchill said about Hitler before the War started. No doubt Mr. Churchill's words of approbation for Hitler were justifiable. It matters not if Mr. Churchill before the War, and after, referred to Stalin and Co. as a set of "Bloody Baboons." Circumstances change with the times! And the end justifies the means! This is Catholic theology, and why not? And the poor, misguided Socialists, as some call them. Why, these men have *found their souls*! They have joined the Tory Party, and are getting a fair share of the spoils, of which there is always a superabundance in war-time.

Witness again the attitude of the Churches! The Ministers and laymen are all out for a British Victory. They are arguing along the line that Christianity is confined to Britain and the countries of Britain's Allies. That so soon as a Country ceases to be an Ally of Britain, it ceases being a "Christian" Country! For God is only and at all times with the British. The clergy are not the least concerned about liberty, equity and justice to the slaves at present under British administration in India and elsewhere: what troubles them is that a Hitlerite victory might mean an end to their petty denominational life! They dread that the time may come when they may be ordered *to work for their living*. Many ministers *do* work for their living: but many more *do not*. Canterbury has £5000 per year, a Mansion rent free, and the Moderator of the Church of Scotland also has a hefty salary with free accommodation, light and coal. Is it any wonder, then, that the clergy are all out to beat Hitler: even they are prepared, as they have already done, to surrender every principle of the teaching of Jesus Christ to save them from the dread of Hitlerism! They prefer the present position.

And the press! What a press! The organ of this Disease, "War-Time Mentality." One thing one day, another thing the next day. Contradictions, falsehoods, inventions, dope. The Poison Press is the forerunner of this Plague which we are at present considering. For it is by the press that "War-Time Mentality" procures its many victims!

And so, we are certain of victory! We are not going to make the mistake of the last war and let the Huns off easy! We are going to finish them *this time*! It matters not how we are going to *do it*! It matters not although we feel that the German people will not rebel against Hitler, for is not Hitler their god? Nothing matters except that we are right, and our enemies are all wrong. How could it be otherwise? How could *we* possibly be in the wrong. Might as well say that God is in the wrong, for is not God for us? Are we not fighting *His* battles? How, then, can we do anything else but finish this War with a complete and total Victory for ourselves and our Allies?

Our main duty to-day is to *win* the war! By fair means or foul we must *win the war*! It is not true to say that we are fighting for Capitalism, the Financial Racketeers, etc. We are fighting for the right to live, and the only way by which we can live ourselves, *is to kill others*!

CIVIL DEFENCE

Forward, Glasgow, for Saturday, April 11, contains the following report:—

FIRE WATCHING CHARGE

Guy Aldred's Six Points.

On Wednesday last, Guy Aldred, the well-known anti-Parliamentary Communist and Editor of "The Word," appeared at the Glasgow Sheriff Court charged with having failed to register under the Civil Defence Act for fire watching, and to furnish particulars about himself required in the said Act, a charge for which the penalty is imprisonment for a term not exceeding three months or to a fine not exceeding £100, or both.

The accused objected to the competency and relevancy of the charge on the following six grounds:—

(1) The species facti libelled do not amount to a refusal on the part of the accused to furnish particulars about himself, and do not constitute a contravention of the Civil Defence Duties (Compulsory Enrolment) Order, 1941.

(2) The species facti libelled do not constitute an offence under the Emergency Powers (Defence) Act, 1939.

(3) The Notice, dated September 6th, 1941, is repugnant to the law of Scotland and ultra vires of the Corporation of the City of Glasgow and the Minister of Home Security.

(4) The Notice, dated September 6th, 1941, and the Regulations under which it is made, are ultra vires of the Corporation of the City of Glasgow and of the Minister of Home Security under Section 4, of the Emergency Powers (Defence) Act, 1939.

(5) The complaint involves questions of civil liberty which cannot be disposed of in a Court of Summary Jurisdiction.

(6) The accused having furnished, and having been willing at all times to furnish, full particulars concerning himself to the Ministry of Labour, the Corporation of the City of Glasgow and the Ministry of Home Security, the authorities responsible for the prosecution ought to have considered his case in terms of Paragraph 8A of Article 4, of the Civil Defence Duties (Compulsory Enrolment) Order 1941, before proceeding to prosecution.

The case was adjourned for a week.

The case has been further adjourned till May 6.

RICHARD CARLILE.

The Arbitrator, our humanist contemporary, published at 114 East 31st Street, New York City, quotes Norman E. Himes' tribute to Richard Carlile:—

Carlile became perhaps the most daring of Francis Place's disciples in the British birth control agitation of 1825-30. His chief work is probably the pamphlet, Every Woman's Book; or, What is Love? **(London, 1826), the first tract in the English language devoted exclusively to the medical as well as to the social and economic aspects of contraception. Although short-lived, it was widely distributed; its influence upon Robert Dale Owen and, through him, upon the founding of the American birth control movement was not inconsiderable.**

Carlile's efforts in behalf of the liberation of the English press, which began in 1817 with the attempt to revive the influence of Thomas Paine, were, if not unique, enduring, and many have thought that he suffered more for this cause than any other Englishman of the nineteenth century. He was imprisoned more than nine years for publishing his republican-political and deistic-religious opinions. . . . His spirit remained to the last unbroken.

Richard Carlile, Agitator, by Guy A. Aldred, can be obtained from the Strickland Press, post-free, for 1s. 9d. This work has had a wide circulation in the United States.

"DAILY WORKER" BAN

HOUSE OF LORDS DEBATE

On Tuesday, April 14 last, an interesting debate on the *Daily Worker* was initiated in the House of Lords by the Marquess of Crewe, who moved to ask His Majesty's Government whether it was still necessary to prevent the publication of the *Daily Worker*. The debate is reported in *Parliamentary Debates, House of Lords, Official Reports*, vol. 122, No. 41, cols. 572-588. We advise our readers to obtain a copy from H.M. Stationery Office, York House, Kingsway, London, W.C. 2.

The Marquess of Crewe stated that he had never seen a copy of the *Daily Worker*. He continued:

The country is going through the most severe test that it has ever had to face, and we are engaged in a war which we are determined will not end until the Axis Powers are prostrate in the dust. Therefore any person or persons who fetter the desire of nine hundred and ninety-nine thousandths of the people of this country to carry this war to an end, those who hamper or interfere with the efforts of war, have to be silenced. And that is true whatever their object may be.

There are some, fortunately not very many (and Ihope that most of them are safely under lock and key) who are definitely in favour of the theories of National Socialism and Fascism. That is at one end of the scale. At the other end of the scale there are those who object to this war, and indeed object to any kind of war between nations, because they wish to institute a class war which would be at least as sanguinary as the present contest. We shall all agree that in both those cases most drastic measures, in the present crisis, may be necessary. I, for one, have never made any protest against the Regulation 2D, under which, after full debate in another place, this newspaper was, so far as we can see, most properly suspended rather by the alternative regulation 2C, which would involve recourse to a Court of Law and very possibly lead to an amount of publicity which would be positively welcome to the offenders. That is the position. Now it is said—I take no responsibility whatever for the statement because I have not attempted to verify it—that this newspaper has changed its point of view, and that if it were permitted to reappear it would definitely support the war.

If it were permitted to reappear, and if its contents again proved to be unwelcome, owing to the fact that, for one reason or another, it was not loyally supporting the war, it could, of course, immediately be stopped again. But in the meantime I put it to His Majesty's Government that, if a newspaper which presumably has a certain popularity in certain circles of working people can be of assistance in the present state of affairs, it might properly and reasonably be allowed to reappear.

Lord Wedgwood paid a tribute to the Marquis of Crewe as being the representative of Liberalism. Such tribute, to our mind, the foregoing speech did not merit. He proceeded to state the facts simply and clearly. We quote cols. 575-6 of the report:

I think that your Lordships must realize that the whole position, so far as the "Daily Worker" is concerned, has been completely changed by Russia joining in the war. I was one of those who voted for the suppression of the "Daily Worker." I thought that it was then dangerous to our country's war effort, and in wartime the safety of the State has to come before even justice or freedom. Now, however, the situation is entirely different. The "Daily Worker" and the Communist Party here and in Russia are the most enthusiastic supporters of our cause, and they have every reason to be so. I want this paper to come out so that that support of our cause may be published and read in the workshops of this country. It is urgently necessary that the working classes of this country should realize that this is their fight; and, as long as the "Daily Worker" is not allowed to be published, a great many people will not feel that this is a war for the freedom of the working classes. We are depriving ourselves of one of the best propaganda agents in the workshops which can be imagined. . . .

There is one further reason which I should like to put to your Lordships. Do you not think that, if these people were co-operating with us in this fight, they might learn something of this fight for freedom which might affect them as well, and which might ultimately have its effect upon the Soviet Government? Freedom may be in just the same danger under any dictatorship of the proletariat as under Nazi rule. We believe that if we can win the fight for freedom, we can establish a unity between freedom and government in a safe world. I hope that by the end of this war we may have learnt something from Russia and Russia may have learnt something from us.

Lord Rankeillour followed Wedgwood. He favoured the legislative strengthening of the law of libel in order to avoid procedure under special war Regulations.

The Earl of Huntingdon spoke next. He stated:

I am speaking on behalf of a considerable body, both of trade union and Labour opinion, which is getting more and more worried about the ban on this paper. In spite of what has been said, I submit that this is fundamentally the issue of the liberty of the Press. After all, that is one of the things which the Allied Nations are fighting. It is a fundamental right in this country. I know it will be said that the Press is free but that that freedom imposes an obligation on the Press not to abuse it—in other words, not to say anything which the Government particularly do not wish to be said. But that is not freedom. . . .

It has been alleged against the "Daily Worker" that it is unreliably inconsistent; at one moment it was not in whole-hearted support of the war, and at another moment it was. But in the events which are happening in Europe to-day it is difficult to see how anybody can remain consistent. A war which began with England and France against Germany in defence of Poland has turned into a war of innumerable nations—all the peace-loving nations, all the democratic nations of the world fighting against one of the worst tyrannies we have ever seen. Our own Government at one moment were considering helping Finland against the Soviet Union and are now allied with the Soviet Union and at war with Finland. I do not see how inconsistency can be used as an argument for the continued suppression of this paper.

The Lord Chancellor stated that neither the Marquess of Crewe nor Lord Wedgwood objected to 2D, but recognised that it was a necessary Regulation. He continued:

If it is a necessary Regulation I suppose it is a Regulation made with some idea that it might be applied. What does Regulation 2D provide? It provides that if the Secretary of State is satisfied that there is the systematic publication in any newspaper of matter calculated to foment opposition to the prosecution to a successful issue of the war, then that newspaper may, by order, be suppressed. Your Lordships observe that the publication has to be systematic. There is also a provision that there must be a previous warning given. . . .

What happened? On January 17, 1941, following a warning by the Secretary of State, this paper was suppressed. Very shortly afterwards there was a debate in the House of Commons, the debate to which my noble friend Lord Wedgwood alluded, in which after full discussion the suppression of this newspaper was supported by a vote of 323 to 6.

The fact is the "Daily Worker," from very early in the war, consistently pursued a policy of opposition to the war. It fomented opposition to the prosecution of the war and it did not conceal its grounds. Its grounds were that according to it the war was a war between Imperialistic powers fighting for world domination and profits. That was what we were doing against Germany; that was what Germany was doing against us. From beginning to end it jeered at the idea that this was Democracy fighting against Fascism or Nazism. Alike in the selection of the news which it printed (and it was very careful in its selection) and in the comments which it made, it set itself out to belittle and to misrepresent the war effort, and in particular it did all it could to create prejudice against United States assistance. According to this print, that assistance was nothing other than a capitalistic plot against the workers in various parts of the world.

I promised to make an observation on the reference made by my noble friend Lord Wedgwood to the entry of Russia. . . .

...If the conductors of a paper at a time when the country is involved in a fearful war, facing frightful dangers, are capable of ridiculing the whole effort of the war and telling lies as to the purpose behind every honest man in the country, how does it become any better to say that circumstances have now changed and this mendacious and wicked sheet may be counted upon now, like Balaam, to change its bray? It does not make any difference at all. . . . and it is just because you cannot do that you have to have a Regulation 2D. It is just because you have a Regulation 2D that the conductors of this sheet had to be suppressed and it is no argument whatever to say "Observe the different complexion of affairs; who knows but that these people who so grossly misused the power of the Press at the beginning of the war may now do something to assist the war, and may even provide us with good propaganda." These are not reasons of high principle to be applied in deciding when a paper should return to publication. . . .

The attitude of the "Daily Worker" to the war in the light of changed events is of course a matter on which we can all reflect. I make these observations about the paper. I agree that it has changed surprisingly from time to time. Very early in the war, Mr. Harry Pollitt came out with a vigorous declaration in support of the war, but he spoke without first ascertaining the views of his masters, and within a week or two he had to eat his words in a white sheet in the columns of this paper and proceeded to make an announcement in an entirely opposite sense. At every point this newspaper has simply used the language that occurs to it for the purpose in hand.

I have here two extracts which may be of some interests to your Lordships, and possibly add to your stock of information. On November 8, 1940, the "Daily Worker" said:

"The bosses of Washington and Wall Street, allied with the bosses of Whitehall and the City, will together attack the workers of both Britain and the United States in the interests of their war."

There is propaganda for you. If I may take one other example, I find that on 1st February, 1940, the "Daily Worker" said:

"Hitler represented once again his claim that the war was thrust upon him by Britain. Against this historical fact there is no reply."

Are we to understand that some people now think that if this paper resumes publication it would begin by withdrawing all that? . . .

On April 8th, 1940, the "Daily Worker" said there was no evidence available of German preparation for the invasion of Holland. It was jeering at the fears that invasion would be attempted. It was the Allies, this newspaper said, who were spreading such baseless rumours. And why? Because they were "trying to prepare the atmosphere for an invasion of Holland by themselves." That might have been written by Dr. Goebbels. The amazing thing is that after the "Daily Worker" had published this on April 8, the next day, on April 9, Hitler invaded Norway and Denmark. Yet there was never the slightest protest, nor even a report of that outrage in the columns of the "Daily Worker."

These illustrations will at any rate show that we are dealing with a very irresponsible sheet, but I had intended to say, when I was led off by my quotations, that there are two things which can be confidently asserted about it. The first is that this is a newspaper which has never based its case on the justice of our cause or shown loyalty to this country—never. There, at least, it has always been consistent. The second is that even if for a moment it was not ostensibly against our war effort, it has always shown itself liable at any moment to strike at our national purpose for its own ends.

THE STRICKLAND PRESS

(Founded as Bakunin Press, 1906. Merged and Renamed Strickland Press, 1939).

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RUSSIA AND PEACE. By Dr. Fridtjof Nansen. The position of Russia in 1923 towards peace. Was 5/-. Now 1/-. Postage 5d.

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FABIAN COLONIAL BUREAU.

The Fabian Colonial Bureau was formed in October, 1940, to act as a clearing-house for information and research on colonial affairs.

The Bureau has filled an urgent need. The material collected on current events in the colonies is daily proving of great value to a variety of individuals and organisations, who would otherwise have no regular access to detailed information about the Colonies.

The Bureau also acts as a meeting-ground for those interested in the Colonial questions by organising conferences and setting up committees to study specific problems. On the publication side the Bureau's journal, "Empire," and its pamphlets are discharging an important task.

A. Creech Jones, M.P., is chairman of the Bureau, and Dr. Rita Hinden is secretary.

The Advisory Committee includes Lord Faringdon, J. F. Horrabin, Sir T. Drummond Shiels, etc.

Readers of "The Word" are invited to become members of the Bureau. The secretary's address is: 11 Dartmouth Street, London, S.W.1. Members have the right to use the library and information available in the office.

THE VANSITTARTS DINED WITH HITLER

Mr. G. Ward Price is described in *Who's Who* as Director, Associated Press. It is explained further that he is Special Foreign Correspondent of the *Daily Mail* and served that journal as war correspondent, beginning with the First Balkan War.

In October, 1937, he published through Messrs. George G. Harrap & Co., Ltd., his book defending and eulogising Hitler and Mussolini, entitled *I Know These Dictators.* A second edition of this work appeared after the first month of printing and a third edition of November, 1937. It was a best seller. In view of the attitude of the *Daily Mail* and the Associated Press allied newspapers towards Socialists and Pacifists since the outbreak of war we have no hesitation in directing attention to Ward Price's eulogy of the dictators, which exposes so completely the part played by the reactionary —and so-called patriotic—press in foisting these dictators on Europe and the world.

Ward Price divided his book into two parts, *Hitler and Mussolini.* Each part is divided into 9 chapters.

Chapter I. of the Hitler section (page 7) says:

The Fascist and Nazi revolutions are too momentous to be judged with personal bias. Outside their countries the men at the head of these regimes are called "dictators." That term is accurate in the sense that their authority is supreme and overruling, but it does not mean that Hitler and Mussolini have subjected reluctant and resentful people to their will. . . . Their functions are defined by the titles of Fuhrer and Duce that they bear. Both of them have the support and approval of a much greater proportion of their fellow -countrymen than has ever voted for the Government of any democratic state. They came to power by constitutional methods.

The work consists of 250 pages of eulogy of the dictators.

Facing page 208 is reproduced a Mussolini letter in three languages—English, French, and Italian—addressed to Ward Price. Beneath is given the following English translation:

Head of the Government. Personal.
My dear Price,

I am very glad that you have become a director of the Daily Mail, and I am sure that your very popular and widely-circulated newspaper will continue to be a sincere friend of Fascist Italy.

With best wishes and greetings,

(Signed) Mussolini.

Rome, 11th November, 1926.

In this work (pages 218-221), Ward Price describes Mussolini as he saw him in September 1923. He reproduces from the *Daily Mail* of that time the impressions he formed of Mussolini as a patriot, a man of character, an Italian Raleigh and Drake. Fourteen years later he repeats this eulogistic description as being sound. The *Daily Mail* eulogy of Hitler and Mussolini was not so much casual tribute as a studied and consistent policy.

Ward Price describes Hitler's first formal dinner party in 1934 (page 29):

. . . I was one of four foreign guests at the first dinner-party which the Chancellor gave on December 19, 1934. The others were Viscount Rothermere; his son, Mr. Esmond Harmsworth; and a well-known member of the Anglo-German fellowship, Mr. E. W. D. Tennant.

Ward Price describes the dinner and continues (pages 30-31):

When dinner was over, Hitler rose, saying: "Will those who don't want to smoke come with me into the room on the right, and the rest go into the room on the left?" Lord Rothermere, who is also a non-smoker, with Herr von Ribbentrop and some of the ladies, accompanied the Chancellor. I went with the smokers, and was soon in conversation with General Goering, who wore his blue Air Force uniform with white lapels and a cross-hilted sword which he has specially designed for that service.

On pages 152-153, Ward Price quotes at length and approvingly, parts of a letter Hitler addressed to Viscount Rothermere on May 3, 1935, denouncing war as an instrument of national policy, and pointing out that the blood poured out on battlefields is wasted. On pages 158 and 159, the author depicts Lord Rothermere in Venice anxiously waiting for news of the German elections, and rejoicing at the increased poll of the National Socialists—*Hitler's Party*!

On pages 32 and 33, Ward Price describes the Vansittarts.

During the Olympic games, Ward Price attended a large State banquet at which above a hundred were present. He describes all the ridiculous ceremony with gusto, and continues (page 32):

The meal was served at a huge horse-shoe table. On the Chancellor's right sat Lady Vansittart, the wife of the British Permanent Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, who was then visiting Berlin, . . .

On page 33, we read:

As Sir Robert Vansittart stood in the middle of the room after dinner, laughing and joking with Herr Hess, the Chancellor's deputy, there was a noticeable contrast between the glittering splendour of the star and cordon of the Grand Cross of St. Michael and St. George worn by the one and the field-service-like simplicity of the khaki uniform of the other.

UNITARIAN PACIFIST PROTEST

We have received the following vigorous protest against war-time misuse of "The Inquirer," from our comrade, the Rev. W. Bottomley, minister of the Unitarian Church, Cathedral Place, Melbourne:—

Sir,—Is it not time that some vigorous protest protest were made respecting the editorial policy of "The Inquirer?"

The purpose of the paper is clearly stated week by week as being the "Organ of Unitarian Christianity and Free Religious Fellowship; instead of which its editorial pages—"Week by Week"—are devoted to a war commentary whish, I submit, is entirely out of line with the spirit and purpose of our movement. The editor, and others, have an equal right to their opinions about the war, opinions which are by no means uniform, but should the pages of our religious journal be taken uup with a form of war propaganda which is thoroughly distasteful to a large number of Unitarian readers?

Reading "The Inquirer," as we in Australia do, six or eight weeks after it is published, we see perhaps more clearly than those who read it immediately after publication how nonsensical these "Week by Week" notes often are. By the time we read the sage (?) comments they are not only out of date, but have often been falsified by events. Personally, I cannot recommend "The Inquirer" these days to anyone of any intelligence. I am ashamed of it, and would rather see it go out of publication than have the present policy continued.

This is not a question as to whether we think our part in the war is justifiable or otherwise—it is a question as to whether "The Inquirier" is fulfilling its purpose as a Unitarian journal.

If space permitted, it would be easy to demonstrate the nonsense, written with ridiculous gravity, which from time to time appears in the weekly notes. But to quote only one instance—in the issue of January 3: "For the first time, perhaps, we feel on top of our job; the end can be seen." Since then, Singapore has fallen, and to-day Darwin has been bombed twice! In the name of all that is sane and decent, let us have a change for the better; it could not, in my judgment, be worse.

Yours, etc.,

W. BOTTOMLEY.

Unitarian Church, Melbourne,
19th Februuary 1942.

MELBOURNE UNITARIAN CHURCH
CATHEDRAL PLACE, C.2.
Minister: REV. W. BOTTOMLEY.
Sundays, 11 a.m. and 7 p.m.
Hon. Secretary:
Mr. T. McAughtrie, 32 Railway Parade, Murrumbeena, S.E.S.
Hon. Treasurer: Mr. Robert Banks, 5 Campbell Grove, Hawthorn, E.3.
Minister's Address: The Manse, Cathedral Place, East Melbourne, C.2.

By a change in the policy of religious broadcasting, the A.B.C. eliminated the Melbourne Unitarian Church from its programme of church services in March. The reason given was that, the Unitarians, being a small body, had no right to figure in the religious broadcasts.

THE CRISIS OF MODERN CIVILIZATION by the Rev. W. Bottomley, price **2d.**, post free **3d.**, can be obtained from this office. Order Now! Its independent and courageous thinking explains the radio ban.

Lord Mamhead's speech, reported on page 120, was delivered before the members of the Torquay Debating Society, at Addison's Cafe. The subject was **"The Dangers to Faith and Freedom after the War."** The "Torquay Times" headed its report: **"Commons A 'Yes House.'"** A sub-heading read: **"Lord Mamhead Hits Out For Freedom."**

DUKE OF BEDFORD

We were expecting to publish the Duke of Bedford's maiden speech in the House of Lords in this issue. The debate in which he had intended to participate did not take place. It is hoped that the Duke will take an early opportunity of raising the entire issue of war and peace, and all that is involved for future civilization, at an early date, on his own motion.

In a very vigorous private letter, addressed to us from London, the Duke says:—

"The Government must know perfectly well by this time that I have no use for the tyrannies and violence of Nazism or Fascism, and that, if there were an invasion, I would do nothing to assist the Germans. . . ."

We quote this passage merely in passing reply to the attacks made on him in the "Sunday Express" and the "Overseas Daily Mail," and such like journals of the press magnates whose hirelings used to boost the dictators.

SIDNEY SPENCER'S STAND

The Rev. Sidney Spencer, aged 53, 40 Sydenham Avenue, Sefton Park, Liverpool, minister of Hope Street Unitarian Church, was one of eight conscientious objectors who were fined £5 each at Liverpool Police Court, on Tuesday, for failing to apply for registration under the Civil Defence Duties (Compulsory Enrolment) Order, 1941.

Mr. Spencer pleaded guilty. He said he was already a voluntary fire-watcher at his church, but he conscientiously objected to compulsion as he believed that to-day the danger of regimentation was very serious indeed and must be resisted.

He added:—

"It is important from the point of view of preserving liberty in this country, that some of us should take a stand."

The chairman of the Bench (Mr. D. Mooney) remarked that it was extraordinary that the bulk of the defendants had made voluntary statements. Mr. C. Samuel, who prosecuted, suggested that the defendants were probably not unknown to each other.

Mr. Spencer said there was not the slightest foundation for the suggestion of collaboration.

When Mr. Spencer asked what was the alternative to the £5 fine imposed on him, the Clerk (Mr. C. T. Barton) replied: "That is left to another court."

Albert Ernest Helsby, aged 26, soap maker, 30 Windbourne Road, Aigburth, affirmed instead of taking the oath, but said he wished to make it clear that he was a Christian. The C.O. tribunal, he added, had exempted him unconditionally as an objector, and when he found that no provision was made for objectors on the registration form he refused to register.

Kenneth Bainbridge Riley, aged 28, Orrell Lane, "pleaded guilty by the law of England but not guilty under the law of God."

"I have no option but to refuse to serve mammon," he said.

Registration was described as an "evil thing" by Evan John Alun Williams, aged 28, teacher, 29 Catharine Street, Liverpool.

John Watson, aged 39, 22 Windbourne Road, Aigburth, said that when the Ministry of Labour informed him there was no conscience clause he refused to register.

LORD PORTSEA'S PLEA.

In the House of Lords on Wednesday, April 22, Lord Portsea made a moving plea that steps be taken to feed the few remaining people in Jersey and Guernsey before it is too late to save them from starvation. He pleaded for the children of the island who are condemned to starvation. He wanted to divide the House but could find no teller. He pleaded to a silent House: "WILL ANY NOBLE LORD TELL WITH ME AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT?" No one stirred. In a gestare of despair, Lord Portsea murmured: "On your head be it."

IMPERIAL OUTLOOK MUST GO

"ODIOUS TIMES"

LORD MAMHEAD'S BOLD SPEECH

Lord Mamhead is better known as Sir R. H. Newman, Bt., M.P. He was Unionist M.P. for Exeter, 1918-1929, and Independent from 1929-1931. He is the 4th Baronet and was made a peer in 1931.

The *Torquay Times* for April 3 reports a speech made by Lord Mamhead in that town the previous night.

We cull the following report from our contemporary :—

Lord Mamhead said at the present moment we were face to face with a most serious position.

A great many people said once we beat Hitler all would be well. He did not believe it. If we beat Hitler to-morrow and allowed Satan to rule we should be no better off than before. He believed Hitlerism was the growth of a pernicious past, on which we built our so-called civilization, and this country had a great deal to answer for.

Only Christianity could save the world. The great question we had to decide in the future was whether the country was to be pagan or Christian.

A lot of people thought they could bring about a better state of affairs by fighting for the Democracies.

He had stood all his life for liberty and freedom, and he did not think any more of democracy than autocracy. The liberty of every man and woman should be respected. A man should not be put into prison because he said something which somebody else did not approve.

PLEA FOR FREEDOM

There must be freedom of thought, freedom of action, and freedom of speech. We must get rid of dictators. He would like to see dictators like Hitler, Mussolini, and Stalin put away. If they were put in a box he did not know what would come out first.

Lord Mamhead added:

"I never thought I should live to see the day when there is only one assembly that is really free, and that is the House of Lords. The House of Commons is muzzled. It is a 'Yes' house."

If one expressed many views outside, one is liable to be imprisoned. The only House that did not care anything for the Home Secretary was the House of Lords, because he could not touch it.

If he felt we were to live in the future in this country under the conditions under which we were living now, he would say we were living in odious times. If we were told what we had to eat and drink, and whom we were to employ, he would say it was most odious.

The world must be built up on Christian foundation. He did not believe in secular education. He was told there were children who had hardly heard the name of Christ mentioned, and he had also heard of cases where boys did not know what Christmas stood for.

AGAINST CONSCRIPTION

"In this country," Lord Mamhead continued, "we are now reaping what we have sown."

It was all very well to condemn Hitlerism, Mussolinism, and Stalinism, but we had to go further than that. We had to do away with what used to be the great imperial outlook: "My country right or wrong."

Lord Mamhead expressed himself as being dead against conscription, which (he said) meant putting into the hands of the Government powers they could exercise at any time for any purpose.

"One day you will wake up and find you have a weight round your necks, and you won't get it off," he ended.

CEYLON, AUSTRALIA, and SOUTH INDIA.—The late Sir Walter Strickland sent us, on June 5, 1934, from the Hotel Juliana, Buitenzorg, Java, his "journal" of impressions and reflections concerning the conditions prevailing in these lands, and their political and social future. We shall endeavour to publish this interesting contribution to the living issues of to-day and to-morrow in our next issue.

STRICKLAND'S "LIFE."—Under the title of **Walter Strickland, Friend of Liberty,** we have written a "life" of this wandering scholar who mastered so many languages and knew India and the East so well. Paper restriction difficulties compel publication by advanced subscription. No copies will be offered for free public sale. The work will be issued in July. The advanced subscription is 3s. 0d., post free. **If you want this work, subscribe now.**

CONSCRIPTION OF WOMEN

In every office and mill in Bradford this week (ending December 6, 1941) there's been one main topic of conversation, and Our Ethel has been It. Everyone wants Our Ethel.

We pointed out recently that unmarried women of the working class are in fact the least mobile and conscriptable of any. Not only does the Bradford trade depend on them, but there would be widespread chaos in working-class homes, especially in winter, if they were withdrawn.

Why are married women to be exempt from conscription? Those with children obviously shouldn't be disturbed, but young married women without children have usually less responsibility than the unmarried. This applies especially in the upper classes, where officers' wives can follow their husbands around leading a completely idle life at great charge to the community. Also obviously there should be a thorough comb-out of domestic servants and ladies registered as "chauffeurs," before the young women who are working hard at honest jobs are messed about.

But above all, the rates of pay for munition workers must be revised. In Parliament on Tuesday Mrs. Mavis Tate, M.P., told of her visit to a war factory :—

"I saw large luxury coaches which drove the men to work in the morning from 15 miles away. The men who drive the coaches are paid £7 a week for that, and THEY HAVE NO WORK WHATSOEVER between the time they drive the men to work in the morning and the time they drive them back at night."

But the WOMEN'S average earnings on munitions are less than £2 10s. a week! Labourers in engineering shops doing the poorest jobs get about £4 a week, but hardly a woman anywhere, however skilful, unless she is a forewoman, gets as much as that.

"The rate for the job" which women were promised in many trades, turns out in practice to be all boloney. The bosses dodge the premise by splitting the job and pretending that part of it is "too heavy" for women. As a matter of fact in most modern industries (certain branches of aircraft work particularly) it is an advantage to have light, strong, deft hands which have not been spoiled by heavy labour. Manual dexterity is of a much higher value than mere lugging power. In man's trades (lino-operating for example) it commands good wages. In women's trades it is still in the bargain basement.

£2 10s. a week is not a living wage in these days. Anyone getting as little as that has to make out in other ways. She has to make an arrangement for board and lodging, either with her family or a landlady, which involves her doing all her own mending and washing and usually a good deal of housework as well.

If working-class girls are taken away from home, their wages will have to be increased so that they can afford to pay properly for board and lodging and meals, and live as independent citizens. It will require a complete change of social and economic outlook.

—Bradford I.L.P. News.

UNITARIAN CHURCH
Hope Street, Liverpool.
Minister—Rev. SIDNEY SPENCER, B.A.

TO POSTAL SUBSCRIBERS.

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Owing to paper restrictions, every reader should become a regular annual subscriber.

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STRICKLAND'S PASSPORT

In 1920, the British Foreign Office withdrew the late Sir Walter Strickland's passport and refused to issue him another. The following year he published the correspondence with comments, in the form of a small pamphlet issued for private circulation. This was headed "The Passport Menace." A man without a passport was, for practical purposes, a man without a country. This fact explains Strickland's erroneous assumption of Czech nationality, as much as his interest in Czech literature and Czech traditions and politics. It had other consequences that were not foreseen at the time. Sir Walter Strickland, feeling that he had been deprived of his British nationality, withdrew all his personal deposits from his English Bankers and scattered them abroad. The war has made havoc of his estate in consequence.

Before the war, Strickland's semi-adopted Indian son deposited his MSS. and some Bearer Bonds and investment receipts in a Berlin bank. These were lost.

When the German Government took possession of Prague, securities Strickland had deposited in the bank there were lost.

Dispute about Strickland's nationality held up the probate of his will for a year. Thereafter, the Credit Lyonnais, Paris, where he had deposited his strong box, a number of securities, and had a current account, denied his British nationality up to the moment that the Germans occupied Paris. Just as this Bank was seeing reason, the occupation took place and everything in Paris was lost.

Part of his life Strickland had lived in Japan and held various Japanese investments. These declined and are worthless.

The war, and various disputes connected with it, has held up the settlement of Strickland's United States deposits. The extension of the war to the United States has wasted to zero many of his holdings, which were of great value at the time of his death. Like the British Government, the United States Government has taxed them at their then value, which is now quite fictitious.

Altogether, most disastrous consequences to his estate, and to his revolutionary wishes in handling and administering it, proceeded from his passport dispute. This dispute arose from his deep interest in Indian nationalism and, despite his Japanese investments, his strong sympathies with China and Chinese Republicanism. Strickland actually had strong sympathies with the oppressed everywhere.

In England, the entailed estate has passed into the hands of the Master of Lunacy and, in due course, will probably return to the Crown. The existence of this estate added heavily to the taxation of the personal estate.

We do not expect working-class readers to be much troubled about these facts, since, obviously, property society ought not to exist. Nevertheless the circumstances described have deprived the Strickland Press of large sums that would have been used in the pursuit of its revolutionary, and anti-militarist activity, in accordance with Strickland's wishes. This fact has held up the publication of his descriptions of life in the Far East—in all those places that he knew so well, and that from being at one time so outlandish, are now becoming household words—and of his pioneer thoughts in the subjects of China; a common nationality understanding between Britain and America not for war purposes but for peace and cultural purposes, and a world commonwealth.

Despite these difficulties, we hope to be able to collect, edit and publish Strickland essays, in suitable popular form, at an early date; and also to resume our accounts of his career.

In an early issue, we will publish a record of his unfortunate passport struggle with the Foreign Officer, with his comments made at the time.

Liberty! Equality!! Fraternity!!!

THE WORD

To Rouse The People, To Combat Fascism, and To Speed Commonweal.

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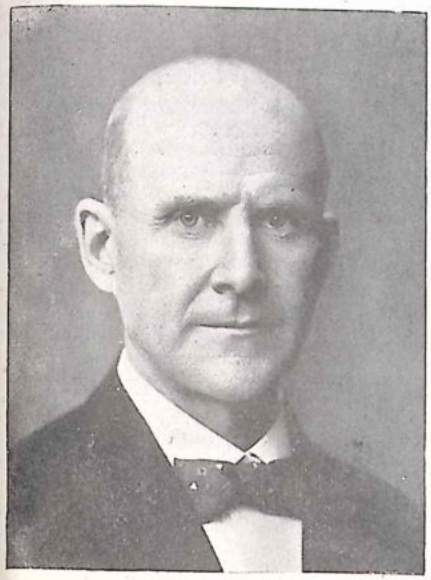

(From portrait taken in 1908 and kindly lent by Francis Johnson of the I.L.P.)

EUGENE V. DEBS

(1855-1926)

Convict 9653, the United States' Prison Martyr for Anti-War Socialism. Debs' biography, and famous speech from the dock in 1918, were published in our February issue. Britain's veteran Socialist agitator, F. W. Jowett, approaches war to-day as Debs did, and as Jowett himself did, during the first Great War, 1914-1918. Debs was nine years old when Jowett was born. These two great comrades have built up true Socialist traditions on both sides of the Atlantic and throughout the English speaking world.

Editor's Appeal—Pressure on our space has compelled us to hold over the appeal and statement. The deficit is heavy. Please help.

SOCIALISM & PEACE

THE BOMBING CONTEST

By

The Rt. Hon. F. W. JOWETT

(FIRST COMMISSIONER OF WORKS, 1924 LABOUR GOVERNMENT).

[The following essays were published, respectively, by our comrade Jowett in the "Bradford I.L.P. News" for Friday, April 3 and May 1, 1942. They answer Vansittart and Donegall and the present reactionary critics of Herbert Morrison, who is to be hounded for having made a speech replete with commonsense at a trade union conference at Blackpool. Jowett is a veteran anti-militarist and the standard bearer of Anti-war Socialism.—Ed.]

(I). A SOCIALIST STRATEGY FOR PEACE

The *Daily Herald's* Military Correspondent (Major E. W. Shepherd), in a careful estimate of German casualties in Russia, gives it as his considered opinion that Germany started the Russian war with forces of about three and a half million Germans, and about half a million allied forces. It is almost certain, he says, that:

"The total German losses in Russia have already roughly equalled the whole of the forces, her own and auxiliary, with which she invaded Russia in June.

"AND OF THESE PROBABLY ABOUT A MILLION AND A THIRD WILL NEVER FIGHT AGAIN."

Yet the German people are still supporting Hitler and his Nazi Government in this war which must continue for an unimaginable number of years, to accomplish a complete military victory for either side, as we, the British people, are still supporting Churchill and his fight-to-a-finish Government.

The Angel of Death, which has already clutched at the heart-strings of German people in millions of German homes, is coming more ominously near to us for as the dribble of reported casualties carry the sad message into an ever-increasing number of British homes, we can "almost hear the beating of its wings" as John Bright said, in the relatively trifling calamity of the War in the Crimea.

And so I say again that it is of vital importance now more than ever, to deprive Hitler and his Nazi Government of support which fear of another dictated imperialist peace has induced.

But what hope is there of this vitally important object being attained whilst it is possible for Lord Vansittart (who until quite recently was the Government's Chief Diplomatic Advisor) with the approval of many influential colleagues, and without a word of protest or rebuke from the Government to charge the German people with being a nation of murderers whose present generation at least must pass away before foreign military occupation can be withdrawn? What a welcome gift this was to Dr. Goebbels for his war propaganda! Of course it was used. This was what the Berlin radio said of it one day last week.

"Vansittart's speech shows" said the Berlin radio, "that the allies are fighting against the whole of the German people.

"This admission reveals the true intentions of the British.

"THE ALLIES NEVER THOUGHT OF FIGHTING NATIONAL SOCIALISM. Their true aim is to fight this war of annihilation against the whole German people."

(*Birmingham Town Crier*, March 28, 1942).

In the war of unimaginable duration to which Churchill and his Government are calling us, and Hitler is calling the German people, there is hope only that common cause in common suffering may bring the people of both these nations into the mind for peace.

And the first step to this indispensable approach to peace born of belief in a common cause that we who are anti-war British socialists can, and must, take, if we do not belie our faith, is to get a Government that will CHALLENGE THE WORLD to a new Social Order by its own example.

A government willing voluntarily at long last to ACCEPT LIQUIDATION OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE AND TO ISSUE A CALL FOR PEACE recognising the right, and agree to distribution of the world's resources for the mutual benefit of all peoples.

But if we get a government that will challenge the world to a New Social Order by British example, and issue such a call for peace under promise to agree to distribution of the world's resources for the mutual benefit of all peoples, AND THE CALL IS IGNORED OR REJECTED, what then? This is a question to which readers of the *I.L.P. News* may wish for a reply from me.

["*Yorkshire Observer*" copyright

F. W. JOWETT TODAY

The above photograph of our veteran comrade was published in our contemporary on November 10, 1941. Jowett has been an untiring Socialist propagandist for over fifty years. To-day his weekly causerie ought to be circulated and read by workers throughout the country, in field, factory and workshop.

To this pre-supposition, that such a British call for peace would be ignored or rejected, the use which Hitler's war propagandist, Dr. Goebbells, is making of the Vansittart hate-provoking campaign against the German people and of the "fight to a finish" and "beautiful bombs" speeches of Churchill, Beaverbrook and others, is, in part, an answer.

Nazi war propaganda would not so persistently exploit the threats of British bludgeon-man politicians if it were not the case that MASSES OF THE GERMAN PEOPLE COULD ONLY BE HELD IN SUPPORT OF THE WAR BY FEAR.

Millions of Germans, Italians, French and Spaniards are oppressed. All have suffered. Millions of Greeks, Belgians, French, Danish, Norwegians and Dutch are starving—victims of the British blockade. Some of these countries have been battle grounds over which the mechanised might of the German army has passed in devastating destruction. Is it conceivable that all these millions of martyred people would not respond to a call for peace. WILL THEY COUNT FOR NOTHING IF SUCH A CALL IS MADE? Will they not hail such a call as a message of deliverance that will not, must not, be ignored?

Especially is it to be expected that in Germany, where the terrible cost of war in terms of mutilation and death is being increasingly felt by all, and where there is even now an underground anti-war socialist movement in spite of all the Gestapo's efforts to suppress it, THERE WILL BE RESPONSE.

So it is to say the least highly probable that the German people's response to a British call for peace that will challenge the world to a New Social Order by example would deprive Hitler and his Nazi Government of the support necessary to carry on the war.

But what if the call failed? What if, by methods of terror, Hitler and his Nazi Govern-

ment carry on with the war—which is doubtful, for by force alone peoples cannot be made to fight a war successfully. Even tyrants must get the support of their peoples for war by means of war propaganda and German war propaganda would be killed stone dead by a British challenge to the world for peace and the New Social Order by example.

IF THE BRITISH CALL FOR PEACE FAILS CAN BRITAIN WITHDRAW FROM THE WAR?

Unfortunately, nations which have entangled themselves in war obligations with half-a-dozen or more other nations as we have done, have no such ready way of escape from their obligations.

We have, say, for want of any reliable information of the actual number 750,000 British on active service in the Near and Middle East. We have shipping to convoy and protect across the long and increasingly dangerous ocean life lines, bringing food and munitions for defence. We have our obligations to the Russian people, who for the last nine months have given us practically an unmolested peace in our own homeland. China, Greece, Czecho-Slovakia, Holland, Belgium and Norway, to all of these we are tied by obligations to which the overwhelming mass of the British people have given their assent. EVEN AN ANTI-WAR SOCIALIST GOVERNMENT COULD NOT IGNORE THESE OBLIGATIONS NOR FAIL TO MEET THEM TO THE UTMOST EXTENT IN ITS POWER.

Would not this simply mean carrying on the war under new management I may be asked? To this question, the answer is NO, for the British challenge to the world for peace and the New Social Order proved by example of a British Government willing voluntarily to accept liquidation of the British Empire and recognising the right, and agreeing to distribution of the world's resources for the benefit of all peoples, would still stand.

And the challenge would be backed by the mighty federation of peoples of Soviet Russia. It involves no menacing threat of military interference with the liberty of other peoples to live under governments and systems of their own.

Stalin's world-stirring message in his Order of the Day to the Russian armies makes this non-intervention purpose of Russian policy quite clear. That ringing message of Stalin, repeated unceasingly in wireless messages to the German people from Russia and in the Russian press, is a veritable pain in the neck for Hitler and his war-propagandists. THEY PREFER VANSITTART.

If Stalin's Order of the Day was not specially directed to contradict—so far as Soviet Russia is concerned—the whole Anglo-American policy of military control of Germany after a fight to a finish, then it reads uncommonly like it.

"The (Soviet army's) object is to DRIVE THE GERMAN INVADER FROM OUR SHORES. Probably that will result in expelling and destroying Hitler's clique.

"We should welcome such a result. But it would be ridiculous to identify Hitler's clique with the German people."

With the principle here laid down by Stalin, I, as an anti-war socialist agree as a policy of assistance to all Nazi invaded countries in the event of a real British peace offer proved by example being ignored or rejected. I do not myself believe it would be either ignored or rejected.

(2) THE BOMBING COMPETITION RENEWED.

A. B. Austin, the *Daily Herald's* Air Correspondent has given a vivid description of damage done to the ancient German city of Lubeck by R.A.F. night bombers. Under the expressive title of "A Roofless City" he tells what photographs taken from the air a fortnight later have revealed of the effect of the R.A.F.'s attack on the night of March 28. Here is a quotation showing what the photographs revealed of the after-blitz condition of Lubeck:

"Think of a strip of close-packed city three-quarters of a mile long and from 200 to 600 yards wide, think of London from the Marble Arch to Oxford Circus, Manchester from the Corn Exchange to London Road Station, Glasgow, from the Broomielaw to the Cowcaddens, the whole length of Edinburgh's Princes Street.

"That is what you are seeing in this picture, the dead heart of a town of 150,000 people. Forty per cent of Lubeck's inner town has been devastated; 2000 of its houses have been destroyed.

"One heavy bomb alone has smashed seven or eight blocks of flats. What bombs have not flattened, fire has gutted. The Town Hall, the central electric station, the market hall, the Reichsbank, the railway repair shops, the port warehouses, the canning factory, the iron works; all are gone."

—("Daily Herald," April 25).

It seems now likely that the unrestricted bombing competition to which Churchill has challenged Hitler has begun. Speaking of last Saturday's night bombing attacks at Bath and elsewhere, the London Correspondent of the *Yorkshire Observer* said on Monday:

"Since Hitler has promised blow for blow in the new air-warfare, we must steel ourselves to the sort of thing that happened last night in different parts of the country."

But the *Yorkshire Observer's* London Correspondent thinks it is a mistake to give realistic descriptions of the devastation of German towns by British bombs:

"When the enemy does vent his venom on some British town which hitherto has been spared the ordeal of other places which are contributing heavily to the war effort we shall have little ground of complaint if the Air Ministry is to continue describing the devastation of our own raids in the language it has used during the last few days."

—("Yorkshire Observer," April 27).

The only conclusion which can be drawn from this line of reasoning is that if the British public are not told of the devastating effect of British bombs on German towns, the Germans may not think of reprisals. I do not believe, however, that the *Yorkshire Observer's* London Correspondent is foolish enough to believe in the validity of his own argument.

It may seem uncharitable on my part to say so, but nevertheless I must honestly say that I think what the *Observer's* London Correspondent had in mind was not that descriptions of the effect of British bombing on Germany's towns lead to German reprisals, but that *such realistic descriptions are bad war propaganda.*

To make good war propaganda, bombs should always be represented as falling mainly on enemy military targets, whilst enemy bombs should be represented as falling mainly on non-military objectives, especially on hospitals, schools, working-class dwellings and the like.

As a matter of fact I do not feel it can be unfair to the *Observer's* London Correspondent to suggest that he had some thing else in mind when he wrote his protest against publication of true descriptions of the devastating effect of British bombing of German towns, for it is on record that he does not regard telling the truth in war time as important.

The record is to be found in his own comment on Russia's protest against Finnish war propaganda during the Russo-Finnish war. Finnish war propaganda was making exaggerated statements about the loss of civilian life, to make it appear that the targets aimed at by the Russian air force were open towns, women and children especially, not military objects. Maisky, Russia's Ambassador, protested against this malignant misrepresentation. This was the *Observer's* London Correspondent's comment on Russia's protest:

"But the effrontery of M. Maisky and his friends in thinking that the people of this country are neutral in their sympathies, judging equally between the veracity of Finnish and Soviet communiques, is just too ludicrous. We don't care if the Finns are over optimistic or even inaccurate. It only shows their courage and their confidence."

—("Yorkshire Observer," Jan. 4/40).

Not many months later Finland had come out openly on the side of Germany and was attacking Russia, Britain's ally!

Thereupon, the *Observer's* London Correspondent began to see that good sound orthodox reasons could be cited for Russia's invasion of Finland, and said so.

And this is what it said of the Finnish General, Marshal Mannerheim (who, until Finland became Germany's ally in this second world war, was British imperialism's white-headed boy, honoured, if I recollect rightly, with at least one British military decoration):

"Marshal Mannerheim and a proportion of high Finnish officers were always Nazi at heart, and the temptation to pay off old scores against Russia will be too great. Nevertheless we (the British Government) have felt it advisable to point out through the Norwegian Minister at Helsinki what happens to a country (at the peace conference presumably) which allows itself to be dominated by the Germans and what will happen to it when the Germans have been defeated."

—("Yorkshire Observer," Sept. 25/41).

At the peace conference when the Germans have been defeated! And we are only really at the beginning of the murderous bombing competition which Prime Minister Churchill so rashly and wantonly challenged. Possibly it may not be really the beginning but only an instalment, a foretaste of what is to come, so far as we are concerned for Hitler may not be able to spare enough planes from Russia to do his worst yet, but doubtless the full force of the attack will come later.

Meanwhile the blockade is tightening against us and yet in this desperate situation pre-war party leaders, Chief Tory Churchill to the Labour Party's tin-trumpet fugleman, Pat Dollan, talk of the military struggle showing signs of success!

Where is there any such sign of success? What prospect is there, but of years of devastation and starvation, blood, toil, tears and sweat? Governments do not surrender when working-class houses are bombed or ancient churches are shattered.

Governments are destroyed when the people rise up against them. In wartime when a people is suffering, it will rise up against its own government only when it fears the enemy *less* than it fears it own government. There are rumours—let us hope they are true—of some such upheaval in Italy; and moreover it appears from Hitler's speech that he had reason to fear some elements in his own country.

Now of all times is not the time for a bombing competition as part of war strategy. Now is the time for the strategy the I.L.P. has always stood for: the appeal to the suffering peoples over the heads of their governments. Let the common people of Italy and of Germany know in clear terms that they have nothing to fear and everything to gain by throwing over their War Lords.

For this demand we find support in an unexpected quarter (*Sunday Observer,* April 19, quoted by the *Peace News*):

"The moral offensive lies with us. Are we yet equipped to take it? From the Arctic Circle to the Mediterranean, men and women are listening. They are listening in in Germany. And what do they hear? That we have created a Political Warfare Executive; that we are confident of victory, that the Four Freedoms are better than the New Order. They are listening also to Moscow. They listen perhaps to Washington. But have they yet heard one clear word of what the victors mean to do or hope to do for the nations to whose deliverance they are pledged?"

WHY BLUNDER ON?

"Observer" in the "Peace News" for May 8 says:

There has been a number of interesting pacifist pamphlets and books of late. I record them in the order in which they made their appearance on my desk. First, "Why Blunder On?" by the Duke of Bedford (104 George Street, Glasgow, 6d.) . . .

So far, I have been able to read only the Duke of Bedford's. It impresses me as a reasonable, lucid, and persuasive statement of a minimum programme of social, economic, and political reform on which men who are not ashamed to demand peace can agree. It is an effective counterblast to the folly of those who pretend to persuade themselves that a new and better social order can emerge after this war has been prosecuted to "victory."

A Request to Fleet St.

By

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD

Recently I had an opportunity of a talk with the Editor of a well-known paper who happens to be more in sympathy than the majority of editors with my outlook and some of my ideas.

I asked him what Fleet Street really thought of me. His answer, which did not surprise me as it confirmed what I had already heard from other sources, was to the effect that Fleet Street believed me to be a Fascist; were puzzled by my Christianity; and were rather inclined to admire my "guts."

Now what exactly do Fleet Street mean when they say that I am a "Fascist," and what is their definition of "Fascism"? Perhaps some editor who sees a copy of *The Word* would tell me, for I should really be very interested to know. To me, the essential (and evil) features of Fascism are the denial of reasonable liberty to the citizen and the sacrifice of the individual to the State; the ruthless persecution of critics of the established government by the methods of the Gestapo and the concentration camp; and inadequate machinery to enable the people to control, or remove, the head of the State. If Fleet Street agree with this definition, seeing that I have always condemned these features of Fascism, it seems to follow that they are convinced that my condemnation is insincere. May I ask why?

Can it be, however, that Fleet Street consider me a Fascist merely because I have sometimes put in a plea for fair play for Hitler? Surely you do not necessary approve of a man's faults and mistakes because you suggest that he should be judged in accordance with facts and with due consideration for any provocation he may have received and for any handicaps under which he may labour? Would Fleet Street editors themselves like to be judged differently? Would not some of them need the help of every extenuating circumstance that could . . . But perhaps I am getting too personal!

Am I, perhaps, assumed to be a Fascist because, as my critics and even some of my friends tell me I always seem to be finding excuses for Germany but never finding excuses for, or praising, our own Government? Well, even if I plead guilty to this charge, I do not quite see that it proves me to be an advocate of State tyranny; and if I had been remiss in finding excuses for, or praising, our own Government, will Fleet Street please help me with facts? Will they tell me of the great strategic and financial exploits of the Prime Minister which I have overlooked both before, and during, the present war? Will they point out to me the proofs of unswerving loyalty to early convictions displayed by Mr. Morrison and Mr. Bevin? Will they indicate how Sir Kingsley Wood has brought prosperity to the country, or will do so directly the war ends? Will they show me how Mr. Brendan Bracken, by his enlightened propaganda has won the support of every thinking man and woman in Europe? And if the Prime Minister has not been very successful as a strategist or as Chancellor of the Exchequer; and if Mr. Morrison and Mr. Bevin have changed their outlook quite a lot for no obvious reason; and if Sir Kingsley Wood has not done anything very striking to secure prosperity after the war or discourage such financial rackets as Warships Week during it; and if Mr. Brendan Bracken does not always convince or convert his audiences at home and abroad, will they tell me why these poor dear Ministers could not reasonably have been expected to do any better?

With regard to Fleet Street being puzzled by my religious ideas, well perhaps Christianity *does* rather seem to be outside their line of country, judging by some of the things they write and do! Joking apart, however, it might not be a bad idea if Fleet Street did give this strange and unfamiliar faith a trial. Suppose the newspapers, for a change, vied with each other in leading public opinion along the path of truth to nobler ideals; fairer judgments; cleaner humour; and healthier interests; giving genuine news and facts instead of lies, half-truths and dope.

It would be a change and no mistake and the change might demand a good many martyrs at the start; yet for all that I think it would be a change worth while. An unpractical dream? Perhaps. But aren't we living in a nightmare already?

THE DUKE'S LETTER: WHY PUBLICITY?

On November 3, 1941, the press throughout Great Britain and Ireland carried a sensational story beneath the headings:—

Duke of Bedford's Letter
SENT TO HOME OFFICE

The text explained:

A letter written by the Duke of Bedford to a Government official in Liverpool has been sent to Mr. Herbert Morrison (Home Secretary).

The letter was shown to Councillor George Reakes, a former Mayor of Wallasey, who considered it advisable to draw the attention of the Home Secretary to its contents. . . .

It is understood that the letter has been referred to the legal experts of the Crown, who will advise Mr. Morrison as to what action, if any, should be taken on it.

Councillor George Reakes told a reporter on Monday that the letter came into his hands through a friend, and as the matter was sub-judice he could not disclose its contents.

The Duke of Bedford, interviewed, said that he could not quite identify the letter "they are making such a fuss about" but thought that it was one that he had written to a Federal Union enthusiast in Liverpool. The reason of the "fuss" was not quite clear at the time but it secured to Councillor Reakes a nation-wide free advertisement in the press as an ardent patriot and a great political enemy of Fascism, by the very cheap method of denouncing the Duke of Bedford. Councillor Reakes not only sent the Duke's letter, *which was not addressed to him*, to the Home Secretary. He advised the press he had done so, otherwise the fact would have been unknown. He not only wanted to inform but he wanted the reputation of having informed. Why? From pure patriotism?

On March 23 and 24, 1942, the press of Great Britain and Ireland published the Home Office view of the Duke's letter. This "view," apparently, was released to the press by Mr. Reakes, who made an adverse comment on Home Office evasion. The reply was summarised under appropriate headings, with, of course, references to Mr. Reakes, and summaries of the letter sent.

The headings were variations, as follows:

HOME OFFICE REPLY ON DUKE'S LETTER
HOME OFFICE ON DUKE'S PEACE LETTER
HOME OFFICE AND DUKE'S LETTER
HOME OFFICE "EVASION" OF PEACE LETTER

The text, beneath these various headings, read:

A reply from the Home Office concerning a "peace by negotiation" letter written by the Duke of Bedford to a Government official in Liverpool is described as "a priceless example of evasion" by Councillor G. Reakes, a former Mayor of Wallasey, Cheshire, who sent the letter to the Home Secretary. . . .

Councillor Reakes said yesterday that the Home Office reply is signed by a private secretary and says: "Mr. Herbert Morrison can only say in connection with the matter which you mention that he is administering a Regulation drafted in certain terms and upon him rests the responsibility for deciding whether or not to take action under that Regulation in any particular case."

Morrison's reply was correct. Reake's comment increased his reputation as a "super-patriot." It was a further comfortable, inexpensive advertisement. Again, why all this fuss? Had Herbert Morrison demonstrated his need for a self-elected assistant at the Home Office?

In April, 1942, Mr. George L. Reakes stood as Independent Candidate for Wallasley. The result was declared on April 30:

GEORGE L. REAKES (Ind.)	12,596
Ald. John Pennington (Nat. Gov.)	6,584
Major L. H. Cripps	1,597
Independent majority	6,012

Major Cripps, shipowner, brother of Sir Stafford Cripps, lost his deposit.

At the General Election in 1935 the figures were:

Col. J. T. C. Moore-Brabazon (U)	27,949
J. Airey (Lab.)	13,491
Unionist majority	14,458

The by-election was occasioned by the elevation to the peerage of Colonel Moore-Brabazon.

Announcing the result, the press said that the successful candidate at Wallasley, Mr. Reakes, is a journalist and was a member of the Labour Party until a difference of opinion over Munich. He was Labour's nominee when elected Mayor for Coronation Year.

When the result of the by-election was announced Mr. Reakes said:-

"It is a victory for Churchill, and our enemies will now know that Wallasey wants a vigorous prosecution of the war with a fight to the finish."

Was it a victory for Mr. Churchill to oppose his chosen candidate and supporter, Alderman Pennington? Was not the idea rather that Reakes should be M.P., than Mr. Pennington, even though Pennington would have supported Churchill as well as Reakes? Does not a journalist, who sends another man's private letter to the Home Secretary, and advises the press of the fact, make himself an object of political suspicion? It was good publicity to be known as an enemy of the Duke of Bedford.

Outside of "ginger" politics, speeches in the House of Commons, and much patriotic shouting, *exactly what service does Mr. Reakes propose to render personally* to effect the defeat of Nazism and Fascism in the world? What dangers does he propose to face?

Working class readers will not forget that the war of 1914-1918 had its "ginger" victors; e.g., one, Stanton, in Wales. What became of this man afterwards? What service did he render the workers in their post-war struggles? But what services will Mr. Reakes render to the working class? We wonder.

We wonder because, having won his seat on a rabid militarist appeal, Mr. Reakes explained, in the "Sunday Pictorial" for May 3rd, the causes of war. He said:

The first is the control of the nation's finances by the Bank of England.

Does Mr. Churchill propose to overcome this cause? Did Mr. Reakes ask the electors for a mandate to overcome this cause? If this is the first cause why was the attack on the Bank of England not the main plank in the election? Was Mr. Reakes afraid of not becoming M.P.?

A reader has sent us "The Datchelor School Magazine" for March. Also the Diamond Jubilee number and Short History, issued in 1937. The March, 1942, issue has a reference to Lady Wedgwood who was a student named Florence Ethel Willett.

Lady Wedgwood maintains her association with the school and mentions Miss Rigg, the founder of the Mary Datchelor's School. Lady Wedgwood is congratulated on her title. We cannot understand why the editor of the school magazine should omit to mention that Lady Wedgwood is a keen defender of conscience and civil liberty, definitely in sympathy with the women conscientious objectors, and herself a conchie!

Much has been said recently about letters being opened in the post. Our letters have been opened in transit since 1906 equally under Liberal, Tory and Labour Governments. In 1922 Lord Wedgwood, then M.P., raised the matter in the House of Commons. Lord Wedgwood has never received the credit due him for his protests against invasions of liberty.

UNITARIAN PACIFISM

Last month we published the protest of the Rev. William Bottomley, minister of the Unitarian Church, Melbourne, against the pro-war propaganda of the London Unitarian organ, *The Inquirer*. To its credit, our contemporary published the same letter in its columns for May 2. It appended the following comment:

"If Mr. Bottomley regards the notes as 'War Propaganda' then he is welcome to his chosen epithets of 'nonsense' and 'ridiculous gravity.' Even so, the Notes usually occupy about one-eighth of the paper, and it does not say much for the 'spirit and purpose of our movement' if he cannot show the rest to 'anyone of any intelligence'. Mr. Bottomley knows perfectly well the kind of comment that he would like to see, and he would not turn a hair if it were 'secular' or 'religious'. In the March number of his paper, the 'Beacon,' with the Japs knocking at the doors of Australia, he still asserts his faith that 'war is wrong in any circumstance'. He, too, is entitled to his faith, but we cannot help thinking that it has something to do with the reaction in the above letter, and, we hope, nothing to do with its tone. As to time-lag, some of our most heartening tributes come from overseas; only a proportion see the light of day. As to the prime example of nonsense, we appreciate Mr. Bottomley's feelings at the time, but for ourselves time has only proved its truth.—Ed."

This comment is peevish. Mr. Bottomley is indicted for the offence of being consistent in his opposition to war. Behind *"the Japs knocking at the door of Australia"* is much more than the question of immediate militarism. Who westernised the Japs? Who armed them in recent years? Who created a "yellow" problem in the Pacific? Our contemporary approaches the entire question of peace and war, and world politic, in a most superficial and stupid way. Whereas, in his various sermons and essays, Mr. Bottomley brings courage, thought, and powers of factual discussion to bear upon it. Many of our readers, including Unitarian Ministers, in various parts of Britain, have written to us protesting against the tone of *The Inquirer*, its want of Christian ethic and understanding, its rabid militarism and war mongering, its total worthlessness as an organ of spiritual dynamic and thought. The situation is lamentable because there is much useful heresy in Unitarian traditions.

Mr. Bottomley was formerly Unitarian minister at Taunton, but left there for Melbourne in 1926.

In its issue for May 9, "The Inquirer" published a letter from Major Sir W. P. Colfox, ex-M.P., defending its "Week by Week" notes against Mr Bottomley's accusation of war-propaganda. Sir W. P. Colfox concludes his letter:

For my own part I consider that "The Inquirer" of to-day is doing a magnificent service to Unitarianism. But it is doing much more than that, because it is quite definitely helping the advancement and understanding of Christianity. In this work the most important (though certainly not the only) part is being played by "Week by Week," which provides its readers with hope and vision, and combines a steadfast reliance on God with a reasoned optimism as to the eventual outcome of man's efforts to work out God's will.

Mr. Bottomley is ashamed of "The Inquirer." I wonder if it ever occurs to Mr. Bottomley what feelings of shame are aroused in the hearts of the vast majority of Unitarians by the fact that he claims to be one with us.

How can a weekly war commentary inspire people with hope and vision? Why should Christians be ashamed of Mr. Bottomley for maintaining his pacifism? Were not the early Christians pacifists?

The editor of our contemporary comments on Sir W. P. Colfox's letter:—

We have been much touched by other letters and messages we have received upon the same subject, and will eventually thank all our correspondents by letter. There we would choose to leave it. We think however it should be known that without informing us Mr. Bottomley sent a copy of his letter—addressed to the editor of this paper, and concerning him only—to another paper. Our contemporary printed it in conspicuous fashion. Our only comment is that Mr. Bottomley can take pleasure in seeing his letter in the only paper in Britain that would probably stoop to such an act.—Ed.

Why does not our editorial critic assume an upright position himself? Why does he not explain that Sir W. P. Colfox is a Tory Imperialist politician and has been a Government whip? What has Jesus to do with Tory whips and since when has Unitarianism been synonymous with Toryism?

REV. WILLIAM BOTTOMLEY

Mr. Bottomley sent his criticism of "The Inquirer" to "The Word" for publication. What is there dishonourable in that? Where is "the stooping"? Is a Unitarian minister denied the right to criticise "The Inquirer" in the columns of "The Word"? What nonsense! Does the editor of our contemporary wish to establish a new papal chair? or is his desire to emulate Hitler or Stalin? It is a pity he must not be criticised. Perhaps he feels like Calvin felt when Servetus, in his easy fashion of simple boldness, dared to believe in Truth.

We tell the Unitarian world and our Unitarian editor that there is no Christianity in "The Inquirer's" war notes, for the simple reason, that no disciple of Jesus is entitled to employ the sword. The idea of Christians, whether they speak German or English, bombing cities, raining death and destruction on men, women and children alike. It may be daring. It may be war. It may demonstrate a fearless recklessness, a disregard for one's own life as well as for one's neighbours. It may be audacity. But it is not courage, not true courage. It is neither Christianity nor humanity.

Unitarians have no reason to be ashamed of Mr. Bottomley or his work in Melbourne. He took charge of the Melbourne Unitarian Church in 1926, as the nominee of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association. The membership of the Church at that time was small and its influence in the community of little account. A great change has been effected during the sixteen years of Mr. Bottomley's ministry.

He was instrumental in having Unitarian services put on the air for the first time in Australia; he engaged in debates with the leader of the Rationalist Association; he entered into the life of the community; associating himself with all radical, humanitarian and forward movements in the State. He edits a monthly paper called "The Beacon" which is read by people in every State of the Commonwealth and beyond.

During the peace which was but an armistice, Mr. Bottomley became a Vice-President of the Christian Pacifist Movement. When war came he maintained his pacifism.

Mr. Bottomley was responsible for the establishment of the Melbourne Forum and Literary Circle which meets during the winter months in the Church on Sunday afternoons and which is addressed by various speakers on matters political, economic, as well as religious.

Unitarianism is definitely on the map in Victoria and is identified with the people's struggle towards peace and social justice. It is interesting to note that, notwithstanding his bold anti-war attitude, Mr. Bottomley has increased his congregation which has grown through his definite advocacy of principles of World Brotherhood. It was no surprise to his supporters when, at the outbreak of war, Mr. Bottomley declared himself irrecoverably committed to a peace programme.

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THE DUKE OF BEDFORD'S PROGRAMME

By Rev. CHARLES RAVEN, D.D.

[In the following article contributed to the "Christian Pacifist" for June, Professor Raven, who is Master of Christ's College, Cambridge, and Chairman of the British Fellowship of Reconciliation, reviews the pamphlet in which the Duke of Bedford has presented a programme for immediate political action. The Editor of our contemporary says: "We are glad to offer our readers an important opinion on what we consider to be an important publication." We are indebted to the courtesy of the Rev. L. MacLachlan, M.A., who sent us an advance proof of the article.—Ed.]

Since the outbreak of the present war and indeed during the whole period since 1914 few men have shown greater courage and consistency, and few have been more scandalously traduced, than the present Duke of Bedford. Having resigned his commission in the Middlesex Regiment some time prior to the war, feeling the call to service of a non-military nature, he gave himself to work for the Y.M.C.A. in August 1914 and, some years later, he became a visitor at Portsmouth prison. Taking an active part in the S.C.M. and in C.O.P.E.C., and more recently doing everything in his power to advocate financial and political changes of a drastic but realistic character, he has gained a wide experience of life in all grades of society, has explored at close quarters the data on which economic and social policies must be based, and has developed natural gifts of intellectual consistency, clarity of thought and lucidity of speech through contact with men and things and the hard discipline of misrepresentation and suffering. In consequence he is a man of marked independence, disinterested, fearless, unembittered, a Christian pacifist who far more than most of us has made his principles and practice all of a piece. Any programme put out by him deserves and should receive the closest attention. His pamphlet *Why Blunder on?* which contains such a programme may well be the very statement for which we have all been waiting.

It is certainly timely in spite of, or indeed because of, the multitude of other plans and proposals and protests with which we are on all sides assailed. Naturally we are all passionately eager to see some issue out of our present distresses. We want to know how war, disease and poverty can be overcome. We cry out "What shall we do to be saved?" And from press and platform comes a multitude of answers. Most of these (it must be said at once) give more evidence of emotional upheaval than of intelligence or practicality: if they do credit to the heart of their authors, they are in other respects merely the crying of children for the moon. At recent pacifist conferences we have had far too much of these airy exhortations and vague revolutionary demands; and the religious world is full of them. Defeatism masquerading as "Christian doctrine of Man," utopianism disguised as "the theology of revolution," superstition calling itself orthodoxy—these things undermine the very principles upon which sane developments can be planned. In consequence the opportunity for Christian leadership is being postponed if not lost; and the masses of folk who are ready for any sacrifice if they can see and believe, are bewildered and estranged.

The value of the Duke of Bedford's proposals is that they are concrete and particular. He cannot be labelled as an advocate of any "ism" or "ology": he does not set out the sort of scheme which our socialist, communist, liberal and radical reformers have made suspect. He does not demand apocalyptic revolutions or promise transformations that recall the closing scenes of pantomimes. He takes certain specific problems — freedom, war, internationalism, finance, trade, government, industry and education—and puts forward definite criticisms of our present system and definite proposals for its amendment. It is not possible here to condense and describe these proposals; in the first pages of his pamphlet he has done so: the whole is clearly and briefly stated, with sufficient illustrations and simple examples to make the argument plain, and with continual evidence of humanity and candid commonsense. Even in matters like monetary reform in which many of us are almost wholly unable to follow a discussion or visualise a project he makes his own position as an advocate of Social Credit luminously simple. Even if we disagree with his proposals—and to me at least certain of them, for example that a Government should be forbidden to declare war without first holding a referendum, seem impracticable—at least we are compelled to re-examine the basis of our own convictions; and in many cases we shall (I believe) find that prejudice, ignorance of essential factors or failure to "strip our minds of cant", have distorted our judgment.

It is in this power to treat political and economic problems in terms of their human significance, to challenge the assumptions and expose the insecurities of our orthodoxies, and to criticise modern practice by reference to its failure to reflect sound principles and to meet elemental needs that the Duke of Bedford's work is invaluable. We may not be ready to accept his advice: we may, legitimately perhaps, disagree with details of his plan: but if we are honest with it we shall learn far more from it than from seemingly larger but really vaguer and more emotion-rousing propagandas. Here is a man of large experience and deep insight who has thought and read and written largely on these matters, and who puts forward the results as "first steps in an emergency programme". The whole Christian Pacifist movement should obtain, study and discuss his work. It is published price 6d. by the Strickland Press, 104 George Street, Glasgow, C.1.

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DON'T BLUNDER ON

F. W. JOWETT'S LETTER

We have received the following powerful letter from our comrade, F. W. Jowett:

Bradford, May 1, 1942.

My Dear Aldred,

May issue of "The Word" is excellent. Your "Open Letter" to Lord Simon is just right. You will, I feel sure, now that you have seen it in print, see no reason to change a word of it, if you had to write it again.

I received also the copy of Bedford's "Why Blunder On."

This I have now read and am able to say that I agree with a great part of it but not with the whole of it. His chapters on finance and foreign trade are clear and good and much of the rest of his opinions I agree with. I am not quite in accord with him in his line of approach for a negotiated peace with Hitler, which presupposes possibility of a peace with Hitler's Germany on the basis of mutual concessions—we to abandon our system of financing foreign trade IF HITLER WILL WITHDRAW FROM GERMAN OCCUPIED FOREIGN TERRITORY. This I regard as a fanciful suggestion, unlikely ever to take form and substance. My own line of approach is stated briefly, but I trust clearly, in my articles, "A Socialist Strategy for Peace" and "The Bombing Competition Renewed."

The parts of "Why Blunder On" which relate to Parliament and Government I disagree with. As you remarked in one of your previous letters to me Bedford's proposal practically means an industrial parliament—elected, as he explains, on an occupational franchise. I regard this plan as positively dangerous especially in an old industrial country such as ours where trade unions are ossified in sections some of them strongly entrenched with little regard to the welfare of large unorganised masses of workers they are unwilling to absorb. What it seems to me should be aimed at for attainment of a properly functioning democracy is community consciousness. This, I believe, can better be obtained by means of geographically based franchise than by an occupational one. Soviet Russia has, for the last seven years or so, had a geographically based franchise and since June of last year it has stood a test more severe than any nation, or federation of nations, has had to stand up against in all the world's experience.

I am sorry that neither Bedford nor yourself appear to have examined my own proposals for destroying the present system of party government and converting parliament into a really democratic institution.

Except for its fatal error of operating the system of "democratic centralism" (i.e., when the party says "turn" we all turn) there is nothing in the Soviet system that would be inconsistent with, and could not be operated under the system of committee government which I have advocated for very many years. (The word "Soviet" is, of course as you know, but another name for "committee").

I think I can truly say that, fundamentally, I have attacked the present system of parliamentary government as destructively as you have attacked that same system (and no other) in "Socialism and Parliament." But not by the same method, for whereas in "Socialism and Parliament" you do the very necessary job of exposing the demoralising effect of the system on parties and politicians by citing an abundance of proofs from records of their contortions, my method has been to attack the system itself, by showing it is obsolete and exposing its defects in actual practice.

Now and always—Yours fraternally,

F. W. JOWETT.

P.S.—You have a copy of my draft report to the I.L.P. Conference on "Reform of Parliament." There is also a pamphlet I wrote for the "Clarion" about 1908 entitled "What is the Use of Parliament."

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WHEN GERMANY IS DEFEATED—?

VANSITTART ANSWERED

DUKE OF BEDFORD'S MAIDEN SPEECH

[In the House of Lords on Tuesday, May 19, Lord Vansittart moved for papers to call attention to Herbert Morrison's speech at Blackpool relating to post-war policy towards Germany. The debate was continued on Thursday, May 21, when LORD NATHAN spoke for Herbert Morrison and the Government; the DUKE OF BEDFORD made his maiden speech; LORD RANKEILLOUR followed the Duke and expressed his opposition to both the Duke and Lord Ponsonby; LORD PONSONBY followed Rankkeillour and had a clash of arms with Lord Vansittart; THE MARQUESS OF DONEGALL, after being seventeen years a silent member of the House, made his maiden speech in support of Lord Vansittart; LORD WEDGWOOD made a powerful speech, replying to Vansittart, and ending on a vigorous note of revolution; VISCOUNT CRANBORNE replied for the Government; EARL MANSFIELD spoke of dismembering the German Empire; and LORD VANSITTART closed the debate with the gibe that he most certainly did not wish to involve the Home Secretary in being defended by the Duke of Bedford.

Our June issue was printed when this debate took place and we have had to disturb our pages to include this report of the Duke's maiden speech. The full debate will be discussed in our next issue.—Ed.]

HOUSE OF LORDS, THURSDAY, MAY 22

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD: My Lords, I little thought that on the first occasion on which I should have the privilege of addressing you, I should speak in some measure in support of the present Home Secretary. Mr Morrison and I have had some fairly sharp differences of opinion with regard to the internment of some of my friends and other perfectly innocent and patriotic people under the iniquitous regulation 18B. The Home Secretary, on account of my advocacy of a negotiated peace, appeared, at times, to have some desire to add my name to the list of victims. However, if a man is criticized for talking sense I am prepared to defend him even though that man should be my potential gaoler. It is indeed, as I see it, only in keeping with the increasingly crazy character of the whole war that I should find myself to-day in some measure supporting Mr Morrison. In this war friends have become enemies and enemies have become friends with a rapidity which should teach thoughtful people the mad and futile nature of the whole business and the impossibility of attaining the lofty aims we have set ourselves to achieve by the methods which apparently we are often obliged to follow.

Early in this war we were preparing to help the Finns to kill the Russians, and now we are helping the Russians to kill the Finns, although there has not been the slightest change in the character of the two nations or even in the character of their leaders. Earlier in this war, again, we were helping the French to kill the Germans, and now by our recent operations in Madagascar we have been helping to make the defeat of the French more thorough. When the Home Secretary said that he was in favour of treating the German people with justice, and that he was opposed to the harsh treatment of Germany after the last war, he was merely giving expressions to opinions which are in conformity with the principles of Christianity and common sense, and he was showing that he has some capacity at any rate to profit by the lessons of recent history.

I listened with great interest to the noble Lord, Lord Vansittart, presenting his point of view on Tuesday. I could not help feeling that, in spite of his eloquence, he was reminding us of the familiar saying that there are two sides to every question. Indeed, I would go further and say that as I listened to him I was inclined to think that there were three sides to the question—the side which he stated and at least two others. The noble Lord once more repeated what I should have thought was the somewhat discredited idea of Germany's sole responsibility for the last war. I cannot possibly go over the whole ground he traversed, but I should like, if I may, to bring to your Lordships' notice certain points on the other side. You may say that the last war is now ancient history, but the points which I submit to you are not ancient history because they affect the whole psychology of the present war, our attitude towards Germany and our attitude towards peace, for in one sense it has been truly said that the present war is only a continuation of the last one. I do not intend to quote anything from German propaganda. The sources from which I quote are British, French, Russian or neutral sources, and I may refer to information obtained from trustworthy friends who were eye witnesses of what they reported to me.

Professor Prokrovsky, the recorder of the Soviet Government, has written that the responsibility for the war of 1914 rested not with this Imperialism or that but with Imperialism in general—the French, the British, the Russian not less than the German and the Austrian. In my opinion the Soviet professor was right. If you know where to look there is not a little evidence of some share of responsibility even on the side of Britain. There were influential people in Britain long before 1914 animated by trade rivalry and jealousy of what they believed to be Germany's challenge to British sea power, and for a long time the *Daily Mail* was conducting a venomous hatred campaign against Germany. Mr Wilfred Scawen Blunt, in his book *My Diaries*, relates how the present Prime Minister, when speaking to him in 1912, referred to "the coming war with Germany." He relates how the late Lord Fisher made vain efforts to ensure the "Copenhagening" of the German Fleet. I am open to correction, but I understand that term to mean the annihilation of the German Fleet by a sudden attack before there had been a formal declaration of war. If I am correct in this interpretation, I cannot help wondering whether the Japanese have studied the methods of strategy recommended by the late Lord Fisher. When Lord Fisher failed to get approval for this idea, he complied with the request of Mr Churchill to help him to proceed with the great task which he, Lord Fisher, had been engaged in for six years, as First Sea Lord—namely, preparation for a German war. Mr Blunt, who had been entertaining the present Prime Minister, further records that the First Lord of the Admiralty had become most truculent about international affairs, being engrossed in preparation for war with Germany.

In regard to the French share of responsibility for the war, the Serbian *Chargé d'Affaires* said in September, 1911, that he had been informed from the most trustworthy source that M. Cambon had stated that the Morocco trouble would not end in war, but that

> **"France, together with her Allies, is of opinion that the war, even at the cost of a greater sacrifice, must be postponed to a later time, that is, to 1914-1915. The necessiy for this postponement is required less by France's preparedness for war, which is complete, than by the organization of the upper command, which is not yet finished. The delay is wanted also by Russia.**

And I have no hesitation in saying that if one country more than another was responsible for the outbreak of war in 1914, it was Tsarist Russia, the first country to mobilise; for Russia mobilised before Germany. Russia was determined to get Constantinople and the control of the Straits, and foresaw that this might be secured during the European war.

On February 21, 1914, a War Council was held at Petrograd to elaborate—I quote the words of the Council—

> **"a general programme of action in order to secure for us a favourable solution of the historical question of the Straits. There exists much likelihood that we shall be able to solve the question of the Straits during the European war."**

Further reference was made to the "expected crisis" and there was a statement that "Russia's historical task in reference to the Straits consists in the extension of her dominion over the same."

On March 13, 1914, a Russian newspaper published an article declaring that Russia's strategy would be no longer defensive but active. Miss M. E. Durham, in her book *"Twenty Years of Balkan Tangle,"* relates how she was told in October, 1912, by the Russian Military Instructor in Montenegro attached to the Russian Legation, that "in two years from now we should be absolutely ready for our great war." The Serbian Minister at Petrograd, on September 27, 1912, quoted the Russian Foreign Minister as stating that in view of Serbia's great successes in the Balkan War he had confidence in Serbia's strength, and believed that she would be able to deliver a blow at Austria. For that reason the Serbs should feel satisfied with what they were to receive, and consider it merely as a temporary halting-place on the road to further gains, for the future belonged to them. The Russian Ambassador in Paris wrote to his Government in March, 1913, that no matter how terrible might be the consequences of a general conflict, the advantage in his opinion would be on the Russian side. In view of the warlike intrigues of the Tsarist Government, it is interesting to quote the opinion of Colonel Boucher, a popular French military critic, who early in 1914 said:

> **"Germany is threatened to-day on all her frontiers. To be in a position to resist the attacks which menace her on all sides, Germany is compelled to develop her military power to a supreme degree."**

The noble Lord, Lord Vansittart, said that in his opinion the treatment of Germany after the last war was by no means unnecessarily harsh or unfair. He suggested that, if there was any difficulty with regard to food, this was due to quite unavoidable circumstances, and to the obstinacy of certain German Ministers with regard to the question of shipping. This view, however, does not altogether coincide with what the present Prime Minister said five months after the Armistice, when he stated that we were holding all our means of coercion in full operation and were enforcing the blockade with vigour, adding that all the evidence he had received from officers sent by the War Office showed the great privations from which

DUKE OF BEDFORD.

The Duke of Bedford's maiden speech in the House of Lords was clear and direct. The speaker exposed the crime and folly of Lord Vansittart's present policy and indicted his pre-war diplomacy. The Duke concluded a powerful speech by reminding the Labour Movement of its pioneer ideas and ideals. From the House of Lords platform he addressed himself to the common people of Britain and the world.

the German people were suffering, and led him to conclude that this was the right moment at which to settle. I have reliable friends who visited Germnay about that time, and they tell me very ugly stories indeed of what they saw in the way of starvation among German and Austrian women and children, starvation caused by our blockade. They also had very ugly stories about the occupation of German territories by French coloured troops for whose use German women were requisitioned.

The Commission of Doctors appointed by the medical faculties of Holland, Sweden and Norway to examine the conditions in Germany reported in the Swedish Press in April, 1919:

"Tuberculosis, especially in children, is increasing in an appalling way and, generally speaking, is malignant. It is impossible to do anything for these diseases. There is no milk for the tuberculous and no cod liver oil for those suffering from rickets. Tuberculosis . . . is the cause of 90 per cent. of the hospital cases. Nothing can be done against it owing to lack of foodstuffs."

An observer who accompanied the Hoover Mission wrote:

"I visited large country districts where 90 per cent. of all the children were rickety and where children of three years were only beginning to walk. Accompany me to school in Erzgebirge. You think it is a kindergarten for the little ones. No, these are children of seven and eight years—tiny faces with large dull eyes, overshadowed by puffed, rickety foreheads. Their small arms just skin and bone and above the crooked legs, with their dislocated joints, the swollen, pointed stomachs of hunger oedema. 'You see this child here,' the physician in charge explained. 'It consumed an incredible amount of bread yet it did not get any stronger. I found out that it hid all the bread it received underneath its straw mattress. The fear of hunger was so deeply rooted in the child that it collected stores instead of eating the food.'"

I take it that the majority of your Lordships have never seen starving children on a large scale, and certainly, I am glad to say, you have never seen the children of your own country starving. Hitler has seen the children of his country starving. I suggest to your Lordships that, if you had shared his experience, while certainly you would not agree with the ruthlessness which he displayed towards the people of neutral countries, you would at least begin to understand why he was ruthless when protecting his country from a repetition of that starvation by reason of blockade or defeat. Do not forget that when our national safety or victory is at stake we are perfectly prepared to kill the French.

Then the noble Lord criticised Germany very severely for secret rearmament. Possibly Germany might not have rearmed secretly if we had kept our pledges in regard to disarmament. There is, I know, a popular superstition that we did disarm, but that popular superstition is not based on fact. The truth is that when the rearmament race started we were slower at the beginning to rearm—a very different thing. Mr Lloyd George, speaking at the Aldwych Club on November 8, 1927, said that the first blame he imputed was that the nations who had pledged themselves to disarmament, following the German example, had taken no steps to disarm. The conquering nations had at present in the aggregate, he said, over ten millions of trained men, better equipped for war than in 1914, against 200,000 to 300,000 possessed by Germany, Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria. They had not reduced these millions by a single division, flight of aeroplanes or battery of guns. Mr. Lloyd George said that was dishonouring the solemn pledge which we gave before the Germans signed the Treaty of Versailles. It can also be seen from the figures published with regard to our military expenditure in 1930 that, even twelve years after the Treaty in which we promised to disarm in two years, and some time before the Nazi Government took power in Germany, we had not decreased our armament by as much as ten per cent. on war-time figures.

The noble Lord also said that we were very wise not to return her Colonies to Germany, because, if we had done so, these Colonies might have been of great strategic value to the enemy in the present war. I would, however, suggest as an alternative that, if we had shown economic justice to the German people after the last war, and returned their Colonies, the present war might not have happened at all. The noble Lord went on to criticise very severely the attitude of the Germans with regard to Reparation payments. He said that the sums asked of Germany were really quite moderate, because they were less than the total war bill of the Allies. He went on to admit, however, that the sums asked were so large that it was physically impossible for Germany to pay them, which seemed to me rather to destroy the point of his first argument. He also said that, as the climax of their iniquity in this particular matter, the Germans had actually borrowed money with which to pay off Reparations and had then defaulted on the loan. If I make out that, by reason of wrongs committed, a man owes me money, and then proceed to lend him money to enable him to pay off his debt, it may be that that man is a rogue, but I think unquestionably I am a fool.

What really happened was just this. Our City Banks, not out of humanity or love for Germany, but as a commercial speculation to bring themselves profit, and also as an insurance against Bolshevism—for at that time they had as big a complex against our Soviet Ally as the noble Lord has against Germany—by a stroke of the pen created new English money to be paid to English people in England for making goods to send to Germany. When goods were sent over here from Germany, those goods were sold in this country for English money, and that money was used to pay off some of the loan. One of the most important reasons why more of it was not paid off was that the British Government, fearing unemployment, put up enormous tariff barriers against the entry of German goods. They lacked the wisdom to see that goods coming into a country are an asset to that country's weath. They failed to create new money to enable their citizens to buy those goods, whether they were employed or unemployed, and thereby to make it easier for Germany to pay off the debt within a reasonable time.

There are two fundamental issues, however, on which I differ most sharply from the noble Lord. First he claimed that the German people were responsible for the war policy of their Government, and he went on to say that for that reason they should be punished for the war and made to pay for the war. Now I submit that no people in any real sense are responsible for the war policy of their Government. It may be an unpopular thing to say, but I am not out for popularity. I would say that the British people are in no sense responsible for the Polish war, the most disastrous and unnecessary war which irresponsible politicians ever landed a country in. The Polish Treaty was arranged, I believe, by a week-end meeting of Cabinet Ministers. The Polish war was arranged by Parliament, and the country was presented with an accomplished fact. Had it been told all the truth about the whole position, and had it been consulted, it would never have consented either to the Polish alliance or the Polish war.

Moreover, the people of a country, this country or Germany or anywhere else, are fed with propaganda continually through the Press and over the radio; they are given propaganda books like *Black Record* to read, important facts are kept from their knowledge until after the war is over, and their patriotism is appealed to in a hundred different ways. They are called up for military service, and if they refuse they are liable to be imprisoned and perhaps, on the Continent, even to be shot, and families suffer all the hardships that the families of some conscientious objectors have suffered in this country when the husbands have been unjustly imprisoned. Only a very tiny percentage of the people of any country can stand up to that persecution when fighting their Government. Only a very tiny percentage of our own people can do it, and therefore it is most unreasonable to expect the Germans to do it.

And then with regard to this question of punishing people for a war for which they are supposed to have been responsible, there is only one practical way in which a people can be made to pay for a war, or can be punished for a war, and that is by imposing upon them a tribute of goods. And if that tribute of goods is imposed upon a country impoverished by war, who are the greatest sufferers? As I have already pointed out, it is the little children the babies—they are the chief sufferers, they pay most highly. And that is what the noble Lord calls justice! It is rank injustice and stupid cruelty. There is only one sane policy after a great world war, and that is for all nations to abandon this ridiculous idea of reparations and punishments, and to get together, letting bygones be bygones, co-operating with one another to do all they can to rebuild the shattered world. The wealthier nations should help the poorer ones, regardless of race or colour or political opinions, regardless of whether in the past they have been friends or enemies. I hope to God that when this war ends some statesman will arise somewhere in the world great enough and strong enough to insist that peace should be made on those terms.

I felt also that the noble Lord, Lord Vansittart, has shown singularly poor judgment with regard to the time he selects for threatening the German people with vengeance disguised as justice. Will he never learn, I wonder, that it is not exactly a good plan to inform the bear you have not yet killed what you mean to do with his skin? It is particularly inadvisable when there is at least a possibility that, if you insist on continuing the conflict to the bitter end, at the finish he may be in a position to make some disposal of your skin, for then perhaps he may be tempted to give you a double dose of the medicine you prescribed for him. If this is the noble Lord's idea of diplomacy and the intelligent handling of human beings, I am not surprised that during the many years in which he held an influential position in the Foreign Office British diplomacy did not conspicuously promote the peace of Europe, and still less promoted the ultimate safety and welfare of the British Empire. Many people have pointed out already that these threats of the noble Lord and other people simply serve to unite the German nation behind Hitler and behind the war. They serve no other purpose at all; and that is only another way of saying that they prolong the slaughter and suffering of our own people in the war. Therefore I have not the slightest hesitation in saying that if this conflict should end disastrously for our nation there is no single Englishman who will have a graver share of responsibility than the noble Lord who sets his face so sternly against any idea of a negotiated peace.

I said earlier in my speech that the Home Secretary, in expressing himself in favour of treating the German people with fairness, was only expressing opinions which are in conformity with Christianity and common sense. I might also add that they were in conformity with the ideas, the ideals and the methods of those fine men who were the original founders of the Labour Movement. Unfortunately the majority of the Labour Party to-day seem to be largely unfaithful to many of those ideals and methods, particularly with regard to human brotherhood. I foresee that the time is coming when people, not only in the Labour Party but elsewhere, may bitterly regret that infidelity. If the members of the Labour Party of to-day had been true to the noble ideals and sensible methods of the founders of their Movement, and if they had taken an intelligent interest in financial reform, Britain to-day might have been leading the world along the paths of prosperity, peace and good fellowship, instead of plunging further and further along the road to chaos, urged on by the instigators of hatred and revenge, masquerading as justice, and by the purveyors of mental and spiritual dope.

THE CAPITALIST PRESS & THE SOVIET UNION

A PLEA FOR SANITY

By H. W. HENDERSON

During the past few months—ever since Germany attacked the Soviet Union—more nonsense has been written about the U.S.S.R. than ever appeared in print before. It is not sufficient to praise the heroism of the Russian workers and peasants (who, incidentally, were brave stubborn fighters even under the tyrant Ivan the Terrible). It is not enough to admire their heroic defence of their Fatherland against the mechanised hordes of Hitler. Indeed the Soviet Union is transformed into a land of ideal things worthy of our emulation in every way. Newspapers which a few short months ago were pouring abuse on everything Socialistic and representing the U.S.S.R. as the world's worst example of tyranny are now tumbling over each other in their admiration of the Stalinist regime. And there is little doubt that when the Soviet Union has served their purpose most of them will turn with increased fury upon the Soviet Fatherland and all its works.

Typical of the nonsense being written about the U.S.S.R. is an article in the "Leader" of January 10, 1942, about the Soviet press. The writer of this article tells us that the Soviet press has a circulation of 7,000,000 copies and that "Pravda" and "Izvestia" have circulations of two and one-and-a-half million respectively. A peasant paper has a circulation of "three million copies."

The papers, we are told, publish no paid advertisements, prize competitions, police court news, or divorce reports. There is nothing about "fashion, sex, murder, suicide, or accidents, or about the private life of royalties, millionaires, or national celebrities." Now, all this is very interesting and a considerable part of it may be true. But what are we to make of the following, which immediately succeeds it—"**No one is sacred from open criticism,** and a great deal of newspaper space is devoted to the forthright opinions of readers. **The Soviet Press is a living force among the people.**"

A few months ago Prof. Haldane, one of those scientific men who occasionally get mixed up with the most unscientific thinkers in politics to-day, made the remark that the Soviet press was much more free than the press of Britain to-day. He was immediately challenged by Mr. Emerys Hughes, editor of the "Forward," to produce a single direct critism of Stalin from any Soviet newspaper. Mr. Hughes courteously offered to reprint this quotation in the "Forward."

What happened? Prof. Haldane replied **but was utterly unable to produce a single quotation such as Mr. Hughes desired.** Mr. Hughes repeated his request and several months have passed without a reply from Prof. Haldane. Why? Because no such item could be found in any Soviet newspaper! Freedom of expression is confined to the Communist Party and its affiliated bodies. Opposition to the official policy is **not allowed.** So much for the "Leader's" foolish assertion that "No one is sacred from open criticism."

In the same issue of the paper—and I select both items as being typical of what it appearing in the press to-day—Mr. Hannen Swaffer laments that, almost without exception, our "National newspapers are controlled by a handful of men most of whom bought them with money brought out of industrial enterprise." But—"**There is spreading right across the country a new-born admiration for the Russian system of national control.** Hundreds of speeches are made advocating the end of profit-making. How long, in such a mood (asks Swaffer) will the nation tolerate its newspaper opinion being controlled for a few men who are the enemies of national ownership?"

Now what is any sane person to make of this jumble of words? If it is wrong for a few rich men to own and control organs of the press influencing, for their own purposes, the thoughts of millions of lesser mortals, how is the problem to be solved by handing over control of our newspapers to the Government on the Soviet model?

For the Soviet Government is itself composed of a handful of rich men (Stalin alone has three palaces on the Black Sea) and those men not only use the press to suit their own political purposes but forbid any rivalry from opposing parties. Under Capitalist Democracy, with all its faults, and admitting the justice of Hannen Swaffer's protest against the use which unscrupulous proprietors make of their power to influence public opinion, the writer of this protest is at liberty to voice his opinion against the prevailing evil and demand a change of policy. But in the Soviet Union, which Mr. Swaffer holds up for our admiration no such protest is permissable, and the memory of Trotsky, whose services to the Russian Revolution were at one time publicly acknowledged by Stalin himself, may be subjected to every vile infamous slander without anyone being allowed to reply. If Mr. Swaffer thinks the Soviet system the better of the two he has a peculiar sense of values!

These are but two out of many thoughtless eulogies of the Soviet Union which are to-day appearing everywhere in the press. Mr. Quentin Reynolds, the American journalist, has spoken on the wireless of the wisdom of Stalin in getting rid of his "fifth-columnists" before they had time to strike. The "Sunday Express" has opened its columns to four Ambassadors and similar gentry to tell the multitudes how Stalin smashed the Trotskyists before they had time to carry out the orders of the German General Staff. Story after story, telling of the far-seeing policy of Stalin, appears in print.

How are the public to know that the Dewey Committee, after a most careful analysis of the evidence, pronounced the Moscow trials a "frame-up" and Trotsky and his associates innocent? The public know nothing of the Dewey Committee and its findings and would readily believe in Jack and the Beanstalk if someone printed it with appropriate headlines! How are the public to know that men confessed to doing things they could not possibly have done, to holding conferences in hotels that had been demolished twenty years before and to landing at aerodromes where no aeroplane could possibly have landed at the time of their conspiracies? What does the man-in-the-street know of the earlier "confessions" of the Mensheviks and of the amazing adventures of Abremovitch—the man who was in two places at the one time? It is safe to say he knows little or nothing and readiiy swallows all the absurdities that are piled upon his breakfast table by a press determined to cash in on the temporary popularity of the Soviet Union which at the appropriate time will again become "the enemy of civilisation."

But there is one point which our converts to Stalinism never deal with—and one can understand their reluctance to do so. Stalin, we are told, is to be congratulated on his astuteness in polishing off the wreckers acting under German orders. Their confessions prove their guilt. Very well. But do these apologists forget the earlier confessions of the Vickers engineers **which implicated the British Government?** Will they now assert that, since Stalin now is vindicated, these confessions were genuine and the **British Government** was a wrecker? Or will the appalling implications of their acceptance of such a thesis cause them to reconsider their condemnation of the Trotskyists? **For they cannot have it both ways!**

F. W. JOWETT

From a portrait published when Jowett was a Cabinet Minister. He used his office to immortalise the glorious last words of Edith Cavell:—**Patriotism is not enough; there must be no bitterness or hatred in my heart against anyone.**

Under the sub-heading, *Pioneer in Politics*, the Bradford *Telegraph and Argus* "Town Topics" paragraphist, on January 29 last, published a portrait of our comrade, F. W. Jowett, and the following interesting notes concerning his coming biography:

An interesting movement is now on foot to prepare and preserve a record of the services rendered to Bradford and to the country at large by the Right Hon. F. W. Jowett, P.C., J.P., the famous Bradfordian who rose from being a half-timer in a Bradford textile factory to become a Cabinet Minister in the first Labour Government. During the next six months a voluntary Research Committee, with headquarters at Victoria Chambers, 17 Little Horton Lane, Bradford, will be sorting, indexing filing, and copying from over 5cwt. of material. Mr. Jowett has placed the whole of his large collection of books, pamphlets, speeches, letters, official records, and newspaper cuttings at their disposal, and it is intended to arrange these documents for the purpose of preparing Mr. Jowett's biography at a later date.

Much of Mr. Jowett's correspondence was conducted before typewriters came into general use, and there is no copies of the letters written by Mr. Jowett himself. These would, of course, be of great assistance to the biographer, and the committee will be grateful if anyone possessing such letters will send them to the secretary, Mr. Glyn Thomas, Hirst House, Saltaire.

The committee realise the dimensions of the task they have undertaken, and will welcome any assistance. Particularly urgent is the need to borrow further trestle tables or desks, and an additional typewriter, for the next six months. The work is being done voluntary in spare time, and the office will not be open during the day.

The material to be examined by the committee includes many rare documents dating from the earliest appearance of Socialism in England, and much of it relates to the life and industry of Bradford as far back as the 'eighties.

SIDNEY SPENCER

Our comrade, the Rev. Sidney Spencer, B.A., publishes the following letter to his congregation in the Hope Street Monthly Calendar for for May:

Dear Friends,—I have no doubt that most of you are aware of the circumstances which led to my appearance in Court, along with seven others, including two of our own members and a well-known Quaker, on April 21. I have received many expressions of sympathy and good-will in the stand which I have taken on behalf of personal freedom. As I write, the upshot is uncertain. Refusal to pay the fine may result in a short prison sentence or in distraint of one's goods. Whatever happens, I am glad to have been able to take my stand along with so many who are suffering for conscience' sake at the present time. My one anxiety is in regard to the church services. I do very earnestly ask all of you to give the services your utmost support, so that they may not suffer should I be away for a few Sundays.

Very sincerely yours,

SIDNEY SPENCER.

CIVIL DEFENCE.—Last month we detailed the editor's six objections to competency and relevancy in the Fire Watching charge. When the case was called in the Glasgow Sheriff Court on May 6, the Procurator Fiscal intimated that the Crown had instructed that the proceedings be withdrawn. The Sheriff made an order accordingly.

A POSITIVE PACIFIST WITNESS

By the Rev. R. H. Le MESSURIER, B.A.
(Vicar of the Church of the Holy Cross, St. Pancras, London)

[The Rev. Ralph Hill Le Messurier graduated B.A. at McGill University, Montreal, in 1922. He became a priest in 1925, and has been Vicar of Holy Cross, St. Pancras, since 1935. He is an elector of the University and the author of a number of religious works.—Ed.]

During the time of actual war, it is difficult to avoid giving the impression that the pacifist attitude is a purely negative one, namely a refusal to take part in the actual use of lethal weapons. To some extent, when very often a man's service to his country is measured in terms of his ability to kill, or even of the numbers of the enemy he has actually slain, this negative impression is unavoidable. Yet, in order to avoid perpetuating this false idea of pacifism as a negative way of life, much more is needed.

Pacifists, having renounced participation in the war, cannot rest there. They should move forward to renounce participation in the conditions which make for war. No doubt—so much is a modern, warring nation organised into a unity—they will experience the same difficulty in separating themselves from the conditions which make for war, as they do from participation in the support of the war. Nevertheless, I feel that the effort should be made. Protest should be registered. Opportunities to break away from evil conditions seized. And a positive way of life proclaimed and lived.

In particular, I believe, two of the predisposing causes of war in the economic field should be noticed and attacked.

First, the fact that "the ultimate ownership of the principle industrial resources of the community can be vested in the hands of private ownership"—(to quote Resolution 6 of the Malvern Conference)—is seen more and more clearly to be a vicious system which has at least two unchristian results. "On the one hand it may (and does) deprive the poorest members of the community of the essentials of life. On the other, while these resources can be so owned, men will strive for their ownership for themselves. As a consequence, a way of life founded on the supremacy of the economic motive will remain, which is contrary to God's plan for mankind." Furthermore, this system has its ultimate development in Nazi-ism (whether German or English), which Christian pacifists, as well as militarists, are pledged to destroy. For the logical outcome of such a system is the domination of the entire industrial and economic resources of the world by the private owners of one nation.

Secondly, and in close connection with this, is the widespread use of money as a commodity which, by itself, and without any effort on the part of the person possessing it, can be invested so as to make more money. The investment of money for the earning of perpetual interest seems to fall under the twofold condemnation of the Malvern Conference quoted above, and, as such, should be eschewed by the Christian pacifist. Money should be restored to its true position as a medium of exchange between those producing and those needing certain goods and commodities. Its creation and destruction (as in book-keeping credits) by private concerns should be abolished. And the gambling on the stock exchanges of the world should be prohibited.

No doubt the Christian pacifist who accepts these two contentions, may find himself unable to carry them out in his own life at present, just as he is unable to escape (through, for example, taxes on his food, etc.) from some support of the war-effort. Nevertheless, it is essential in the one case as in the other, that he protests against such things now, and regulate his life so as to participate in them as little as possible. In some cases this protest is already being made in the "community" way of life. In other cases this way may be impossible, so that some other must be employed. What is essential is that the protest should be made now, in every way that is possible to the individual Christian pacifist. And, I believe, he should do all in his power to support and co-operate with those who are aiming at the reformation of such abuses as have been mentioned above, in our national and international life.

To an Anglican pacifist, these reforms have a special urgency in connection with the Church of England, considered as an institution in this country. And without waiting for reformation in the nation or in the world at large, he should strive now for the purification of the Church in these respects. The ownership by the Church of industrial resources, the total investment of her money in the economic market, represents an enormous sum. In the diocese of London, for example, £8¼ million are invested to provide the stipends of the incumbents alone. The working capital of the diocesan fund amounts to another half-million. And sums invested to produce the stipends of assistant priests and other "church expenses," adds greatly to this prodigious total.

Thus the Church's witness is frustrated. She is bound to be strongly tempted to fight for her vested interests, whether against Hitlerism or Russian Communism which might be expected to threaten her ownership of such vast sums and industrial resources. Thus the hands which should offer the book of the pure Gospel of Christ are soiled. The lips which should preach true brotherhood are stammering. The heart which should be free to love God is divided by its love for mammon.

The individual Anglican pacifist can no more contract out from the sin of the Church than he can from the sin of his country, except by the equally sinful method of suicide. Rather he must remain, in Church and in country alike, under protest, striving to reform them both, and working so that his individual protest may link up with the protests of others, until a great corporate protest makes its voice heard in the affairs of Church and nation alike.

Is the time not ripe for the Angican pacifist to attack the system which, probably more than anything else, is responsible for the contempt in which the Church is held by thoughtful people outside her ranks to-day? Should he not attack this system inside the Church first, and thus make it possible for her to face the world again with clean hands and a pure heart? Possibly the pacifist may fail to persuade his fellow Anglicans, even as he has already failed to convince them of the incompatibility between her Christian profession and their support of war. Nevertheless, the witness should be made, and made at once.

We are faced with two, and only two, possibilities "after the war." The post-war world will tend to be organised on one of two patterns. One is some form of Nazi-ism; the other some form of Communism. In neither of these in its extreme form will the Church—as we know it—be permitted to exist. And it will be no credit to the Church if either of these new orders of political and economic life strike her down because of her sin and her identifiaction with an outworn order which is hastening to its end.

Rather, let the pacifist invite his spiritual Mother to set her own house in order, that she may face the new world which is being forged to-day, and once more have a Gospel to proclaim. Let the Anglican pacifist say to the Church "Sell that thou hast." Let him urge upon her to give up her powerful and usurious position in society. Let her live on her capital, not by her capital. She will, even then, have enough money for twenty-five years or so, and will be compelled to adopt such sweeping internal reforms as will give the Spirit of God the chance of sweeping through her to cleanse and reinvigorate her. Let her face the world as a body dying to the world, in the world but not of it, ministering to the world instead of being a parasite on the world's evil system. Such a step would convince the world, as nothing else could, of her repentance and her sincerity. And who can estimate the results of such a dedication.

Of course, the world may not listen to her. She may be laughed to scorn for her idealism. She may be hated by some whom are fighting to preserve the principle of private vested interests. She may even be persecuted. She will certainly be poor. Her clergy may have to minister to their necessities with their own hands, and to the faithful only when the day's work is done. And her sphere of influence, for what it is worth at present, may be considerably contracted.

But she will once again be in an atmosphere congenial to her. She will resemble the Church as portrayed in the New Testament. Nay, more, she will, as the Body of Christ, be a body more congruous with her head—with JESUS Who hung naked on the Cross because He outraged the standards of the world of His day. She will be called mad, even as His own brethren called Him mad. She will perhaps be crucified for her madness, and so fill up in herself that which is lacking in His afflictions. But only through some such crucifixion can she rise from the deadness of her present stupor and preach eternal life once more to a world which has lost sight of it.

The pacifist may fail in his endeavour to persuade his fellow-Christians to rise to such a vocation. But can he do less than proclaim this truth, that whosoever would save his life—be it individual, Church or country—will lose it? Can he rest in a negative refusal to take part in war? Can he not, by the power of the Holy Spirit, bring such a positive and ultimately corporate witness to bear on the life of the Church—and of the world—that all men will at least take knowledge of him that he has been with JESUS.

JOHN MORLEY

Dear Mr. Aldred,—You will regret to hear that our friend John Morley has been imprisoned for the second time for failing to comply with the Business Premises (Firewatching) Order. Early this year he was compelled to change his place of business and on Friday last (May 1st) he was sentenced by the Newcastle Magistrates to one month's imprisonment for failing to notify the authorities of a re-arrangement of fife-watching duties, and three months for failing to arrange such fire-watching duties (sentences to run concurrently). John is now at Durham, where he met his second son Alan, who is there serving a twelve months sentence for refusing medical examination. When father and son met at Durham, they shook hands, but were shouted at by a warder, who cried for "less brotherly affection." Bob Morley, the eldest son, was put out of Court for attempting to ask a question of the magistrates. John scarcely got two days' notice of the charge. He and Mrs. Morley were at the P.P.U.-A.G.M. the week-end previously, and although John is ever ready to meet persecution, he did not expect to get back to Durham so soon. I have been requested by the War-Resisters to give you the above information.

Fraternally,

FRANK MAITLAND.

Newcastle-upon-Tyne, May 3.

In "The Vanguard" for May its vigorous Anti-militarist and Anti-war Editor published a striking article on James Dick and reproduced his speech from the dock under the heading: **Atheist Preaches Gospel Truth to Christians.** Alexander Ratcliffe's opposition to war has caused so much comment that it calls for understanding and analysis. His tribute to Dick a bold challenge to all Christians who support war.

OUR LETTER-BOX

[Many of our readers appreciate "Our Letter Box." It has accumulated since February, when it appeared last and we are able to publish only a small selection.—Ed.]

Dear Sir,—I have read Miss A. Ruth Fry's essay on The Atlantic Charter, and I have great sympathy with the suggestions made in it for bringing in a better world. I send this card as a response to your invitation. Yours truly,

(Miss) RACHEL M. IRWIN.

Beldworth, Surrey, Jan. 19.

Dear Sir,—I am sure that there is really a vast body of opinion in the country that would rally gladly to the Duke of Bedford's support, if they could only get in touch with it. All petty differences must be laid aside for the time in the struggle towards the attainment of Peace, before everything that makes life beautiful is destroyed in one of the most senseless and unnecessary wars that this country has ever indulged in!

A Chief Warden, who has known me only by sight and to whom I had never spoken before, said to me the other day, "Mr. Walker, this War should never have been," to which I replied: "**should** never have been, and **need** never have been!"

With kind regards, Yours sincerely,

FRANCIS H. WALKER.

Ealing, London W.3.

Dear Comrade Aldred,—I have not the pleasure of being personally acquainted with you, but your name was familiar to me during the years 1916-1918. On several occasions since I have seen your name in print and for the last few months I have been an appreciative reader of "The Word."

In the February issue I notice my name is mentioned in connection with your report on "Gowrie" (James Ritchie Henderson) of Glasgow "Forward." The newspaper extract which you printed had reference to the court-martial (in May 1916) of James Henderson and myself. After giving details of my friend's case you state that it is not known what happened to me subsequently.

My object in writing is to assure you that the events of recent years and more especially the state of the world at the present time have only strenthened my conviction of the wrongness and imbecility of war. I still remain convinced that war is the greatest enemy of mankind and that no permanent good can be achieved by such methods.

It may interest you to know that during the greater part of 1916 I shared the experiences of "Gowrie." We appeared before tribunals together and had the distinction of being the first two C.O.'s to be arrested in York. We were handed over "by the court on the same day, appeared before three courts martial together and were together in two civil prisons. In the January of 1917 we at last became separated. No one could have had a truer friend or more loyal comrade than James Henderson and it has always been a particular pleasure to me that since those days I have been able to keep in touch with him. The stand recently taken by "Gowrie" in Kilmarnock is typical of his strong views, which those acquainted with him know are held with the utmost sincerity.

Periodicals like "The Word" serve as a link between those who hold similar views on capitalism, imperialism and war. The few pacifist and socialist journals give readers hope and encouragement both of which are sorely needed in these dark days.

With comradely greetings and best wishes for the continued success and usefulness of the Strickland Press in general and "The Word" in particular.

Yours fraternally,

HAROLD DEIGHTON.

York, February 12.

Dear Mr. Aldred, —I am glad that "The Literary Guide" and "The Freethinker" speak so well of your "Richard Carlile." I agree with Cohen that "**it is a cowardly and contemptible policy**" this **burying** of great men and women. I have read "The Freethinker" nearly 53 years. I have no atheistic friends here in Hucknall, except, perhaps Lord Byron, who lies buried in church here. Our worthy vicar, Canon Barber, thinks that the poet was a believer, very little short of a perfect believer! He explains that Byron was fond of reading the Bible. So was Charles Bradlaugh.

In my youth, I heard Bradlaugh, Holyoake, Charles Watts, Foote, Annie Besant state the Freethought case. I heard Bradlaugh's debates with Father Ignatus, W. T. Lee, Robert Roberts, and David King. I remember "Saladin," Robert Forder, and Miss Vance. I was a miner in those days and worked in the coal pits all my working life. I first worked in them in 1884 and I continued to work in them till I was 68. Now wife and I exist on the old age pension.

I often visit Newstead Abbey. It is only a few miles distant. Such a lovely place. I met Chapman Cohen at Newstead Abbey a few years ago.

With Regards and Best Wishes,

Sincerely yours,

E. SMEDLEY.

Hucknall.

Dear Sir,—As a young conscientious objector engaged in civilian relief work in the East End of London, I cannot fail to be interested in the contents of "The Word."

Yours sincerely,

JOHN SUTHREN.

Harrow, October 20.

Dear Sir,—I am so pleased you are able to carry on these difficult days. "The Word" is one of the very few papers who have the courage to tell the truth.

With all best wishes.

Yours very sincerely,

(Mrs.) DOROTHY HOBSON.

Stockport.

Dear Sir,—You may count upon my being with you and Miss Ruth Fry in a campaign to bring to a just end the mutual barbarity in which we are all involved.

"The Word" comes to me as a breath of sanity in "Insanity Fair." The existence of a forum on which Pacifists of all shades of religious belief—and unbelief—can show their unity and compose their differences in order to combat this greatest of scourges which civilisation (!) is ready to inflict upon itself is an inestimable boon in these times.

The ideas of the Duke of Bedford as expressed so lucidly in his articles and pamphlets make me eager to add my request to the many others that he should represent Pacifist opinion in the House of Lords.

He would not be alone, for there are others—yes, even there—whose thoughts are their own and not those of the unthinking or propaganda nourished majority.

Yours faithfully,

C. W. BARTRAM.

Wanstead, London, E.11.

Dear Mr. Aldred,—How very true are your remarks about the Labour Party's Conference at Brighton, in October 1935!

I well remember reading of the stand taken by George Lansbury and Lord Ponsonby against War, and of the cruel remarks directed against them by the Labour Party opportunists, especially a speech by James Walker, M.P. As time went on the impression became a certainty: that these opportunists were out to get positions of power, even if it meant climbing over the dead and wounded bodies of their fellow-men in war.

My husband served nearly four years and a half in the last great war; we have both turned anti-militarist since then.

This war has brought us bereavement as did the last. Such needless anguish and waste of life! How much better to live nobly for one's country, than be slaughtered in the manner of the surplus coffee and wheat.

Yours sincerely,

ALICE GOODRICK.

Clifton, October 10, 1941.

Dear Mr. Aldred,—I thank you very much for your paper which I find very stimulating, also the account of your fine stand for Freedom of Speech and your opposition to all forms of slavery including the worst, Military Slavery. It is very encouraging to read a paper full of reason these times of stark raving insanity. You have my very best wishes.

Yours sincerely,

OSWALD E. FOX.

Birkenhead, February 9.

Dear Mr. Aldred,—I have pleasure in enclosing a year's subscription to "The Word."

I should just like to say that the contents of "The Word" makes the same enjoyable reading as ever.

With Best Wishes, Yours sincerely,

H. J. DIGMAN.

Wisley, Cheshire.

Dear Comrade,—Yes, I think I may call you comrade now—because no one but a comrade would have supplied me with a meal of such good things. To one who has been hungering for such fare for so long, you can imagine my feelings. I wish to tender you my sincere thanks full measure, pressed down and running over, for your amazing generosity, to me, a stranger on the outskirts of a crowd.

Am I interested? I have starved for such nutrition for years and if only I had known where such viands were to have been obtained, I would have stinted myself of material comfort (such as it was) to have procured them. Better late than never.

In the old days I used to take in the "Agnostic Journal." I enjoyed "Saladin" immensely and I possess a well-worn copy of "God and His Book."

I have noticed, so far as I have read, of "R. Carlile" how deep and wide must have been your reading of the records prior to and during the period of his life. His was a most remarkable one and would that there were more of his understanding and strength of character in England to-day. I am more glad than I can tell that you are carrying on the good work in these days. Ignorance, "the curse of God" is far too rampant after all the years of so-called education. I still think that religion should be thoroughly eliminated from the schools of our land —but what a task for the pioneers and reformers, bearing in mind the huge vested interests that are in control everywhere.—Yours,

T. H. PERKINS.

Cullompton, Devon.

Dear Sir,—Please forward as many back numbers in consecutive order as possible of the paper "The Word," seen by me last week for the first time. Same brought back memories of that great little paper, "The Spur." I have enclosed 24 year old cutting from same. It caused a stir at that time.

Yours fraternally,

J. W. WILLMOTH.

Greenford, Midd.

Our comrade enclosed the following **Nursery Rhyme** which was published in "The Spur" for August, 1916:—

NURSERY RHYME.

(From "The Masses").

Sing a song of Europe,
Highly civilized:
Four and twenty nations
Wholly hypnotized.
When the battles open
The bullets start to sing;
Isn't that a silly way
To act for any King?
The Kings are in the background,
Issuing commands;
The Queens are in the parlor,
Per etiquette's demands,
The bankers in the counting-house,
Are busy multiplying;
The common people at the front
Are doing all the dying.

Dear Mr. Aldred,—It is an encouragement for me to know of your work for peace; only pacifism can bring ultimate peace. "The means determine the end."

Wishing you the joy of success.

Yours faithfully,

(Rev.) JAMES SMALLWOOD.

Dukinfield, Cheshire.

Dear Sir,—I have now received a copy of both the November and December, 1941, issue of "The Word" and think them excellent.

I am an Anglican parson member of F.O.R. and P.P.U. and thoroughly disgusted with the attitude of the Established Church on the war question. I find myself ostracised by my fellow clergy on account of my views, but daresay I shall survive this! I am an admirer of the Duke of Bedford and hope that he will continue his stand for the Christian way in international affairs.

I enclose 3d. in stamps for "The Crisis of Modern Civilisation," Rev. W. H. Bottomley. The Rev. W. G. White, Vicar of Haughley, Suffolk, who contributed to your November issue knows me well.

Yours fraternally,

(Rev.) CAMERON P. NEWELL.

Ipswich.

Dear Sir,—I am grateful for helpful material in issues of "The Word" I have seen, contributed by thinkers of independence and vision. About eight years ago I heard the Duke of Bedford—then Marquis of Tavistock—speak in support of Social Credit. I hope and believe that we have arrived at a far more mature stage of understanding now of all the deeper issues of a better way of life, lived in goodwill with all everywhere.

Yours sincerely,

S. SUNDERLAND.

Christchurch, Hants.

Dear Guy,—Many thanks for "The Word." I am glad to hear that Rev. William Bottomley has heard from you. He has your letter in "The Beacon."

With kind regards,

WM. E. COSTAR.

Melbourne, Victoria, December 16.

Dear Sir,—Thanks for sending me "The Word." I am in agreement with your policy as I wrote and told the Duke of Bedford.

I have said always that the war could have been averted with wise and disinterested statesmanship. Now it has begun, and is being waged, it must be fought to a finish.

Yours truly,

ALBERT LIST.

Colchester.

Dear Mr. Aldred,—What troublous times. I feel amazed at your determination and efforts, but there is only **one** who can bring peace. Soon he will come. May you share in the joys of that time!

D. MORRISON.

Bristol.

Dear Sir,—Although I have had your paper regularly for some time, I have not hitherto expressed my appreciation of it, though my sending for it, I suppose, speaks for itself. I like its courageous tone and greatly admire the Duke of Bedford's stand for pacifism and a new social order.

Best wishes for its continuance.

Yours truly,

G. M. BUTLER (Mrs.).

Petersfield.

Dear Sir,—Please find enclosed my subscription for "The Word." I know who forwarded my name on to you and would like to add that he did me a very good turn in so doing. My best wishes to your enlightening "paper," and by paper, I mean the staff and editor who manage to edit so useful a journal.

Yours sincerely,

E. W. HADDOCK.

Shepherd's Bush, W. 12.

Dear Mr. Aldred,—Copies of "The Word" have, from time to time, been passed on to me by Lady Clare Annesley and my very great friend Richard Lee. My object in writing to you is to express my appreciation of the grand work you are doing and also to offer a little practical help in the form of a donation.

Yours fraternally,

FRANK KAYO.

Sutton Coldfield.

Dear Comrade Aldred,—Thank you for "The Word" which I read with great interest, especially that issue with reference to the clergy and Pacifism. I am disgusted and ashamed of the attitude of both the leader of the Church and the "rank and file" of the clergy. The great testing time for the Church of Christ has come, and the judgment of God will surely be passed on one institution that has become corrupt and un-Christlike in its outlook and action.

I do hope the Duke of Bedford will voice the thoughts of very man of us now that he has taken his place in the House of Lords.

Apart from the articles, the quality of the paper and the bold type are a pleasure to handle and read.

Wishing you and you enterprise every success.

(Rev.) CAMERON P. SITWELL.

Ipswich.

Dear Comrade Aldred,—As I was in Wandsworth in the winter of 1917-18, I think I was your fellow prisoner, though you may have been somewhat later than I.

Although an anarchist (pacifist, non-communist) I strongly approve of the Duke of Bedford's conditional offer to take his seat in the Upper House being urged on him, that a voice for pacifism shall gain an additional and valuable platform.

Yours fraternally,

C. V. S. PAYNE.

Lingfield.

Dear Mr. Aldred,—I take a particular interest in your references to the Unitarian denomination, as I was brought up a Unitarian, and was until the war a member of The Church of the Divine Unity, Newcastle. The minister of this Church is the Rev. Herbert Barnes, who is a preacher of no mean ability. In his early days he was a pacifist, but he is one no longer.

Many of your readers will recall how the Unitarians were once hailed as pioneers and progressives. Now I am afraid that some of them go out of their way to be respectable and to fit in with the crowd.

I no longer feel that I can attend Church. I find a greater spirituality in the War Resisters, under the leadership of that fine man, John Morley, who is no atheist (as he was once described in your paper) but is, on the other hand, more "God-conscious" than many popular preachers.

One of our members, Constance Bolam, can claim the distinction of being the first woman C.O. in the history of the world, to go to prison for her beliefs.

Best wishes, yours sincerely,

FRANK MAITLAND.

Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

Dear Sirs,—Please send me extra copies of the March issue of "The Word." An admirable number! The exposure of that superannuated Pantaloon, Bernard Shaw, with its debunking of the Proletarian Paradise alias Russia under Tsar Stalin (your contributor omits to mention the weightest and most shatteringly documented book of Boris Souvarine "Stalin" which is indispensable to anyone who needs an antidote—as what intelligent person does not?—to the floods of Stalinist propaganda pumped over us). Mr. Jowett's splendid article on the Food Blockade, and last but by very far from the least the Duke of Bedford's superbly temperate reasoned and fundamentally humane exposition of Monetary Reform.

Yours very faithfully,

K. S. SORABJI.

London, N.W.1.

Dear Comrade Aldred,—I am writing you the the results of the police court proceedings in connection with my failure to register for civil defence duties.

The case came up at Newton-le-Willows Police Court on Thursday, 12th March, 1942. I entered a plea of not guilty and allowed the prosecuting solicitor who was also the Clerk to the Council to almost complete his evidence when I withdrew the plea and substituted one of guilty.

I spent twenty minutes making submissions in mitigation. I used extracts from Churchill's speech to the House on January 27, 1942, and then another speech he made at Harrow to the Boys, the purport of both speeches being a plea to respect conscience and not to yield to force.

I was very surprised when the bench without leaving and almost apologetically said I would be fined 40/-. The case was closed and then an amazing thing took place. The prosecuting solicitor jumped up and asked that an order be attached to the fine that I be also ordered to register. Against my protest this was done.

I immediately consulted a local solicitor as I felt certain that the Court had no power to make such an order and this proved to be correct. The result was that the order was amended from the word "Order" to the word "recommend"—really meaning of course nothing.

Yours fraternally in the Struggle,

J. ANDREWS.

Newton-le-Williws.

Dear Comrade,—I read your paper regularly and appreciate its contents. I procure my copy through the Newcastle Group of War Resisters, of which I am a member.

Yours fraternally,

H. KNAPMAN.

Dear Editor,—May I compliment you on the interesting, intelligent, much-needed points of view you have presented in "The Word." Good wishes!

Thanking you, yours faithfully,

A. G. BARNES.

Keswick.

Dear Mr. Aldred,—I like the articles written by the Duke of Bedford in your journal very much.

I thank God that there is still an Englishman who has the courage and the wisdom to speak the Truth. It would seem that in the Duke's leadership, lies the only chance of salvation for the youth of Europe, who have not been crucified already, through the mistakes of politicians—"irresponsible people with bad records"!

So cunningly is attention focussed on Hitler and his misdeeds by those who do not themselves appear to be "without sin" and therefore privileged "to cast stones," that the mass of people have lost all sense of proportion and fail to appreciate the condition of slavery and loss of personal freedom.

Bedford will be a leader worth the following because one can feel his sincerity. Knowledge alone will not do, man must be converted to the cause.

I have come to the conclusion that we must have better men first, and then all things will be added unto us. I find great pleasure in reading "The Word"; there is much food for thought and inspiration within its pages.

I am a C.O. and was given conditional exemption by my Tribunal which of course is agricultural work. I close with wishing you best results for your journal.

Yours sincerely,

A. G. LEWIS.

Exeter.

Dear Guy,—May I take this opportunity of congratulating you on the high standard of interesting articles in "The Word."

I feel certain that the anti-militarist principle is the only way to freedom, and in these dark days, "The Word" gives me encouragement in my opposition to war.

Yours sincerely,

DENIS J. BRIAN.

London, S.E. 4.

Dear Editor,—Many thanks for "The Word." I am doing with it what we all should do, "Pass 'The Word' along." I recommend this as a useful slogan.

It seems to me that the time has come to officially regard the Duke of Bedford as the leader in struggle towards a Christian Commonwealth, the Prime Minister of Peace. His supporters include ex-Conservatives, ex-Labourites, ex-Liberals. It is quite obvious that the old system of party politics is obsolete. It always was a cumbersome arrangement. Bad clauses and unapproved party planks had to be supported against the conscience of individuals by order of party whips. I was brought up in a die-hard conservative atmosphere. During my apprenticeship I learned something of the Labour side. Neither party satisfies the seeker after Christian ideals. To-day, the official Labour Party is supporting the Armaments Gang and the Militarists, the Psalmist's company of Spearmen, and **"them that delight in war."** A few stand out in valiant opposition: R. R. Stokes, Rhys Davies, etc., and, among peers, the Duke and Lord Ponsonby.

I must say that I shy at the fact that "The Word" is an organ of The United Socialist Movement. This savours strangely of more party politics. Maybe the conservative inculcation dies hard.

In conclusion may I suggest the formation of a library whereby those interested in the abolition of war may read the books available on the subject. I take it these books are not written for personal gain but the enlightenment of the people. Thus would the object of their production be best achieved.

Yours faithfully,

E. VINCENT DAVIES.

Cwnbran, Mon.

Dear Mr. Aldred,—I have been a member of the P.P.U. since it was founded. A month or two ago a C.O., on forestry work in the Lake district was advertising in "Peace News" for books. I have been in correspondence with him quite a lot since then. He asked me if I knew of "The Word" and sent me the December 1941 issue. The Duke of Bedford had sent him this copy and now I possess it, and hope to pass it along to someone else.

Do you mind me suggesting that you keep well to the fore the ethical side of articles in "The Word." I am a Christian Pacifist. I yet believe in the importance of the "Political" and "Economic" aspects of the issue between war and peace. We must combat the spirit of hate and revengefulness, however, that is being so continuously and unfortunately, so successfully put over to the public. We must be ready for Peace Terms, otherwise—1918 repeated! How impotent one feels at times and yet history so often can inform us that our ideals are not in vain.

Keep smiling! Each victory **we** win is a **certain** victory.

H. C. MARSHALL.

Bradford, Yorks.

Dear Sirs,—When I was in Glasgow, unfortunately, I did not see you personally. I saw your window displays outside your meeting hall. E. Armand has written me then (Summer 1939) and discussed you. Have you ever since heard of him? Do you know anything about the fate of Pierre Ramus? I come from the same town. I fear for both Armand and Ramus.

Sincerely yours,

L. SCHWARZ.

Christchurch, N.Z.

Sir,— "The Word" has to be admired and congratulated for the outspokenness of its policy, and because of the fact that it is one of the very few journals in this country in which freedom of expression is permitted. This fair minded view is a good thing for the people, and if the same facilities were offered by other publications it would lead to a better understanding among nations, and would tend to abolish "notions."

By allowing the publication of opposition as well as agreement, it has the advantage of removing any element of one-sidedness, and helps to satisfy our sense of all round fairplay. "Whit's guid tae gie isna ill tae tak," is an old Scots saying which still holds good to-day. The "Letters to the Editor" column where one may have his say, is really the Poor Man's Parliament.

There is no doubt that a continuously increasing number of readers follow up the controversies with keen interest, acquiring much knowledge, and what is of more importance is that they are helped to rid themselves of their "beliefs," which is very good, apart from the fun, excitement, and stimulation that argument provides.

Few resist the inclination to argue—sometimes with inexact or wrong information, and often with no acquaintance with the art of reasoning; it is therefore useful to have some knowledge of the rules of argument, and for that reason we welcome all forms of freedom: freedom of thought, freedom of speech; freedom of publication. We welcome everything and anything that will help to spread knowledge and kill superstition and ignorance—the latter being the cause of disease, poverty and war. As John Bright says—"Ignorance is the mother of prejudice, whether among nations or individuals."

With all best wishes to "The Word."

Faithfully yours,

J. HUMPHREY.

Glasgow, N.W.

[Our comrade has sent us another letter, a vigorous but lengthy Freethought one, which will appear soon.—Ed.]

Dear Sir,—The undersigned, members of "Christianity Calling," desire to urge their fellow-Christians everywhere throughout the country and commonwealth to support the proposals now being pressed upon His Majesty's Government for mitigating our blockade of Europe, so as to permit a degree of controlled relief to the starving populations of the occupied countries. Whilst realising all the difficulties involved, we believe that the proposals can be so framed as to incur only a very small risk of such relief being abused.

We are convinced that a candid study of the matter will reveal the urgent moral obligation of Christian people to secure such an attempt. Delay will mean the sacrifice, among many others, of the lives of many thousands of innocent children.

Yours truly,

DOROTHEA GIBB (Lady GIBB).

A. RUTH FRY.

Thorpness, Suffolk, May 8, 1942.

REFLECTING ON THE EAST

By

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD

The war in the East continues to follow its unfortunate course, one of the worst features being our obvious failure, after years of occupation of our Asiatic possessions, to win the genuine regard of the native inhabitants. The latter resemble the donkey in the La Fontaine fable, who, when urged by his master to flee from some approaching robbers, replied, "Why should I flee? Will their burdens be heavier than yours? My master is my only foe." Although I was well aware of some of the shortcomings of British rule, I must say that the extent of our failure has caused even me some sadness and surprise. I thought that, in spite of the mistakes of their superiors, the good work done by minor officials would have gained for the British a warmer place in the hearts of a larger number of natives. That this has not been the case I attribute largely to the rotten financial system which we not only retained at home but introduced as far as possible into our Colonies and Dominions. This financial system, making it impossible to develop all available resources owing to lack of money, has prevented men of goodwill both at home and abroad from doing all that they desired to do to raise the standard of living of the poor and equip adequately the social services. It has also made taxation needlessly burdensome.

Mr. John McGovern, M.P., whose criticisms of the Government and the war sometimes exceed even my own in frankness, said in a recent speech that we have not the slightest chance of defeating both Germany and Japan by military methods alone and went on to add that only by a world Socialist revolution could Axis tyranny be overthrown. I do not share Mr. McGovern's optimism as to the chances of a world Socialist revolution while the war is still in progress, but I think he is quite right about the military situation and therefore favour negotiation on the basis of a fair sharing of the world's economic resources by all countries; abandonment of orthodox financial policy by the Democracies; and abandonment of interference with the political freedom of foreign countries by the Axis.

That we cannot defeat both Germany and Japan seems to be the growing belief of quite a number of non-pacifists for I find that some are now advocating peace with Germany in order that we may defeat Japan; while others want peace with Japan, in order that we may defeat Germany. Our warmongers still prattle cheerfully of the day when we shall drive Japan out of all the territory she has conquered. A little personal experience of what white men have to endure when engaged in warfare in tropical countries against an enemy armed with modern weapons would, I think, do them good. Serious as is the material loss of our Eastern possessions, the remote chance of their recovery would not be worth the appalling cost in human life and suffering, especially as the people who have a natural right to the territory do not really want us back in their country.

It is a sorry business, but when nations or individuals choose to indulge in folly, selfishness, or mental laziness on a grand scale, the price that has to be paid at the finish is apt to be a heavy one. One small crumb of consolation is to be found in the fact that it is not always necessary to own a country in order to obtain its products. If in peace time we can make any goods which are desired by the people of those Eastern lands we formerly owned we may be able to secure at least a share of their exports by way of trade. If we succeed in doing this, it will be, in the long run, a fairer arrangement than that which has operated under the overseas investment plan which has too often been accompanied by unjust exploitation of native labour.

CHANNEL ISLANDERS

LORD PORTSEA'S APPEAL

Lord Portsea's powerful House of Lords plea on behalf of "the loyal islanders of Jersey and Guernsey" will appear in the next issue of "The Word," unless, in the interval, some steps have been taken to save the families remaining there, especially the children, from starvation.

In the Lords debate, Lord Snell stated that it was impossible to send help, and implied that Lord Portsea's statement was exaggerated, probably through over-anxiety. If this is the official attitude it is only right that the public should judge. The Government statements and Lord Portsea's statement must be put before them. We incline strongly to support Lord Portsea's view. The matter is urgent.

Readers interested, and unable to wait until July, should obtain **House of Lords, Official Report**, vol. 122, No. 44, for Wednesday, April 22, 1942, direct from **H.M. Stationery Office, York House, Kingsway, London, W.2.** The cost is 7d. post free. There was a previous discussion on January 22, when the Duke of Devonshire replied to Lord Portsea. It might be as well to order the report for that date as well.

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ROBERT CAMPBELL EXEMPTED

In our February issue we dealt with the case of our 24-year-old Rutherglen comrade, Robert Campbell, then serving a sentence of military detention at Northallerton. At that time Campbell had served two prison sentences and two sentences of military detention. Shortly after the article was published, Campbell's sentence was remitted, he was returned to his regiment, re-courtmartialled, and senteneed to two years' imprisonment in a civil prison. On April 29, the North of England Appellate Tribunal for conscientious objectors, sitting in Manchester, ordered his discharge from the Army. Campbell was represented by Stuart Morris, chairman of the Peace Pledge Union.

Mr. Morris said that Campbell registered as a conscientious objector in 1939. When his firm began doing war work he left his job. The Glasgow Tribunal removed him from the register of conscientious objectors, and the Scottish Appellate Tribunal dismissed his appeal. For refusing medical examination, he was sentenced to a £5 fine or ten days imprisonment, and served the imprisonment in Barlinnie Prison. Afterwards he accepted medical examination, and was posted to a Training Regiment of the Royal Artillery.

Stuart Morris detailed Campbell's Courtsmartial and sentences. He concluded:

"That is this man's rather grim but in some ways rather fine record. It is only what would be expected from a man of his views."

The Tribunal ordered that Campbell should be registered in the register of conscientious objectors on condition that he does land work or hospital or ambulance work, or relief work under the Friends' War Relief Service.

MURIEL LESTER

Miss Lester will be in Glasgow this month from the 18th to the 20th. She will address the following meetings under the auspices of the Church of Scotland Peace Society:—

Thursday (18th): The Club Room, 134 Harmony Row, Govan, 7.30 p.m.

Friday: Hillhead Burgh Halls, Byres Road, 7.30 p.m.

Saturday: Kent Road St. Vincent Church (near St. Andrews Halls) at 4 p.m. at the Annual General Meeting of the Church of Scotland Peace Society. Miss Lester speaks at 4. Meeting begins 3 p.m.

Muriel Lester is known for her work at Kingsley Hall, Bow, East London, where she was the hostess of Mr. Gandhi on his last visit to Britain. She has recently returned from a prolonged tour of North and South America which was cut short by her arrest by the British authorities at Trinidad. She will speak on the work of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation of which she is one of the Secretaries.

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Liberty! Equality!! Fraternity!!!

THE WORD

To Rouse The People, To Combat Fascism, and To Speed Commonweal.

An Organ of the United Socialist Movement, Edited and Published by Guy A. Aldred, at The Strickland Press. **104 George Street, Glasgow, C.1.** All unsigned matter is from the pen of the Editor. Annual Subscription, 3s. 0d.

Vol. III. No. 12. JULY 1942. Price: TWOPENCE

F. W. Jowett: A Small Tribute

To The Editor.

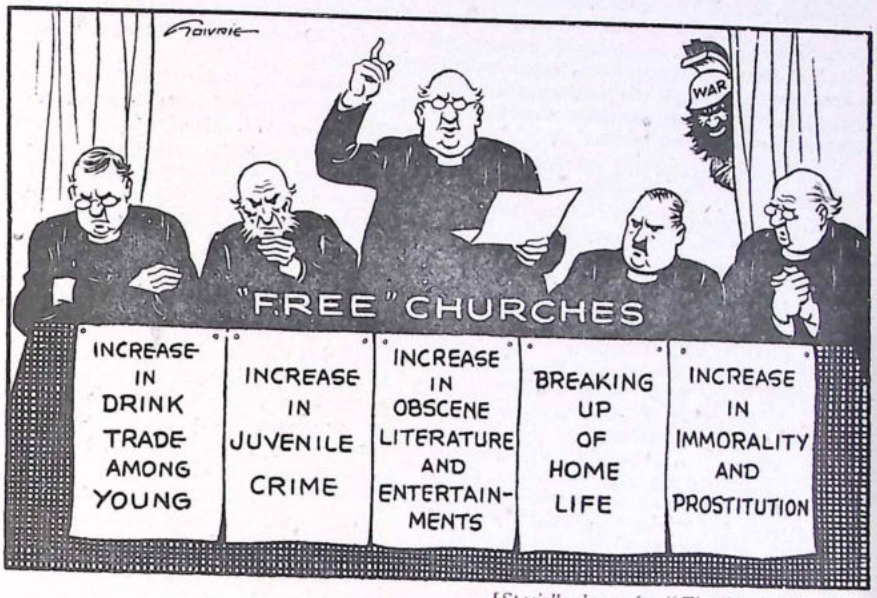
Adherence to a set of principles is the most admirable quality of man; and Jowett is one of the best examples of our times in that connection. Whilst others with whom he has worked have thought fit to allow events to control their actions Jowett insists instead on trying to harness events. Without that quality which persists in a few men in every generation the lot of the workers in every part of the world would be grave. In short, Ghandi is much more important to the modern world than Wavell, the British General. The one will leave his mark on the future of mankind; the other will be plastered with medals maybe but his deeds will die with him. Jowett belongs to that school of philosophers who do not mind being unpopular when principles are at stake, and we thank him for standing like Daniel of old against the foul things that are done in our day and generation.

Yours faithfully,

RHYS J. DAVIES.

House of Commons, May 30.

WAR — and The Churches



[Specially drawn for "The Word" by Govric.]

The Churches make Loud Protests against war's attendant evils, but refuse to attack the great evil itself.

LABOUR & WAR

A Reply to Sir P. J. DOLLAN

By

The Rt. Hon. F. W. JOWETT

(FIRST COMMISSIONER OF WORKS, 1924 LABOUR GOVERNMENT).

[The following essay was published by our comrade Jowett in the "Bradford I.L.P. News" for Friday, May 8, 1942.]

In the Glasgow *Forward* (April 25th) P. J. Dollan attacked the I.L.P. for opposing the Government at the Cathcart bye-election.

Dollan, like many another prominent Labour Party supporters of the Government and its war policy, was anti-war and anti-government in the first world war. In Dollan's case as in others the swing-over from anti-war to pro-war is thorough-going and unconditional. They are bitter-enders in this war, whatever it may cost the common people of all lands, in years of devestation and starvation, blood, toil, tears and sweat, to carry the war to its bitter end.

There is, of course, nothing to be ashamed of in changing one's opinion. But if the change of opinion is on some vital issue of public importance (change for example from anti-war to pro-war) it does seem to me to lie as a DUTY, on party leaders and the like, to EXPLAIN QUITE CLEARLY AND FRANKLY THE FULL EXTENT OF THE CHANGE AND THEIR REASONS FOR CHANGING.

Unfortunately, last war's pacifists and anti-war Socialists who are bitter-enders in this war almost invariably ignore this obligation to the public they desire to lead. I am sorry to say, judging by his article in *Forward* "MY VOTE IN CATHCART," Sir Patrick Dollan is not one of the exceptions. I think if I take the main points in Dollan's article and give my reply to them separately the result will show why I say so.

Point (1)

"The National Government was formed with the approval of the Labour Party who refused to accept Cabinet responsibility for the war when Mr. Chamberlain was Prime Minister. As soon as he was replaced by Mr. Winston Churchill, the Labour Party and the Trades Union Congress agreed to participate in the Government, and, since then, have been responsible with the other parties for the formulation of its policy."

"The Labour Party and the Trades Union Congress are both pledged to support the prosecution of the war until the Nazi and Fascist Dictatorships are defeated. THOSE WHO ARE OPPOSED TO NAZISM AND FASCISM MUST LOGICALLY ADOPT A SIMILAR ATTITUDE."
(My Capitals)

Reply to Point (1)

This statement, which is made as if it were a statement of fact is merely an arrogant assumption. It is no nearer the truth to say that whoever is opposed to Nazism and Fascism must logically support the Government in this war than it was to say whoever was opposed to the Kaiser's militarism in the last war had the duty, logically, to support the Government in the last war.

In the last war there were people who, although they were bitterly opposed to the Kaiser's militarism — as they were also to British militarism—held the belief that WAR WOULD NOT DEFEAT THE KAISER'S GERMAN MILITARISM. They held that belief quite logically. DOLLAN WAS ONE OF THEM.

AND THEY WERE RIGHT. War to the bitter end to defeat the Kaiser's Germany, intensified militarism not only in Germany, but here, in France, in Poland. It created more acute causes and excuses for dissension, and more preparations for war in Europe than there were before the war.

Now Dollan is quite entitled to change his attitude concerning war and to conclude that this war is essentially different from the one which he unconditionally opposed, but to say that because the Labour Party and the Trades Union Congress are pledged to support the war all who are opposed to Nazism and Fascism must, logically, also support the war is just simply nonsense.

The Labour Party and the Trades Union Congress SUPPORTED THE LAST WAR, and Dollan himself would have said it was nonsense if anybody had been foolish enough to tell him it was his duty logically to follow their example.

Point (2)

"Bailie James Carmichael, the I.L.P. candidate, like some other pacifist socialists, has abandoned internationalism for the period of the war. He has, apparently, been converted to the pre-war isolation policy of Lord Beaverbrook, and wants socialism for Britain as the prelude to socialism for other countries."

Reply to Point (2)

There is not the slightest resemblance between Beaverbrook's pre-war isolation policy, and the policy of the I.L.P., and of course Dollan knows there isn't. Beaverbrook's policy was to isolate Britain with her Dominions and semi-slave dependencies within a tariff wall, in which enclosed space British industrialists and British financiers could operate without rivals. The I.L.P. policy is VOLUNTARY LIQUIDATION OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE, and beginning to apply socialism in this country, as an example and a guarantee to the people of Germany and elsewhere.

Now Dollan is quite entitled to believe that such a proof of the sincerity of British peace aims would have no effect on the peoples of, say, Germany and Italy; and to give reasons for his belief, but HE IS NOT ENTITLED TO MISREPRESENT THE PROPOSAL by associating it with the pre-war isolation policy of Lord Beaverbrook.

Point (3)

"Russia, defending a workers' state against Capitalist dictatorship, would be deserted if the British electors accepted I.L.P. guidance." . . .

"The I.L.P. in Cathcart ask the British workers to desert their comrades in all democratic countries attacked by the Nazis and Fascists."

Reply to Point (3)

Ex-Lord Provost Dollan makes this assertion on the assumption that the German and Italian peoples (without whose support the whole world war would collapse) would be unaffected by proposals for peace put forward by a British Government which itself was beginning to voluntarily liquidate its empire and establish socialism. He says in reply to Maxton on this point that the method had failed before. This is not true. The mediation and conciliation offered to protect Czecho-Slovakia and Poland, which is mentioned in this connection, have no relation whatever to the I.L.P. proposal for a peace offer by a British Government actually proving by its example the sincerity of its anti-imperialist and truly socialist object in its proposal for an agreed peace.

Dollan may hold the view that notwithstanding the bitter experience of the German people in over two and a half years of war (the awful terror of the first winter campaign in Russia to be followed possibly by at least another)—the working people of Germany would be unaffected by such a peace offer; but HE IS NOT ENTITLED FALSELY TO SAY IT HAS BEEN TRIED AND FAILED. He might think it would fail if it were tried, and say so. That would stand as his opinion. We of the I.L.P., on the contrary, believe it is, to say the least, highly probable that the German peoples' response to a British call for peace that will challenge the world to a new social order by example would DEPRIVE HITLER AND HIS NAZI GOVERNMENT OF THE SUPPORT NECESSARY TO CARRY ON THE WAR.

Where does Hitler get the support necessary to carry on the war? The support necessary to GAIN POWER he got from the big industrialists, and from numbers of middle-class young men without prospects—two classes which saw in Fascism an opening, for themselves at any rate, out of the economic prison in which they were penned. We cannot hope to influence people of this type. But for carrying on the war, Hitler must have, and now has, the support of the great majority of the German people. How does he get that support?

HE GETS IT FROM THE SAME SOURCE AS CHURCHILL GETS HIS SUPPORT IN THIS COUNTRY. Here, as there, the common people are afraid that a victory for the other side would mean markets and currencies rigged against them, raw materials and even food denied to them and their industries and abject poverty for the people. The German people believe this would be their fate if thy overthrew Hitler. It was their fate 24 years ago when they overthrew the Kaiser.

The I.L.P. proposals would cut the ground from under Hitler's feet in every factory in Germany. It is nonsense for Dollan to talk of deserting our Russian comrades; for in fact Russia has already done what the I.L.P. proposes to do: she has established socialism in her own country; renounced her empire; and by Stalin's magnificent Order of the Day, she has assured the German people that her only aim is to expel the Fascist invaders from her soil and that SHE DOES NOT WISH TO DESTROY THE GERMAN STATE (although, if in the process of expelling the Germans from Russia the Nazi clique should be overthrown, Stalin would welcome it). This is not in any way inconsistent with James Maxton's attitude, which Dollan condemns.

Ex-Lord Provost Dollan finishes his *Forward* article attacking the I. L. P. with an appeal to the British wirking-class "not to abandon the struggle NOW WHEN IT IS BEGINNING TO SHOW SIGNS OF SUCCESS."

This, forsooth, is what he has the temerity to say when the British Imperialist Empire is in what appears to be the last stages of COMPULSORY LIQUIDATION!

AGENT PROVOCATEUR

By

The Rev. HUMPHREY CHALMERS, M.A.

(Minister, Hill Cliffe Baptist Church, Warrington.)

It could not happen to-day. At least need not: so it may be a matter of purely academic and historical interest to place on record something which occurred in 1917, when there also was a war to make the world safe for democracy.

In response to a knock I opened my door to discover a tall, large-boned man on the step. Under his arm he carried a bulky parcel tied up in brown paper. He was dressed in a greyish fawn suit of tweed and his general appearance—including feet—was such that I at once classed him as "plain clothes detective."

"Does the Reverend Chalmers live here?"

"You're addressing him."

"Can I speak to you in private?"

"Come inside."

As soon as he had entered my visitor enquired in a stage whisper whether I was "the clergyman who helped conscientious objectors."

"Not clergyman." I corrected. "Baptist minister. Still, you're near enough."

"That's what I've come for—help. I am a conscientious objector."

"Are you indeed? And what's your special difficulty?"

At that the professed C.O. made a great show of listening and looking round my small room which could scarcely have concealed a cat. "Are you sure we shall not be overheard?" I am putting my life in your hands."

With my suspicion undiminished I replied, "Nobody can hear us. Fire away."

"I'm a conscientious objector. I joined up in 1914 in the 2nd Grenadier Guards, believing this to be a just war, but my eyes have been opened."

"What opened them?"

"In France, in a Y.M.C.A. hut, I read Tolstoy's 'War and Peace' from the library and that converted me.

"Some story," I thought. "That is one book you would be safe not to find in such a place." However, keeping my doubts to myself, I enquired, "Then, why are you not in khaki?" In those days men on leave were not permitted to wear "civvies."

"That's it, Sir. I'm a deserter and I want your help."

"But what about yourself? You know you are liable to the death penalty. Have you counted the cost?"

"Yes, I have" — boldness and determination duly registered—"I am prepared to die, but there's my poor old mother. I would break her heart." The heroic pose was discarded and the hero appeared to weep profusely.

"That's a bad business," I sympathised. "But I don't yet see what I am to do about it. You did not come here just for sympathy or to invite me to visit your mother."

"No, Sir. No, Sir. You see, I can get away with it but for one thing. I have a friend. Food manufacturer in a big way. All his men are exempt from military service. One of them has died and the authorities have failed to collect his Registration Card. My friend will let me have it and I'll take the name and the job."

"Well," said I, "that is your affair. I doubt whether you really can get away with it, and if you are caught you will be shot for certain, whereas, if you go back and give yourself up, you may escape with a sentence of several years. Besides, is it really conscientious to sail under false colours? However, that is for yourself to decide. Anyhow, where do I come in?"

"It's all right. I can do it, but there's my uniform. If I were taken with it I should be done for. It's here in this parcel. Now if you are to help conchies, take it and burn it in your kitchen range."

"No." I objected. "I am not prepared to do that. But I'll give you a letter now to the honorary solicitor to the No-Conscription Fellowship, John's Buildings, Adelphi. Get on the number 77 bus at the end of this street. Alight at Charing Cross and go straight to the N.C.F. office and you will be given free the best legal advice."

"You don't seem inclined to do much yourself."

"I am prepared to consider any advice the solicitor gives me as to helping you.

"Is that all? Here I am risking my life. Won't you take any risks?"

"My dear man, I have taken and expect to take more risks than you can guess, but I have to be sure first that the risks are necessary.

"Won't you break the law? Is that all you can say to a man who may be shot next week?"

"Of course I will break man's law every time that is necessary for observing God's law. All Christian martyrs have done so. I hope I can face martyrdom if I have to, but I am not going out to look for it."

"Well then," he whined. "At least let me leave my khaki here while I go to the office. It is too dangerous to be carrying it about with me."

"It is no greater danger than bringing it here. Take it away."

He wept, or appeared to. He pleaded. Then he swore and called me coward and hypocrite whom he would expose to every Pacifist in the country. At last I ordered him to leave. He moved slowly to the door, still abusing me in pungent Billingsgate. He slyly dropped his parcel on a chair. I restored it to him. Then he slipped it behind the front door and hastily made for the gate.

"Hoi!" I shouted, "You've left something."

He turned, and, to save his head, fielded the unwieldy bundle. Before closing the door I glanced up and down the street. There were two uniformed policemen fifty yards to the right, two the same distance to the left and two directly opposite. As my visitor passed the first two he shook his head.

What would have happened if I had kept the parcel for five minutes? Well, I ask you.

However, as I remarked to begin with, it need not happen now. In twenty-five years we have made progress. There is no necessity in these days for agents provocateurs to entrap people into breeches of the law. Regulation 18B. avoids all that fuss. Ask Mr Herbert Morrison. He was a conchie at the time of which I write.

IN THE BAHAMAS.

The Legislative Council of the Bahamas has rejected a proposal made by the Governor, the Duke of Windsor, that a minimum wage of 6/- a day should be introduced for native labourers.

The Legislature also rejected proposals made by the Duke for public work schemes for the unemployed, and tax reductions to reduce the cost of living.

Our sympathies are with the Duke of Windsor. Recent events have no lessons for the persons who rejected his proposals. Even these do not err on the side of excessive remuneration.

WAR: A STUDY IN FACT

By RUDOLF ROCKER

Rudolf Rocker

[In our March issue we published Rudolf Rocker's mildly pro-war "Thoughts on British Imperialism," and also a reply made to him in the New York L'Adunata dei Refrattan **(The call of the Refractaires). Our American comrade, Marcus Graham, has taken up the case against Rocker and his article, entitled "The Issues of the Present War," appears in** War Commentary **for Mid-May, 1942, Vol. 3, No. 12. Before the outbreak of the first world war we incurred great hatred among our fellow-Anarchists for announcing that Kropotkin intended to go pro-war. Our organ,** The Herald of Revolt, **was boycotted and denounced. We were right and in time the Kropotkinists, without surrendering their hatred, had to recognise the fact. Later we were marched in handcuffs across Exeter whilst a pro-war meeting in London was cheering a letter from Kropotkin urging that the Russian Revolution meant an intensified war. At a later date we read Kropotkin's terrible speech of Imperialism delivered in Russia on his return. These performances did not prevent the Anarchists acclaiming what was indeed a worthless philosophy and propaganda, since the chief apostle of the cause could not last the distance or even make an effort to stand firm in the hour of crisis. The essence of Anarchism, whether Communist or Individualist, is Anti-Militarism.**

Before his internment as an enemy alien in 1915, Rudolf Rocker answered Kropotkin's militarism very effectively in the columns of the London Jewish Anarchist organ, The Workers Friend, **in two essays, entitled "A Study In Fact." These articles were translated from the Yiddish, by our Glasgow comrade, Freda Cohen, and published, abridged slightly, in** The Spur, **for March and June, 1915 (Vol. I, Nos. 9 and 12). They answered Kropotkin in 1914, and despite the Fascism and Nazism form of the Great War, they answer Rocker to-day. In his much quoted letter to Steffen, Kropotkin dwelt upon the reactionary advice William I. offered to Alexander III. in 1881. Against that Rocker quotes from Kropotkin's** Memoirs **where the character of William's advice is stated to be directly opposite of reactionary. Rocker cites from Kropotkin's pamphlet** Modern Wars and Captialism **the passage about the English bourgeoisie desiring to set back development in Germany and to break her fleet as they had acted twice before with Russia. These extracts were quoted, and the same points made by us in an editorial essay previously published in** The Spur. **For this reason, and because Kropotkin's pamphlet was circulated so widely, we deleted them from Rocker's article as being unnecessary.—Ed.]**

FIRST ESSAY.

The present attitude of our old comrade, Kropotkin, towards the present catastrophe has caused great chaos in the Anarchist movement. The Anarchist press, in those countries where our papers can yet appear, are engaged with Kropotkin's views on the war; and in several countries, particularly in Italy, the polemic has taken on rather a bitter character. As it happens, the majority of known comrades in France, with the exception of Sebastian Faure, Victor Dave and a few others, are of Kropotkin's opinion, as also are a great number of Russian comrades, particularly those in France.

In Spain and Italy, the majority of our comrades, with the exception of a few individualists, disciples of Stirner and Nietzsche—also an irony of history—are decidedly against Kropotkin. The same is the case with our comrades in Switzerland, Holland, and the majority in England. The opinions of our comrades in Germany, Austro-Hungary, and Bohemia we do not as yet know, as the war has destroyed all our communications with these countries; also our press has been suppressed since before the actual outbreak of war.

Kropotkin developed his present attitude in three articles that appeared in the Russian press and also in a voluminous private correspondence, particularly in his letter to the Swedish professor, Steffen, part of which was published in the civil as well as the Anarchist press. From what we have seen, it seems to us that the letter to Steffen, represents Kropotkin's views on the European situation most completely.

There can be no doubt whatever, that the views Kropotkin develops in that letter, are the most complete negation to all he has written before on the character and cause of modern war. We will not talk here of his article on war that appeared in the Parisian *Revolte* about thirty years ago. Kropotkin maintained the same views but a short time back. The French edition of his last work *Modern Science and Anarchism*, contains four excellent chapters on the cause of war. Kropotkin, himself, had translated into English the last portion of this work only six months before the war broke out, and the already named four chapters were issued in a separate brochure entitled, *Wars and Capitalism*.

In a most brilliant way, Kropotkin expounds therein, the real cause of modern war. He unmasks all the hidden intrigues of high finance, the secret diplomacy of the great armament manufacturers, and of the mercenary bourgeois press, and shows us, that state and capitalism, are the everlasting cause of all wars, and the so-called "armed peace."

But Kropotkin does not deal only with war in general. In the chapter, "War and Industry," he exposes the underground forces that have been at work in the present war. The fact is, Kropotkin was one of the few Socialists who has maintained always that a European war is unavoidable. *Only*, six months before, our old comrade was *certainly* not of the opinion that the *sole* responsibility for the present catastrophe, fell on Germany, *exclusively on Germany*. How he can reconcile his present attitude with what he himself wrote then, we cannot say, and we are convinced that Kropotkin could not either. A whole abyss lies behind the opinions which he advanced then, and those he urges to-day.

We have no intention of defending Germany. We are acquainted too well with the junkerist *regime*, and the internal spirit of German militarism. We know the character of the reaction in Germany; we felt it personally. But when to the whole of Europe to fight against the German Huns in the name of the Higher Culture, then it is not only the worst negation of his former efforts, but a point of view which can be explained only through a most extreme one-sidedness. If there is any difference between Germany and the other states, then it is only a difference of degree, but surely not a difference in the real spirit, which is the same in all states. The present war has been prepared for the last twelve or fifteen years, and it has been prepared by all big states in Europe without exception. Kropotkin's own explanation about the secret negotiations between Lord Lansdowne and Delcassé is the best evidence for the truth of our contention. The present war differs from all former wars only in the awfulness of its consequences, but in no way in its internal character. It is the outcome of the same material interests of the possessing classes in the various countries, like all the other wars, and all the contentions about the "cultural meaning" of the present war are no more than idealistic masks, with which they always have sought to justify organised wholesale manslaughter. Tragic only is the fact that a man like Kropotkin, one of the best and noblest men of our age, supports to-day the same idealistic mask of the real cause of the war, which he himself formerly tried at every opportunity to tear off.

When reading Kropotkin's letter to Steffen, one would imagine that Germany is the only danger in Europe, the embodiment of the whole reaction, the everlasting spirit of war. But during the forty-three years that the present Germany has existed, she has never yet been involved in war. During this period Russia had two wars; France three; England had the South African war, not to mention her minor wars; Italy attacked Tripoli; Spain went to war with America, etc.

By this, we do not mean to infer that Germany, that is the German Government, is more peace loving, or better than others. By no means! We know quite well that the German Government all the time has made preparations for a war, exactly like her rivals in East and West. But this shows us that the other States know their business just as well as the German State, and that wars have been, and will continue to be, with and without Germany. This again shows us that all Kropotkin *formerly* wrote about the character of modern war was right, and is right in every instance.

Kropotkin declares that the annexation of Alsace Lorraine was the cause of the terrible development of militarism in Europe; that France was forced to develop a strong army to defend her national independence; and that the other States were forced to follow Germany in the strengthening of militarism. Yes, that is our opinion as well, and that was the opinion of Bebel and Liebknecht, and the majority of Socialists and revolutionaries after the Franco-German war.

But why does Kropotkin forget to mention, that the French Republic has *not only* used her army to defend her national independence against Germany? She has also used her army to attack Tonkin, Tunis, and Morocco, just like the armies of the Kaiser have attacked Belgium. Since the Franco-German war, France has subjected thirty-million people, with the help of her army, for the exploitation of her capitalists. All the other States have done likewise without any exception.

This very negation, this sudden change of Kropotkin's ideas concerning the war, has astonished most of our comrades, and some of his intimate friends. The majority are even yet of the opinion, that his feelings, the impression the terrible news of the inhuman deeds in Belgium made on him, were the cause of his changed attitude. Those who are in any way acquainted with our old comrade, know, that such an opinion is justified to a certain degree. Besides, most of us who know him intimately, know from personal experience, of the last few months, how deep that impression is. But we believe that this is not the only explanation. Those who are familiar with his ideas, know that he worked out a complete theory about the "Historical Mission of the French." Though he is not really the founder of that theory—we find it in the writings of Bakunin and other Internationalists—Kropotkin is undoubtedly the one who finally developed it.

Kropotkin—and here we are in absolute agreement with him—holds that the history of the reaction begins with the fall of the old communistic and federal period, and with the rise of the modern State in the fifteenth and sixteenth century. The epoch of the sixteenth, seventeenth and nearly the whole of the eighteenth century, was that of the triumph of the monarchial absolutism and feudalistic slavery in Europe, and the victory of barbarism over the highly developed social culture of the communes of the middle ages.

The only sunbeams in those dark ages were the great uprisings of the peasantry in various countries, and the revolution in Holland and England. But the French Revolution had the

greatest influence on the cultural development of the whole of Europe. It was the expression of the renaissance in Europe, the beginning of a new historical era. Its consequences were not felt in France only, as was the case with the revolutions in Holland and England, which had only an influence on those countries. No! it has left its impression on all other countries, and in that sense, it was a real European Revolution.

The study of the great French Revolution had a very powerful, if not the most powerful influence on Kropotkin. As far back as the eighties, he published his two large brochures on this momentous event. His numerous books, pamphlets, and articles, are replete with analogies drawn from the revolutionary period. His complete work, "The French Revolution," is one of the best and most interesting books that have been written, as yet, on that great historical epoch.

There are people who are so engaged in the minute detail of a certain historical epoch, that they lose all perspective, and are unable to recognise the main lines, and the general picture of the conserving period. "They cannot see the forest for many trees." Kropotkin does not belong to that category of historians; but he often falls into the other extreme. He sees the main lines of an epoch and forgets the details. Kropotkin very often thinks in epochs, and has no eye for the detailed scenery of the historical drama. In some instances it is a great advantage, but it carries one very easily to false conclusions. We were always of the opinion that the theoretical fatalism of the German Socialists is a great obstacle to revolutionary initiative; but we believe that the fatalism of those who expect the millenium from the "historical mission of the French," is no less dangerous than that of the Germans.

We feel the greatest admiration and sympathy for the French and all the grand deeds of its noblest elements. We marvel at the revolutionary spirit and creative power of the French workers. But we also know that the spirit of a nation—if we can speak, at all, of the general spirit in a nation—is not always the same, especially in a society that is divided into so many different classes, and so many antagonistic forces, aims, and ideals. The French nation make no exception to that rule. The same nation that renewed Europe with its revolution, has thrown itself, more than once, body and soul into the abyss of reaction. The same French nation that created the revolutions of 1789, 1830, 1848, and 1871, immediately after the revolution of 1848 elected Louis Bonaparte as President of the Republic, and everyone understood what the results of Bonaparte's victory might be. And when Boneparte made his famous plebiscite, to see whether France preferred living under a monarchy or a republic, eight million voted for a king, and only 230,000 were against. Under the reigh of Napoleon the third, the whole of the Socialist and democratic movement ceased. All Socialist papers were suppressed, a whole literature—the richest that Socialism has produced in Europe—simply disappeared, and is only now being re-discovered. The whole of France was diffused with the pestilence of the meanest police systems that one can imagine, and for over twenty years Napoleon was the most influential representative of the reaction in Europe.

And all this happened before the existence of a German military state, as to-day, that could force the French to bend under such a reaction.

No! There are no "chosen nations," and the French have as little monopoly of the revolution as the Germans of the reaction. We do not believe that France has the *historical mission* to free the world, just as we do not believe that Germany has the mission to enslave her.

Has it not always been one of the special functions of every state, to interfere in the internal struggles of other countries, to help the reactionary parties to suppress the revolutionary movements, so long as there was a possibility of doing so, and so long as it was also favourable to its own interests? Since the raid of the united reactionary armies on the French Republic at the time of the great Revolution, the same phenomenon has manifested itself in the majority of revolutionary and insurrectionary movements in Europe; and more than once have those very *free Countries of Western Europe,* France and England, betrayed the hopes of the revolutionaries in other countries. Those who are at all familiar with the histories of Portugal, Spain, and Italy, know that our assertion is only too well founded.

If the clerical and monarchical reaction is still triumphant in Spain, it is not the fault of the Spanish people who have attempted through a whole series of uprisings, conspiracies, and revolutions, to free itself from its executioners. But the majority of those uprisings were suppressed in a bloody fashion through *French and English interests.* In 1820, when Riego raised the flag of the revolution and proclaimed the Constitution of Cadiz, Spain was the freest country in Europe. The prisons were opened, and all the political prisoners set free; the Inquisition was abolished, and the Jesuits driven out of the country. The Liberal Party worked out the famous school-law to break the influence of the monarchy and the clergy. The press was freed, and the right of free speech and organisation became one of the fundamental principles of the Spanish Constitution. Ferdinand the VII himself became constitutional, and swore to observe the famous constitution of 1812. It is hardly credible the change there was in a few short months.

But in 1825, a French army of 80,000 men marched over the Spanish border, under *the protection of free England* to help Ferdinand to suppress the Spanish Constitution. Riego and his friends were murdered in a most terrible way. 44,000 people filled the prisons. The inquisition was re-established, and thus began the epoch that has not had its equal even in the most barbaric and brutal episodes of the Russian reaction.

If England had only the will she could have prevented, easily, the attack of Austria on Italy at this same period, in order to crush the revolution. But the English Government supported the "Holy Alliance," rather than the struggle of the Italians for a constitution.

And was it not English and German battleships that helped the Spanish Government in 1873, to suppress the revolutionary commune of Catachena, the last fortress of the Communistic Revolution in Spain?

Portugal had to live through the worst reactionary period through "English interests," and the leaders of the last revolution had first of all to give England all necessary guarantees for the safety of *her interests,* before they could begin their fight against the monarchy.

The disgraceful *role* England played recently against the Persian constitutionalists, is too well known to require repetition. The fact is, that every state, especially every big state, has been and always will be a danger to every revolution. Germany makes absolutely no exception to this rule.

Read the following two lines after the 5th line of the last par. in the 2nd column of page 135, from which they were accidentally omitted :---

Kropotkin throws now the entire responsibility for the present war on Germany; when he appeals

---

End of First Essay. ...
Second Essay next month.

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ANARCHISM AND WAR

In our March issue we drew attention to the fact that Rudolf Rocker was supporting Imperialism and war. In its issue for Mid-May 1942, *War Commentary* reluctantly admits the fact. In an editorial it says :—

"On the opposite page we publish the first of a series of articles by Marcus Graham on 'The Issues of the Present War.' These articles were written to rebut the charges made by Rudolf Rocker that the Anarchist theory regarding war has no application to the present struggle. It is with great regret that we have to record that so old and respected a militant in the Anarchist movement should have taken up a position of support for capitalist war. It is not, unfortunately, the first time that war has split the Anarchist movement. . . . And we can state that the attitude taken by Rocker is shared only by a minority in the Anarchist movement both here and elsewhere.

"In the last war the anti-war marxists who followed Lenin made a bitter denunciation of those few anarchists who supported the Allies. But we do not admit the right of Socialists, least of all Marxists, to criticise the Anarchists in this regard. Anarchism has always taught that wars are fought between capitalist ruling groups for states in which the workers have no interest. We have always urged the workers to refuse to slaughter their class-brothers to serve the ends of the ruling class. It is for us to attack our fellow anarchists when they depart from teaching."

What nonsense! Why should not Socialists, who oppose war in war-time, or even Christians who do so, attack Anarchists, who cry Anti-Militarism in peace-time and war in war-time? Why should such Anarchists be allowed to continue to masquerade as Anarchists when, obviously, they are nothing of the kind? We wonder if the five-minutes Anarchists, who from time to time speak so pompously as Anarchists, would *regret to record the fact that we were supporting a Capitalist Imperialist War* if we were in that position. Would they not rather rejoice at an opportunity of attacking us, and give no heed to our years of Anti-Militarist struggles, imprisonments, and untiring propaganda? The commentary of these people is one of nauseating cant. Kropotkin spent the last active years of his life a war-monger. He left Britain a war-monger. He arrived in Russia a war-monger. The Anarchist Movement ought to have dropped him from its calendar of saints long since, just as even the parliamentary socialists ought to have dropped Ramsay MacDonald and Philip Snowden long before they formed and pioneered the reactionary National Government of 1931. If Anarchism is not proof against militarist crisis then, as a philosophy of life and action, it is in the same category as Socialism, Atheism and Christianity: just as good and just as worthless. Why a renegade must not be attacked by a parliamentary Socialist but only by an Anarchist we cannot understand. Humanity is greater than any ism and the proletariat is more important than any faction of the Socialist Movement. Lenin was quite right to attack pro-war Anarchists and we are quite right to attack the Stalinist war-mongers and even the Trotskyist compromisers with militarism. Lenin was right, and Kropotkin was wrong. To-day Rocker is wrong.

Marcus Graham quotes this passage from Rocker :

"That the present war . . . cannot be measured with the standards of past military conflicts, is beginning to be realised even by those who believe, that historical facts can be denied through aged theories."

Graham comments :

"So Rocker begins his dictum article 'The Order of the Hour.' First, he declares the attitude of the anarchist 'theories' as 'aged,' that is, no longer valid. Secondly, he charges some in our movement with using 'aged theories' in order to 'deny historical facts,' and winds up this accusation with the assertion that even all such have also 'realised' this.

"In so far as Rocker attempts to include everyone in the anarchist movement as holding now the same position as he does, he does not back this up by a single proof."

Graham proceeds to state that, in the main, Anarchists throughout the world, have remained true to their ideas. He continues :

"There are few, very few, exceptions. There is the organ of the Jewish speaking anarchists in the United States on whose pages Rocker's article originally appeared. It takes the same position as Rocker. And there is also G. Maximov, the editor of the Russian anarchist language organ in the U.S., who has taken a similar position on the pages of the same publication in which Rocker wrote.

"Rocker's sweeping statement, quoted above, is then, to say the least, a misstatement of the factual situation."

Graham makes some splendid extracts tending to show that the war is not a war of democracy against fascism but an Imperialist-Capitalist struggle, camouflaged as a war of principle.

He quotes from an article contributed to the United States paper, *Fortune*, for January, 1942, by an attorney named John Foster Dulles:

"The outbreak of the second world war was preceded by trade strangulation without precedent in the time of peace. No one can doubt that this was a contributing cause of the war. It is demonstrable that trade controls relate directly to peace. . . . There is in Japan a population of 75 millions occupying an area smaller than California. Japan is almost barren of natural resources. . . . It must have large exports. Otherwise they cannot pay for their needed imports. Without such means of payment Japan is in effect blockaded."

He shows how the idea of Balance of Power move democratic and fascist ruling classes equally. He quotes "Argus," from *The Christian Science Monitor* for December 11, 1941:

"This policy, though it has had different names at different times, has always been some form of balance of power. . . . Britain has not always tried for the same balance. When Russia, by the treaty of San Stefano in 1878, threatened to increase its hold on the Balkans, bringing it close to Constantinople, Britain joined Germany in blocking the move. When Germany began warring over the Berlin to Bagdad Railway in 1914, Britain joined with Russia to block the move. Despite reshufflings, however, the principle of the balance remained. . . . Ever since Lord Salisbury in 1902 dignified the oriental island kingdom with a treaty virtually guaranteeing it a free hand in the Far East, British imperialists have looked upon the Japanese not only to safeguard their Far Eastern possessions, but more especially to prevent the general balance by serving as a check on Russia who, whether friendly or otherwise, whether Czarist or Stalinist, was so huge and so eager for a warm port around the East Mediterranean. . . . To-day Russia is the ally: Japan is the enemy, with Tokio's policy expanding far beyond its early role of obliging a zealous collaborator. . . . If Japan were to develop ambitions, however, they were not likely to be held in check either by the British or by the French, who also needed Japan's co-operation for maintaining the security of their empire in Indo-China. . . . The British treaty . . . virtually guaranteed Japan freedom from British interference in any adventure against China or Russia . . . so Japan, with Britain's blessing walked into China and out of the League (of Nations) . . . But Japan intimated that it considered Britain's star in the Pacific to be on the decline, and in 1936 signed the anti-Comintern Pact with Hitler, soon setting out upon the full invasion of China. . . . As recently as July, 1940, the present Churchill Government made a further attempt at appeasement by closing the Burma Road to Chinese supplies. . . . It was this process that first opened the way for an aggressive policy, not only in Japan, but also Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany. In each case the needs of balancing up have caused imperialist to overlook initial lawless moves that have led to the appaling conditions that now face the world."

This quotation is unanswerable. It silences every Imperialist, whether Christian, Atheist, Socialist, or Anarchist. It shows the question that has to be solved, in equity, between the peoples of the earth. It leaves no room for reluctance to repudiate renegades, over-age Anarchist Imperialists, who are as busily recruiting the youths of the world to death as any jingo of the old-time Capitalist-Militarist political parties.

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Native Labour Conscription

CREECH JONES and KENYA

Our comrade, A. Creech Jones, M.P., has made himself not only an authority on the native conditions in Africa, but is the outstanding champion of their rights and enemy of their wrongs in the public life of Britain. It is impossible to keep up with his questions in the House of Commons and his contributions to the press.

In the "Manchester Guardian" for March 23 last our comrade contributed the following letter on the subject of Native or African Labour Conscription in Kenya:—

Sir,—The new measure of conscription of African labour to work on European farms in Kenya has aroused misgivings and protests. I was informed in the House of Commons that the step is necessary because Kenya must help to supply one of the theatres of war. However strongly one may agree that the issues of this war are of vital significance to the colonial peoples and that their identity with the common cause should be fostered, the "co-operation" now imposed in Kenya reveals again how false are some of the assumptions of our colonial administration. The European settlers have secured under the cloak of war urgency, another concession at the expense of the Africans.

Our information is still meagre, but the report of the Committee which recommended conscription does not reveal that any thorough consideration was given to the better use of the existing labour on the farms, to securing more efficient production either in the Highlands or in the reserves, or to the question of what respective contributions might be made by Europeans and Africans to war needs. The nature of the labour shortage, where it arises and why; in what respects the Government-assisted recruitment scheme at the end of 1941 was inadequate; the best means of mobilising the total man-power of Kenya and agricultural resources for the maximum effort, having regard to the existing social and race problems of the colony—these are matters which are cursorily set on one side because "the African must be made to work" and compulsion be applied so as to secure African labour on the private European farms.

Throughout the report "European farms" might be read for the words "essential work." It is true that a warning is given that African manhood working outside the reserves should not exceed 55 per cent., but there is no suggestion that African agriculture can give anything to the war effort or that any drive should be made to develop the native economy. The economic and social effects of conscription are barely discussed. The effect of long absences on tribal life and on production of food crops in the reserves, and the reactions on the healthy development of native agriculture are all ignored. African boys of sixteen are to be taken, even from the schools, to mark the culmination of our native policy in Kenya, a policy which gave the Highlands to the Europeans (who are unable to cultivate a great deal of the land) and which depended for success on semi-serfdom and African labour subsidised by the reserves and made available by the pressure of native taxation.

There is no analogy between Britain and Kenya in this matter of labour conscription. The scheme is based on racial discrimination. The Committee was aware that inspection was fundamental to it if grave infringements were to be prevented. Its members knew that more labour inspectors could not be secured and that the district officers could give only limited assistance. They admit that much farm work is unattractive on account of the pay and conditions, that more labour would offer itself if conditions were fair and that there is discontent and short output where conditions are poor. But though they vaguely state that in fixing wages the Wages Committee should give attention to the maintenance of a proper standard of living for the natives and to the increased cost of living, the proposed machinery is weak and no recommendation for an increase in wages is made.

The European farms are subsidised by the African dependents in the reserves, who make it possible for the labourers to work at 3d. per day, or 7d. including food, lodging, etc. And the local authorities are aware that they are likely to do next to nothing about improving rations or housing, particularly on the middling and poorer farms. Even the suggestion that conscription should be fairly applied will not prevent the main burden falling upon the already industrious Africans who have fertile reserves demanding further development at their hands in the Central and Nyanza Provinces.

There are other unhappy features of the measure—the inadequacy of African representation in the machinery set up; the possibility of using handpicked Africans on some of the committees; the operation of penal sanctions; the absence of any provision for men in the spells between "contracts," for repatriation and facilities for travel home, or for responsibility for dependents; the relatively heavy fines on Africans for infringements; and the inequality of penalties as between employees and employed. The maximum labour permitted under the Forced Labour Convention is sixty days; here the minimum is eighty-four days, rising to one year. The sisal growers wanted "contracts" of labour lasting a year rather than the customary shorter periods of the men from the reserves and got their way.

Finally, if this price has to be paid by the African, why is it not accompanied by the guarantee of a new African land and agricultural policy, including the enjoyment by him of the uncultivated areas of the White Highlands? Why are there not definite assurances in respect to social and political development? Why not begin now with representation in the higher councils of the country? Undoubtedly European farming is again being bolstered up by the Government. But the effects of that policy are likely to disturb native life and the economy of the whole territory, to prejudice African development, and to set back production in the reserves.

The Colonial Office gave its hurried consent to this policy which regards Africans as helots for the profit of white settlers. It must be told that definite new safeguards must be introduced and the policy reversed as soon as possible.—Yours, etc.,

A. CREECH JONES.

House of Commons,
March 20.

In a leading article, the "Manchester Guardian" commented:—

KENYA AGAIN.

The more the plan for conscription in Kenya, so hastily sanctioned by the Colonial Office, is examined the more reason is found for disliking and suspecting it. Mr. Creech Jones sets out the main facts in the letter we publish to-day. Roughly the position is that some twenty thousand more workers are wanted on the farms, and in order to secure this extra supply conscription is to be introduced into a colony with an unhappy record for the exploitation of the natives. The Colonial Office has apparently satisfied itself that the plan will be worked equitably, if such a term can be applied to any system of conscription imposed by white rulers on a black population that has suffered severely at their hands. (The white population has not yet been conscripted.) We wonder whether it would hope to convince the I.L.O. that this is the case. The conscripts are to work for a minimum of eighty-four days in the year and for a maximum of twelve months. The convention adopted by the International Labour Conference lays down that forced labour service is never to exceed sixty days in the year. Africans are to be conscripted at sixteen, Europeans at eighteen. The Africans are to work on the farms of the Europeans—on land, that is to say, from which the Africans were evicted—for the profit of the farmers. For employers and employed who break the provisions of the law the penalty is identical—a fine of £5 or two months' imprisonment. The African pays a fine that represents a year's income, an employer a fine that is nominal.

There are several other ugly features in the plan. But the whole plan is bad. Judged as a war measure it is unintelligent. Presumably the administrative staff of the colony has its hands full with essential work, all the more because some of its members have gone into the Army. Can the colony afford to divert so much of the energy of its depleted staff to the working of the elaborate machinery set up for conscription? The Africans, and not in Kenya only, will suspect that this is a plan not for winning the war but for giving to white men whose power is already excessive still more power over African labour. And that suspicion will be strengthened by the fact that in October the Government suspended the recruitment of Africans in Kenya for labour units in the Army.

The facts stated by Creech Jones in his letter, and commented on in the **Guardian** leader, give point to the Fabian Colonal Bureau Conference at Oxford, July 10-13, announced in another column. It also gives point to the pamphlet, "Freedom for Colonial Peoples," issued by the National Peace Council, 39 Victoria Street, London, S. W.1.

DOWN IN FLAMES

Sadly, in their prime, they'd taken
Leave of their loved ones and forsaken
Their old pursuits for new employ:
With greater might, might to destroy.

They'd chased the foe twixt clouds and stars
Beneath the gloating eye of Mars;
Had swooped and dived and mounted higher
Midst fusillades of raking fire;

Till deathwards blazing through the clouds
They'd plunged—nor had they need of shrouds
And Mars, the fiery god, joy-crazed,
The victors and the vanquished praised.

JOHN ROEBUCK.

THE LORD HELPS THOSE

By

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD

The story of the self-help experiment inaugurated in Nova Scotia by Dr. Tompkins and Dr. Coady of St. Francis Xavier University, and described by Mr. Bertram B. Fowler in his book "The Lord Helps Those . . ." is of the utmost importance to monetary reformers and, indeed, to social reformers generally. Its interest to monetary reformers is, however, of a somewhat peculiar character, since the experiment records the employment of no unorthodox financial technique and Mr. Fowler's brief reference to monetary reform is, indeed, of a somewhat contemptuous character. His book is of supreme interest mainly because it is a record of how a handful of determined and enlightened men induced communities of people of British stock, living under conditions of dire poverty and ignorance (he says: "In many of these fishing villages the children of the fishermen were not being educated because they had not sufficient clothes to cover them while they went to school") to think for themselves, co-operate and act intelligently in their own interests.

Any worker in the cause of monetary reform will know from bitter experience the almost heart-breaking difficulty of inducing people, no matter how great their need and how simple and obvious the remedies which are brought to their notice, to give any intelligent thought to matters which would make the whole difference to their happiness, or to engage in any form of constructive action. Dr. Tompkins, Dr. Coady and their friends, however, by sheer perseverance in the use of every ordinary method of approach, rather than by employing any strikingly new methods (with the possible exception of the Socratic tactic of constantly asking questions—"What do you want to do? Which problem do you think is the worst ?"—in order to provoke thought in those whom they addressed), actually **did** succeed in performing what many of us in our more despondent moments have been tempted to consider an impossible task. What they succeeded in accomplishing, others also can do.

In some respects their handicaps were greater than those which reformers in this country would encounter. The climate of Little Dover, one of the pioneer fishing villages where the experiment was first started, was harsher than it is in our own land; the soil was more infertile and the people were more illiterate, many of them being quite unable to read or write. "Teachers and preachers saw themselves faced with an apathy born of poverty, a decadence that was destroying their people culturally and spiritually." On the other hand, the pioneers of the experiment may perhaps be considered to have been favoured by certain slight advantages. The very fact that the people of Little Dover and other villages were often unable to read and write, at least delivered them from the thought-paralysing influences of our own dope-propaganda Press and when they were encouraged to think for themselves, at least they could approach the new venture with minds not already cluttered up with mental rubbish.

For early building undertakings timber which in this country would have had to be purchased was apparently available for the cutting. The villages were also small communities and provided more manageable units for co-operative effort based on joint meetings for friendly study, than large cities could easily provide; although in fairness to the St. Xavier experiment, it should be added that study circles inspired by a similar spirit are said now to be starting even in some of the great American towns.

The poverty problem existing in Nova Scotia was not, in the main, quite the same kind of poverty problem that we encounter in Britain, although conditions in the depressed areas may be sometimes not very far removed from it. In Nova Scotia, the fishermen and others were being exploited by middlemen who bought their produce and sold it at a great profit in far-distant American cities, the middlemen paying in return only miserably small wages in cash or kind. *The profits these middlemen made never came back to Nova Scotia—they were spent in the big American cities and such members of the weekly wage-earning class as derived some benefit from their spending were resident in, or near, those cities and never in Nova Scotia itself.

As already indicated, the whole of the effective action of the small communities which were engaged, in raising themselves above the condition of crippling poverty in which they had previously existed, was based on active constructive thinking and on study circles where the people regularly met together and still meet to discuss, plan and take counsel. Dr. Tompkins saw that if he could awaken the people they would develop their own leaders. He said:

"No man really achieves true greatness any other way than by getting it from the people. Get close to the people with the desire to work for them and with them and they'll make you great. The people make giants." This conviction became the spirit and substance of his teaching. He went about among his people, questioning, prodding, challenging, seeking to waken their dormant faith in themselves and their own ability. He showed them what was wrong with the system under which they lived, and asked them if they were not ready to do something about it. He had the patience to give years to the task, to challenge any question again and again until the people began to stir and look about at the conditions that beset them. He had the patience to go on for years because he believed that when the people awakened they would find a plan of action and do something to change their world. Out of the mass meetings grew the study clubs. In each community Dr. Coady found the natural leaders who were awakened to action in the mass meetings. To help the leaders of the study groups a short extension course was arranged at the university, and the local leaders were brought in for education and stimulation. They proved that the people hunger and thirst for real education that is linked positively with the life they live and the problems they face in its daily round. Because of this fearless and vital practicality a new type of young men and women are making their appearance, speaking with new voices, questioning, challenging, arguing."

Nor was it only the young people who did this, for it is recorded that even quite elderly persons taught themselves to read and write and take an intelligent and constructive interest in the affairs of their community, disproving in their case the supposed truth of the popular saying that you can't teach old dogs new tricks. At a conference it was said that visitors:

"saw there what they afterward admitted was the most dramatic parade of speakers they had ever heard: men and women who had come out of ignorance and poverty to speak with intelligent power and clarity."

After thought came co-operation. The people worked together for the common good and showed themselves ready to help one another. It must be confessed that we in this country are often bad co-operators and I am afraid this applies even more to the members of the agricultural community than to others. People are far too suspicious of one another; too prone to petty resentment and jealousies; too much afraid that the other fellow will do them down; too unwilling to trust and , it must be added, often too undeserving of trust. Obviously, however, in a self-help community, this kind of spirit, which is neither commonsense nor Christianity, has got to go before any really good results can be obtained.

"Dr. Tompkins has declared over and over again that the whole tide of change must be spiritual and cultural in its basic conception and foundation . . . and that the whole aim of the adult educational program is . . . 'to make the Universe praise God.'"

"Although this educational movement has come out of a Catholic college, the pioneers in the work saw that . . . people of different denominations . . . could and should work together socially, ethically and economically. The whole program was launched on this basis and as a result has already lifted the work above denominational differences and sectarian boundaries . . . Protestant clergymen work shoulder to shoulder with Catholic priests and laymen of all denominations in pushing the work forward. Naturally, such a breadth of tolerance and understanding that transcends religious differences is pulling communities together on a broad platform of real ethics, culture and understanding."

Mr. Fowler's description of the early stages in the Little Dover experiment, contains humour as well as interest. The first decision that the community made with regard to their needs was that the village required a proper road to connect it with the neighbouring districts. As the work was of a nature which, unlike some of their subsequent building ventures, they could not undertake themselves, they decided to put in a request for Government help. The time was propitious, as an election was approaching and the local representative desired to stand well with his constituents. After the election, however, Government interest in the road at once began to languish and soon ceased and, as Mr. Fowler puts it, "it took three elections to get the road completed!"

The first action taken by the people of a little parish, Canso, of their own volition, was in 1927 when, a few days before the celebrations of the Confederation of the Canadian Provinces, they asked Dr. Tompkins "Why should we celebrate Confederation? What has the Dominion of Canada done for us?" Dr. Tompkins answered, "Maybe it's your own fault. Stop this grumbling about Confederation. Maybe you need to practise a little of it among yourselves. Maybe you need to try a little self-help." They thought it over and decided to send this telegram to Ottawa—"What are you going to do about the poverty among the fishermen of Nova Scotia?" The telegram caught public attention in the midst of the celebrations, was publicized and resulted in a Royal Commission being sent to Nova Scotia, whose report "was the first great pronouncement to vindicate and approve the thing for which Dr. Tompkins had so long struggled almost single-handed."

Incidentally, "The Lord Helps Those . . ." contains a very interesting reflection on the political results which follow when the members of a community start thinking for themselves and acting in an enlightened manner. **They require intelligence and honesty in their Parliamentary representative also.** At a time when our country is experiencing to the full the appalling consequences of an unthinking people governed by an unthinking Parliament, the importance of this desire for a higher standard of character and ability in political circles, cannot possibly be exaggerated.

I have already hinted that the Nova Scotia experiment did not involve any attempted modification in the orthodox financial system. It is true that mention is made of the Credit Union movement, but the credit unions, though serving a very useful purpose in the different small communities, appear to have been little more than savings banks where the money of the depositors was put to good use in the general interest of the community.

Mr. Fowler records the very interesting development of various home crafts and industries as a result of the self-help experiment, together with the enormous increase in the general standard of education and culture. Like many "craft" enthusiasts, he is perhaps a little over-inclined to condemn and desire to sweep away the mass-production of the machine age. Many monetary reformers, on the other hand, see in this mass-production a blessing

*"The dealers paid the fishermen fifty cents a hundredweight for deep-sea fish that cost the consumers twenty or more cents a pound." After they had learned to put their self-help into action, they were able to get twenty cents a pound for lobsters which formerly had only brought them in six or seven cents. They also used to get $1.87 a barrel for salted mackerel, some years later they were receiving $6.46 a barrel. "Year by year the marketing authorities of the groups expanded. In 1934, the newly formed pools marketed 9,000 pounds of graded poultry. By 1937 this figure had risen to 85,000."

to be developed to the full and distributed among all the people. The happy mean probably lies somewhere between their outlook and Mr. Fowler's. By all means let everything that is good in mass-production be made available to mankind with the aid of a money system which is a servant and not a master; but in cases where, as sometimes happens, mass production is placing on the market a shoddy and ugly article of inferior quality, then undoubtedly there is scope for its replacement by the more durable and beautiful product of the craftsman.

Mr. Fowler's book contains one interesting item which may not be entirely welcome to those who regard political agitation as the mainspring of all useful reform. He records the fact that in the days before Dr. Tompkins began his work, protest demonstrations of a Communist or Left-wing nature claimed the support of the bulk of the male population of the villages.

"Utterly dependent upon the seasonal fluctuations of the mines, the miners lived in a state of sullen rebellion. Periodically the rebellion flared out in open strife. Strikes and demonstrations did win for them some small gains in wages and working conditions." In the old May Day parades, seven thousand miners could be seen, with their sickle and hammer banners, and playing the Red Flag, parading in one town. Ten years later (and it is good to realise that all these great changes took place in only ten years, 1928-38), not more than a dozen men turned out for the May Day meeting. The significance lay in the changed thinking of the miners. They have been given a philosophy that worked—and that, after all, was what they were looking for in the days of their rebellion.

EVERYMAN'S AFFAIR

"Everyman's Affair" or "A Plea For A Sane Peace" Publisher, Andrew Dakers Limited. Price 2/6. Written by Miss A. Ruth Fry.

One sentence in "Everyman's Affair" by A. Ruth Fry (Andrew Daker Limited, 2s. 6d.) embraces the whole purpose of the book itself: "The only real victory will be the melting of hearts in the warmth of friendship; all other ways will only lead to more and more terrible wars." Such views are typical of the Society of Friends, to which Miss Fry belongs, and I cannot help thinking occasionally that the world would be a better place if we would all subscribe to the broad humanity of the principles advanced by this great movement. In fact I subscribe the idea, for what it is worth, that the World Unity which Miss Fry advocates would be quite unnecessary for ending wars if the entities of Nations were controlled by Quakers. I claim that one Quaker State would shame every other country into Peace, it would claim more victories than the most militant Power, or assembly of Powers, in the World.

Many who want World Unity on ideal terms, might find themselves unwilling but helpless Devil's Disciples. Where, then, might the Saints of this World escape to? While the World is made up of so many countries, and continents, it is ridiculous to suppose that all of them can be bad at the same time. One World Power would never remain good for all time.

A. SCRIMGEOUR.

New York readers of "The Word" should attend
THE INGERSOLL FORUM
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GLASGOW ANARCHIST C.O.

WILLIAM DICK GRANTED UNCONDITIONAL EXEMPTION

SIR A. C. BLACK, K.C.

Sheriff Principal of Lanarkshire; Chairman of Glasgow and S.W. of Scotland, No. 1, Conscientious Objectors' Tribunal; M.A., LL.B. Glasgow University; Assistant Editor, Encyclopaedia of the Laws of Scotland, 1926-34.

[Reproduced from Glasgow Newspaper sketch, probably "Evening Times."]

William Dick, Motor Lorry Driver, 211 Rigby Street, Glasgow, E.1., appeared before the Glasgow No. 1. Tribunal on Friday, June 12, and stated his case for exemption as a conscientious objector, on the ground of his Anarchist opinions. Sheriff Principal Sir A. C. Black, K.C., presided and four other Members of the Tribunal were present. Dick was granted unconditional exemption. The decision was unanimous.

Dick sent in a written statement in support of his application on May 11. This statement was short and simple and read as follows:—

I am appealing as a conscientious objector. I am an Anarchist and I do not want the Tribunal to grant me exemption without a clear understanding of my vision. As an Anarchist I am opposed absolutely to violence and I do not believe that resort to violence can serve mankind at all in its progressive evolution. I am seeking exemption therefore on moral grounds. My opposition to war, although it is connected with my opposition to the State and to the State organisation of Socley, proceeds definitely from clear moral opposition to violence. How I came to hold this view will be stated to the Tribunal when I appear before it.

The official report states:—

Further evidence obtained at hearing. Heavy Lorry Driver for 20 years, with haulage contractors at present. Considers there should be no need for law in an ideal state. Is an Anarchist. Views held for 15 years.

The decision is recorded as follows:—

ORDER OF THE TRIBUNAL

(a) That the Applicant shall, without condition, be registered in the Register of Conscientious Objectors.

Was the decision of the Tribunal unanimous? YES.

Signature of Chairman, A. C. BLACK.
12th June, 1942.

Dick was treated with courtesy and understanding. Sir A. C. Black questioned him on his philosophy and enquired how society could protect itself without force. One member asked Dick if he believed in God, and Dick replied that he was an Atheist.

Comrade Dick discussed his case with us some months ago. He could have produced overwhelming evidence as to the period over which he has held definite Anti-Militarist and Anti-War convictions. We stated that, although we dislike appearing before Courts and Tribunals, we would have been willing to be one of his witnesses. We had newspaper reports of his meetings containing pertinent summaries of his comments on war. He had letters himself, extending through many years, in which his Socialist activity and approach were discussed. Dick informed us that he had no intention of making use of this wealth of evidence and that he proposed to stand before the Tribunal without witnesses. Too many people went before Tribunals, armed with letters, and assisted by witnesses. This meant they were over-anxious as to the result. He disdained such conduct. He has held his views seriously and soberly for many years. He knew this within himself and needed no external evidence. That fact ought to exhibit itself in his expression and his bearing before the Tribunal. Conviction meant something. The fact that he had held these views so consistently and so long also ought to have some influence on his character and personality. Therefore his sincerity ought to be obvious. If not, he would accept the consequences of failure.

Dick also explained that he intended to make his statement short and to the point. His aim was not to convert the Tribunal to his views but make it clear that he held his views sincerely and would not depart from them.

In this spirit he approached the Glasgow No. 1 Tribunal. The decision has justified his view. The decision is also a credit to the Tribunal. The business of this journal is to record events faithfully and to comment truthfully and usefully. We often criticise Tribunals. In this case we commend the Tribunal. From the standpoint of Sir A. Campbell Black and his associates, this country is actually at war. They do not see class distinctions any more than the Communist Party does when it supports Tory candidates against I.L.P. candidates, who, at least, make some profession of Socialism and economic understanding. They see the British Empire menaced with Hitlerism and forget that its statesmen destroyed the Spanish struggle and entrenched Hitlerism. So seeing, they feel a nervous impatience with and active antagonism towards the man who despises militarism and says that war is not the way to overthrow Fascism. Despite their mental opposition to pacifism, they listened to Dick's statement courteously. They questioned little although pertinently. Finally, they evinced their belief in his sincerity by granting him unconditional exemption. The result is to the credit of the Anarchist, who stood boldly before the Tribunal without wearying it with a mass of evidence; and also to the credit of the Tribunal, who measured his sincerity so well, without other evidence. It judged the man.

WILLIAM DICK

In this picture, Comrade William Dick is standing in front of banner, with his hands behind his back. On the opposite side also in the front of the banner, is James Dick. The latter has been released recently from Barlinnie Prison after serving 12 months imprisonment for refusing to take his medical examination. The two Dicks are non-related. William Dick is well-known for his Anti-Parliamentary and United Socialist and Anarchist activity. He was one of the founders of the United Socialist Movement and at one time its most active member. The banner is the famous A.P.C.F. banner, seized by the Glasgow Police at the time of the 1921 trial and detained by them for nearly two years. Its picture was the cartoon discussed during the trial.

Before joining the United Socialist Movement, William Dick was a member of the I.L.P., and was one of its most active members. For many years he has been one of the ablest open-air speakers in Glasgow. He played a great part in the Glasgow Free Speech campaigns.

CATALOGUES: Strickland Press Catalogue, 24 pp. Also Allen and Unwin booklet sent on request. Send **1d.** stamp.

EDITOR TO READER

There are many important things to be explained.

In November, 1940, we appealed for the sum of £1,971 11s. 3d. This was to meet the deficit to that date and to meet the expenses of our Hyde Park Free Speech case, which we carried to the Court of King's Bench, and fought in person. On that appeal we are, to-day, about £75 short. We would like that £75 cleared.

Since November 1940, we have issued the paper every month and published a number of pamphlets at a loss. A very complete pamphlet list appeared in our April number. It will appear again soon. We cannot carry lists every month, as we aim to give our readers new matter and each month a completely new paper. Something different. We can send comrades a catalogue.

Our intention was to close the appeal and to announce the name of every comrade who sent a donation. We believe in conducting honest and open propaganda and object to concealing the sources of our support. A difficulty has arisen here. Many comrades, working men, did not wish their names to be published because they were afraid of being victimised. In one case, a Liverpool comrade was visited by the police and questioned closely. She was asked to state her opinion of the Duke of Bedford. Some comrades complained of their letters being opened. We do not say that the letters were tampered with. But they had that feeling. Consequently, it is impossible to list acknowledgments, unless we slump a large number of small sums under the general heading, "Anonymous." This would be unsatisfactory and not explanatory.

One comrade gave up writing because we reproduced a letter and the London press commented. Some months ago a London paper stated that "The Word" was put in letter-boxes throughout the London area. This same paragraph appeared in two provincial papers. Comments about this alleged propaganda caused two comrades to withdraw their support. As a matter of fact the statement was false. We know our circulation. And we know that no such distribution as these papers suggest occurred.

Sectarian difficulties afflict us. Several readers object to ministers of religion writing in our columns. One minister objects to our personal atheist attitude and the record of our trials. Let us explain that we are proud of our trials. Also we have no objection to the Christian minister who makes a pulpit a rostrum against war. We are atheist and democrat. Yet another minister objected to us calling Unitarians "Christians." He sent us an article, which we published, and has not had the courtesy to write acknowledging either the paper containing the article, or some letters we sent to him. Another reader wrote objecting to the Duke of Bedford being reported in our columns, on the ground that Anarchists and Socialists ought not to mix with Dukes. Fortunately or unfortunately we hold correspondence with the Duke of Bedford. This is a consequence of the war situation. We believe in his sincerity and his right to be heard. We believe he is making a great stand for truth and humanity and so are pledged to second his efforts. The daily orthodox press is closed to him. His commonsense heresy is taboo. Our columns are open to him. They are open also to the Socialist dustman and the Anarchist cobbler. "The Word" is a forum of democracy and its columns are closed to none. It is open to all heretical opinion, and since we believe violence and exploitation to be wrong, to all Pacifist and all Socialist opinion. We see no reason why opinions should not conflict. "The Word" is an organ of thought and encourages thinkers. The editor is dogmatic. His opinions are exact and stated narrowly. No one need endorse them. He submits them for consideration. Every other reader may express his view equally.

In this issue we intended to print the House of Lords speeches of Lord Portsea and Lord Wedgwood. Both are held. Also the Duke of Bedford's speech on June 2, with Viscount Elibank's and the Earl of Mansfield's disgraceful attacks on the Duke. How he is hated for single-mindedness and robust commonsense over this subject of war. All this must be done later.

Our aim is to build a United Movement of peace, equity and freedom; to erect a forum of democracy. Knowing that life means an ebb and flow of faiths and convictions, and believing with the first Christians that the word is greater than the sword, we aim to establish within the British Empire and across all frontiers, THE LEAGUE OF THE WORD!

Will you become a member of this league, a stalwart in its cause, regardless of oppression, contempt or censure? If you will, please write.

Our correspondence is very heavy but slowly we will catch up with even that correspondence and reply to you. We believe that a living organ should maintain an intimate association between editor and readers. Your letter is awaited.

We ask you to make up that deficit on the November 1940 appeal. If readers object to their names being published, we must end this appeal in general terms.

Since November 1940 there has been a heavy monthly loss on "The Word." Think of the cost of paper, etc., to-day, and other difficulties. Reflect on that steady monthly loss. Do your best to help to bridge it. WE NEED THE IMMEDIATE HELP OF EVERY COMRADE TO KEEP OUR WORK GOING.

If someone tells you that this journal represents only a minority, and that we are opposed to a compact majority consisting of Vansittart, Donegall, Londonderry, Harry Pollitt, and Willie Gallagher, remember that a mob is not the people. Remember also the bold words of Wendell Phillips, America's immortal champion of liberty and anti-slavery, when he stood almost alone against the mob of conservatism and slavery: "ONE ON THE SIDE OF GOD IS A MAJORITY."

Those who stand for war and violence are never on the side of God. They are the transient majority that becomes history's repudiated and scorned eternal minority, the hopeless host of Satan, the legion of the damned.

NEW ZEALAND C.O.'s

(*Continued from page* 116)

An appeal against military service on the grounds of conscience was made by Major Lane Harvey, a Jehovah's Witness, who appeared before the No. 1 Armed Forces Appeal Board at Whangarei, on February 14.

"One cannot be a soldier of God and also a soldier of a nation under the power of the devil," said Harvey.

Mr. Cox: Would you take the oath of allegiance to the King?

Harvey: No, I would not take the oath of allegiance, so I must be disloyal. I am loyal to God, our King.

Appellant said he was not prepared to fight for his country.

Mr. Cox: Do you hope Britain will win the war?

Harvey: I am entirely neutral.

In reply to further questions, appellant said he would not care if there was a Nazi victory.

The appeal was dismissed.

On February 18 the Board dismissed a number of cases.

Saying that he was prepared "to fight to the death" in defence of New Zealand but was definitely opposed to serving overseas, M. H. Bowden, a clerk, appeared dressed in military uniform, and explained that he was pay sergeant in the 1st Auckland Battalion, in camp at Avondale.

Bowden's statement said:—

"I am a New Zealander and I do not feel any sense of patriotism to any other country. My ancestors left England early last century. I am therefore of English origin, but, as I am of the fourth generation, perhaps my lack of attachment toward England lies in that fact. . . . I feel that my duty as a soldier begins and ends in New Zealand."

The chairman said that appellant's appeal therefore was not correctly based on conscientious objection.

At Palmerston North, on Tuesday, February 18, Frank Marriott, slaughterman, appealed against overseas military service on conscientious grounds.

Marriott declared: "*I don't believe in fighting for Capitalism—I am a Socialist.*"

Mr. Coleman, S.M.: What is your conscientious objection?

Appellant: It is based on Socialism.

Mr. Coleman: Would you fight for your home?—Yes, I am not a pacifist.

The appeal was dismissed.

Stating that he was a pacifist and a member of the Peace Pledge Union, and that he refused to become part of the war machine, John Archibald Baxter, a carpenter, residing at Brighton, appealed at a sitting of the Armed Forces Appeal Board, on February 15, against being called for military service.

In a letter to the board, the appellant stated that he was a pacifist, and had become a member of the Peace Pledge Union as soon as a branch was formed in his district.

The letter concluded:—

"I believe war and the preparation for war to be futile and contrary to the teachings of Christ and my conscience. I therefore refuse to support or sanction one. The last war was a war to end war. This in itself should be proof enough of the futility of war. War will never end war. I therefore refuse to become part of the war machine. I also refuse to compromise and perform work of national importance other than continuing my present occupation as a carpenter. I have held these convictions since the last war. My uncles, the Baxters, were conscientious objectors during the last war. They stood to their humane principles and suffered for them. To-day, their ideals are unchanged."

Baxter was questioned by Mr. A. N. Haggitt, the Crown representative.

Mr. Haggitt: Would you defend this country if it were invaded?

Appellant: I would do nothing in the defence of New Zealand and would do nothing to assist in any organised form. I definitely refuse to do anything at all in the war effort.

Mr. Haggitt: Supposing this country were invaded and your home attacked, what would you do?

Appellant: I would not kill, and I would not protect my home with arms. I think there is a power stronger than an invading army.

F. J. GOULD

The Last Years of a Great Educationist: A Record of the Work and Thought of F. J. Gould, from 1923 to 1938 by F. H. Hayward, M.A., D.SC., D.Litt. and E. M. Whyte, F.R.HIST.S.

This work deals mainly with the three objectives which occupied F. J. Gould's thoughts and labours during the last fifteen years of his life—Education, Economics, World Unity. Much of the book takes the form of extracts from his letters;' and there are accounts of his dealings with Rationalism, Positivism, the Ethical Movement, the League of Nations Union, and the Social Credit Movement.

Those who knew F. J. Gould will find here a faithful record of him, and those who did not will discover a wise and penetrating personality whose influence will increase as the significance of his educational and social contribution is more realised.

Copies may be obtained from:—Miss E. M. WHYTE, 87 Norton Road, Wembley, Mdx. Price 6/- post free.

CONSCIENCE IN COURT

By

ANNESLEY GUY ALDRED

Having recently had the melancholy experience of attending at some of the London courts, whilst some of my less fortunate Comrades have been sentenced for failing to submit to their Medical examination, I have since found myself making "odious" comparisons.

When the Conscientious Objectors Tribunals first started their "vivisecting" some two-and-a-half years ago, one could not help but realise the hatred and intolerance which actuated many of the decisions. The tremendous effect of personal bias showed clearly in the percentage columns of the various Local Tribunals. Nor could one fail, at times, to notice the marked effect of a good, or bad, lunch on the afternoon decisions.

Even so, the proceedings at that stage were, comparatively, academic. An appearance before the tribunal meant that one had committed the sin of being in the minority, but one had still not committed any legal offence. And one was expected to believe the Tribunal if they said you had no conscience, and accordingly to go forth and do what you were told.

Appearance, now, before the Magistrates, is a very different matter. It means that you have transgressed in fact as well as in spirit; that you have struck at the roots of the system upon which they depend and which they are there to defend. And the importance of the fact that you have struck at the roots, and not merely nibbled at the edge like a housebreaker or bank robber, is shown by the amount of venom which is frequently displayed. It matters not to the Magistrates whether your objection is religious or political; the fact is that you are a menace. One religious objector at Brentford, who endeavoured in vain to make a statement, was told bluntly that the Magistrates might recognise a higher law outside the Court but they certainly did not inside it. One degree worse than the Grocer who puts sand in the sugar all the week and goes to church on Sunday.

Actually, however much personal bias affected the results at each individual Tribunal over a period, superficially, at least, each individual case was given some consideration and the result could be affected by certain outside factors. Even this does not apply at the Police Courts, for each court has its own standard sentence. So that the mere matter of a borough or county border may make the difference between a sentence of four, six or twelve months; or, at one court which seems to have a liking for cat-and-mouse tactics, a sentence of one month followed, within a week or two of completion, by one of six months.

In some cases even the facade of justice has vanished and the whole proceedings are a travesty. One of my I.L.P. Comrades, Victor Rose, appeared at Brentford on 8th April. When his name was called he walked from the public part of the Court, past the Warrant Officer who, presumably, confirmed his name, and was marched straight out by a Police officer. During this walk which took from 5-10 seconds the Magistrate airily waved his arms about and said "Usual order, twenty-four hours in custody, to be taken before the Medical Board under Police supervision." The following day it took an average of about one minute each to charge, convict and sentence three other C.O.'s to twelve months each. Yet when Victor Rose elected to go for Trial at the Quarter Sessions it took about twenty minutes to place on record what was supposed to have occurred during the few seconds the previous day. As a matter of fact even the twenty-four hours on remand are unnecessary and spiteful. I have since learned from him that the conditions during that twenty-four hour remand were far worse than actual prison conditions. That this is quite unnecessary is shown by the fact that at Willesden the order is made, the C.O.'s are taken before the Medical Board and, if they refuse the examination, are back at the Court within an hour for sentence (incidentally only a six months sentence), as I had occasion to note when Patterson Rose, Victor's brother, appeared there on 13th April.

It is worthy of note in this article that when Victor Rose appeared before Mr. Thorpe, K.C. (Chairman) at the Middlesex Quarter Sessions on May 7th, the prosecution were so sure of the bias on the bench that their Counsel barely recited the facts of the case and made no effort to press the charge further. The Chairman made every effort to prevent Mr. Platt Mills, K.C. (defending) from developing any line of defence at all. It is to that Counsel's credit that he persisted valiantly with his case and refused to be browbeaten. He claimed that it was relevant to bring forward evidence as to the character, integrity and sincerity of the accused, on the ground that since only a maximum sentence was laid down in the Act it was obviously considered, when the Act was framed, that there were cases when a lesser sentence would suffice. Mr. Thorpe rejected this claim, but nevertheless it may very well have restrained him from giving the maximum sentence of two years, and giving instead the comparatively "moderate" sentence of twelve months.

In any case the Chairman would in all probability be the first to protest if, in a criminal case which he was defending he was refused the right, after conviction, to bring forward evidence of previous good character in mitigation. Even if one accepts the legal fiction that because a person has been turned down by a Tribunal he ceases to be a Conscientious Objector, surely it is not unreasonable to bring forward evidence that here is not a person who wantonly breaks the rules of decent society, but one who has previously behaved with normal understanding of his responsibilities. A person who may, therefore, be regarded as taking his present stand from motives of conscience and principle, whatever the Tribunal may have decided.

To deny such right, to refuse to hear such evidence, is to bridge the last small gap between the "freedom" for which this country is supposed to be fighting and the Fascism of Nazi Germany. ,

It is essential that that right should be demanded by those of us who believe in the right of conscience not because, in this or that individual case it may mean a slightly smaller sentence, but because it represents just that small spark of freedom which will, in the days to come, be fanned into a flame of international freedom and justice in a world which will not permit war. Because it represents just that small spark which, if it is extinguished will mean that the only outcome of this war, whatever the military result, will be the indefinite continuation of the degradation and enslavement of the workers of the world.

I do not know Platt Mills attitude towards this war but it is clear from his conversation during consultation, from his conduct of the case and from his indignation at the attitude of the Chairman, that he is both an able Counsel and a genuine champion of Civil Liberty.

The whole proceedings were thoroughly disgusting. Over half an hour had been spent by this Court solemnly deciding whether a motorist previously convicted of being drunk in charge of a car, should have his license reinstated. Yet the case of a person standing out for a principle would not have merited five minutes had the Judge had his way. He did in fact actually infer that he considered the case a waste of the Court's time and a deliberate hindrance of the war effort, although, when rebuked by Counsel, he denied having made such a statement.

"Freedom is in peril." The system which permits "justice" to be meted out according to the state of health, the personal prejudice, or the bank balance, of each individual magistrate, is the same system which so recklessly throws away millions of lives three or four times in every century. Yes, Freedom is in peril! and every C.O. who stands firm is defending it with all his might, and is helping to build a world in which there will be no war but which will dispense real justice. A world of decency and understanding, tolerance and happiness.

"THE PEACE OF CHRIST"

["Pax Christi" by Rev. Albert W. Belden, B.D., D.D.. Allen & Unwin, 3s. 6d.; Postage, 7d. extra. Obtainable through the Strickland Press.

The war has produced many able articles and short books dealing with the Christian Pacifist position and among these Dr Belden's book deserves a high place.

Even those old campaigners who may be tempted to feel that they are already familiar with every argument and appeal that can be put forward in support of pacifism will find much in it to interest and to inspire.

The central constructive idea of the book — the League of ultimate pacifism—though it might perhaps appear to some as a trifle suggestive of a concession to the frailty of those who would ask for a time of respite in which to "go first and bury their fathers" before accepting the full implications and duties of Christian discipleship, is fresh and original.

Dr Belden feels that individual pacifism is not enough and he seeks to build up a great international and interdenominational fellowship of Christians who pledge themselves to renounce war and everything to do with war as soon as they are directed to do so by their churches. This fellowship is open both to those who are already active pacifists and also to the much larger number of people who, while in general sympathy with pacifist ideals, find that pacifism is as yet, for them, impracticable. Dr. Belden is confident that the existence and work of a rapidly growing Fellowship of this kind would, in the end, compel Church leaders to accept the true Christian position with regard to war and issue a world-call to renounce war.

BEDFORD.

JOHN WESLEY ON WAR

Whatever be the cause of War, let us calmly consider the thing itself. There are forty thousand men gathered together on this plain. What are they going to do? See there are thirty or forty thousand more a little way off. And these are going to shoot them through the head or body, to stab them, or split their skulls as fast as possibly they can. Why so? What harm have they done to them? O, none at all! They do not so much as know them. But a man who is King of France, has a quarrel with another man who is King of England. So these Frenchmen are to kill as many of these Englishmen as they can, to prove the King of France is right. Now what an argument is this! What a method of proof! What an amazing way of deciding controversies!

What must mankind be before such a thing as war could ever be thought of on earth? How shocking, how inconceivable a want must there have been of common understanding, as well as common humanity, before any two governors or any two nations in the universe could once think of such a method of decision!

If then all the nations Pagan, Mahometan, and Christian do, in fact, make this their last resort, what farther proof do we need of the utter degeneracy of all nations from the plainest principles of reason and virtue? Is it not astonishing, that this is the naked truth? that within a short term of years this has been the real case in almost every part of the Christian world and meanwhile we gravely talk of the "dignity of our nature" in its present state. This is really surprising, and might easily drive a well-tempered man to say: "One might bear with men, if they would be content with those vices and follies to which nature has entitled them. This is all according to the natural course of things, and surely all our declamations on the strength of human reason, and the eminence of our virtues are no more than the cant and jargon of pride and ignorance so long as there is such a thing as war in the world. Men in general can never be allowed to be reasonable creatures till they know not war any more. So long as this monster stalks uncontrolled; where is reason, virtue, humanity? They are utterly excluded; they have no place; they are a name and nothing more."

Wild as the untaught Indians' brood
The Christians savages remain;
Strangers, yea, enemies to God
They make thee spill thy blood in vain.

JOHN WESLEY.

Are you reducing our deficit? Original November 1940 Appeal is short over £60. Since then the monthly deficit has grown steadily. H E L P !

TAXES, WAGES AND PRICES IN WAR

By C. H. NORMAN

[This article appeared in "The Railway Review" for March 6, 1942.—Ed.]

A recent inspired statement told the public that since the war began the cost of living had risen 28 per cent. and wages had gone up 26 per cent. It is not clear what the purpose of making this statement was; but, as the cost of living does not include direct taxation like the income tax, the comparison between the rise in wages and the rise in cost of living is merely ridiculous with direct taxation at its present level.

The objection to income tax on wages is that it is a drastic reduction in wages outside the usual machinery of negotiation by which wages are fixed, the wage being based on the maintenance standard of the particular class of workman. But there are profounder causes for the great discontent there is in the country at the operation of war finance and the glaring inequalities caused by the administration of conscription by a totally incompetent and stupid bureaucracy. One of the most dreadful evils of war is the placing in responsible positions of completely incompetent persons who are acting as dictators over the lives of their fellow citizens, such persons being quite unfitted, for the main part, to have control over a cat or dog or anything else. Their insolence is the only thing which exceeds their incapacity.

Railwaymen who are overworked and underpaid to a scandalous degree should be particularly interested in the unnecessary journeys involving waste of tran-power involved in methods of the War Office and the Ministry of Labour.

One of the many cases which have come under the writer's notice was that of a reserve officer called up, reported at place X, sent on journeys amounting to a thousand miles, signing up a few recruits, the travelling being largely by night, arriving back at a place ten miles from where he reported, having done absolutely nothing of any value to the country or anyone else! There were some hundreds of private soldiers who were moved about in the same way, arriving back at a post several miles from the place they had reported at originally.

The only underlying principle seems to be to send recruits or conscripts as far away as possible from their home connections, and, in the case of civilian labour, as far as possible from any job where their qualifications can be best employed.

The cost of this procedure in labour-power, fuel and money to the country is enormous.

An intelligent use of the transport system would reduce the cost of the war by a very large sum per day, while relieving the intolerable toil which is imposed on railway workers. All this kind of thing adds greatly to the cost of moved commodities of every kind.

Some people have expressed astonishment at the great rise in the prices of uncontrolled goods of all types in this war compared with the war of 1914-1918. But there is really no reason for such surprise when one recollects the whole basis of Capitalism is for the owning class to live on the profits of commodities handled whether they be goods or labour power.

No employer willingly employs anyone except with the intention of making some profit out of their labour. In many industries, the normal profit put on labour cost is from 80 to 100 per cent.; mining being an exception. The average net profit on persons employed in the dock industry, the building industry and the engineering industry is between 80 and 100 per cent.

The position of the trading class in commodities is rather stronger, and their outlook is somewhat different.

The class which deals in commodities has always striven (and with great success in the capitalist system) to pass on any taxation to the consumers of their commodities.

That is so well recognised and is so powerful a motive that even the Board of Trade permitted a substantial percentage to be charged by traders on the purchase tax in certain cases, the figure varying from 20 to 40 per cent.

The true reason for the enormous advances which took place in many uncontrolled commodities (such as chocolate before control was recently instituted) was the carrying out by the trading class of this policy of passing their taxation on to the consumer or the general public. Income tax standing at the high rate of 6s. 6d. to 10s. even on small incomes could not be recovered by the trader except through a steep increase in the price of the goods he was handling.

There was no warrant for the enormous prices charged for fruit and vegetables of the rarer kind in this war in any great advance in cost of labour or production. The basis of the traders' outlook being that they should not pay any taxes in reality, if they can be avoided lawfully, the prices of uncontrolled commodities and luxuries of all kinds were forced up, so that the general community should bear the burden not only of its own taxation but the taxation of traders in commodities.

Therefore, when one considers the present figure of taxation, one can see how hollow is the pretence of equality in its burden.

The working class and the professional class (indeed, the body of the community which does not deal in articles of commerce and trade) have no means of repelling this policy of the trading class except by a general municipal or governmental taking over of the sale of the necessities of daily life. The working class and the professional class cannot easily pass on their taxation burden, as the price of their services is fixed in such a way that fluctuations and changes take a long time to be brought about, as the railwaymen well know with their experience of the negotiating machinery.

The controllers of and dealers in commodities, on the other hand, can raise prices from week to week and even from day to day. A certain article purchased by the writer in the same shop varied substantially in price three times recently in a fortnight.

Another element, no doubt, in the increase in price is the fall in the internal value of the pound due to inflflation, concealed and actual, by the subsidising of commodities by the Government.

A curious illustration of how this internal decline operates can be taken from the business of selling foreign stamps, foreign stamps having also in peace time, when their movements are not controlled as now, a kind of standard or international currency. The Jubilee stamps of King George V. for the whole empire were fetching just before the war about £16 the whole set. The price to-day is ranging from £32 to £35. The curious thing is that, in the United States, where there has not yet been any marked decline in the internal value of the dollar, the dealers are offering the whole set for £15, which was about the pre-war price in England. As the dealers in the United States cannot export stamps to Great Britain, but dealers in Great Britain are encouraged to export stamps to the United States to create dollar exchange, the lower price in the United States has no competitive effect on the price of these stamps in Great Britain as would ordinarily be the case. The profiteering by stamp dealers in this respect is a remarkable example of what is bound to happen under a system by which people maintain themselves by the marketing of commodities whatever they may be, a method of livelihood which certainly should require more stringent regulation than has been the case in the past.

It is difficult to suggest any drastic remedy within the confines of the capitalist system in war-time. It is one of the elements in a society founded upon disguised robbery. But it is strong reason for criticising the conduct of Labour in entering into a government which is administering a system whose very existence is an affront to the working-class whose fortunes the Movement is intended to safeguard,

THE THREE NIGHTINGALES

By LADY DUNN

For years the English nightingale had built his nest "somewhere in Surrey" having built it he poured out his very heart in song all through the night, sitting beside it on a low bush, whilst his mate drowsed sleepily over the eggs.

Those were nights to remember.

Nights, sometimes flooded with moonlight —sometimes lit by great stars—but always scented by the growth of the English June countryside — buttercups, tall grasses, may trees, cows' breath and rain—simple things not gorgeous ones such as come to the nightingale family in Persia or Cashmir—where they almost swoon from the heavy perfume of roses, lilies, and jasmin.

The "English" nightingales were content —more than content.

The "Austrian" nightingales built too in the same spot in the Weinerwald where they had built before (long before) Beethoven one day walking there and sitting to rest, heard their song "Beside the Brook" and without so much as "by your leave" had put it into his Pastoral Symphony" — something still proudly talked about by the "Austrian" family of nightingales.

The "Italian" nightingale sang on and on in perhaps the lovliest setting of all—sang in a voice so pure so ethereal — that not only Keats felt that it would be no misfortune to

"Cease upon the midnight without pain
Whilst thou art pouring forth thy soul
In such an ecstasy!"

Three families of the same "immortal little bird" they knew and know nothing of such divisions as German—Italian—or British

Three airmen flew high
The first over the English countryside
The second over the slumbering Black Forest
The third over Rome.

Three great planes crashed and fell burning to the ground the young Italian airman fell near Beethoven's family of nightingales on his way to the Russian

The German crashed in Surrey somewhere near Glyndebourne and the Englishman over Rome.

Had they but known it—each had a requiem sung by a little brown bird — who pausing silent with fear for a few minutes—later burst into song again

As the flames died down.

"ONE SANE POLICY"

Under this caption, our contemporary, **The Catholic Herald,** in its issue for June 12, reviewed the House of Lords' debate on plans for the post-war world. It added:—

BUT SUCH PLANS DEPEND UPON A GENUINE CHANGE OF HEART IN REGARD TO THE FATE OF DEFEATED PEOPLES.

We do not agree with the Duke of Bedford's views about the practicability of making a sound peace with Hitler, but if the Duke continues to talk — and to talk almost alone — such sound sense about the conditions of a sound peace when the enemy is defeated, people may come to wonder whether he may not be more sound than he seems in other matters.

We absolutely endorse the following words of the Duke:

The caps are in the original. Our contemporary then quoted the Duke's powerful words defining "one sane policy after a great world war."

The Duke of Bedford's maiden speech (May 21) can be secured from The Strickland Press. Price, 2d.; post free, 3d. Special terms for quantities. His second speech (June 2), is printing now. Same terms. Every thoughtful man and woman should read these speeches.

WHY THIS WAR CAME

By ALEXANDER RATCLIFFE

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BEDFORD'S MAIDEN SPEECH
AN APPRECIATION
By
F. W. JOWETT

My dear Aldred, Since my return home I have read Bedford's House of Lords speech again. Second reading has increased my good opinion of it and my admiration for the man's courage. To go steadily on, apparently unperturbed by glaring hostility in that Chamber of refrigerated arrogance, delivering a well reasoned speech supported by citation of irrefutable facts, was a great achievement the effect of which will not have been lost in spite of general press boycott and all efforts to be-little it. The speech is now on the official records where it will bear witness for truth for all time. And the press boycott, although general, does not appear to have been quite effective for I understand that "The Times" and "The Manchester Guardian" carried reports. I have not seen them but if, as I expect, they were fair, they will have done some good service.

Yours Fraternally,
F. W. JOWETT.

Bradford, June 7, 1942.

OUR LETTER-BOX

Dear Comrade,—Many thanks for parcel of "The Word." It is a grand paper! I am glad you have printed my letter about "Gowrie." I know your space is severely limited but I am sure your "letter-box" page will be a popular one. These letters show the interest taken in the paper and readers may often find the name of someone they have known at one time. I know the people to whom I distribute "The Word" look forward to it each month with eagerness.

I was glad to read in the "Forward" of the collapse of the case against Comrade Aldred.

With all best wishes.

Yours fraternally,
HAROLD DEIGHTON.

York, June 2.

Dear Mr Aldred, — I am very interested in the pamphlets you have sent, and the one entitled "Historical and Traditional Christianity" I have already started to read.

It will be 12 years on Monday since I resigned my Orders and I have been living on the poverty-level practically ever since.

At present I am a laundryman at one of the local hospitals, but am leaving with a view to finding more suitable work.

I remember, some years ago, hearing you speak in Hyde Park and was much impressed by what you had to say. On that occasion I also had the pleasure of talking to you.

Yours sincerely,
A. E. S. RIDDLE.

Hillingdon, Middx, May 15.

Dear Guy Aldred,—Keep on 'keeping-on.' I try to be a Christian, so do not agree with all your inked thoughts, but I do like your Anti-War consistency.

But aren't there so few of us around? What a pity.

I do like the Duke of Bedford's stand for Christ. If Bedford is wrong and Vansittart right, then I am anti-God.

As regards the Socialist leaders in Parliament. How unscientific Socialism can be foisted on the rank and file of Trades' Unions by these chaps, beat me to a frazzle, and I am a Trade Unionist since 1911. But more facile pens than mine must re-fertilise the mind of the rising youth. It will have to be done. Where are the men to do it now? Frankly I cannot see or sense any. Can you? Hope you are 'tres bon.'

Fraternally,
W. E. BROOKES.

Southampton, June 5.

Dear Comrade Editor,—Even an old hand like you must have blushed at the tributes to you in the June "Word." I was pleased to read Sorabji among the correspondents. He was the enfant terrible a little while back—in Orage's "New Age", and I remember often enjoying his vitriolic writing.

Herewith another epigram for your enjoyment.

Bellow your cause the wide world o'er,
From studio and from steeple;
But leave out: "It's a People's War."
We Know . . . Its on the people.

In Haste,
W. A. RATHKEY.

Aldbury, June 9.

Dear Sir,—A friend of mine has sent a copy of "The Word" of June, 1942. Everyone must sympathise with your ideals, but I fear no progress will be made towards permanent peace unless War be treated as a disease of the body politic and preventive hygenic methods applied accordingly. Potential disturbers of the peace will always find some pretext for their mischievous activities in the form of a grievance, real or imaginary, with which to rouse to arms the people who little know the consequences. The true and only hygenic method is to establish a trusted tribunal for the adjudication of such grievances, just as the establishment of Law Courts in every civilised Country prevented the resort to violence of those who wished to assert their rights.

That was the theme of a small publication of mine when the War was approaching upon us, and I enclose a copy if you would like to make any use of its themes in your columns.

Yours faithfully,
C. L. NORDON.

London, E.C.4., June 8.

[We propose to place Mr Nordon's work before our readers. Also to reprint his essay from "The New Commonwealth" for July, 1939.—Ed.]

My Dear Friend,—I believe there is a big future for "The Word." I hope to see you concentrating more and more on exposing our rotten economic and financial system which creates wars for every new generation to fight. I came across an old comrade of yours yesterday. He occupied the next cell to you at Wormwood Scrubs as a C.O. in the last war. I told him a lot of your early history in Hyde Park when I first met you about 1903. His name is Chapman and he lives in Bristol.

I am rather anxious to read your "Devil's Chaplain." My memory goes back to a fine summer's evening in Hyde Park on a Saturday, when a young boy about 17 years of age gave a lecture on Robert Taylor. Dr K. Macdonald was your chairman. Ernest Park and Fred Howard were among your audience, who were amazed at your eloquence. Do you remember?

What a lot has happened since those free and easy days, and how slow the people are to learn. You have had an iron will to carry on.

I should like some more of your writings, also the Duke's. What a noble character he is. I met him some years ago at Newbury when he lectured for us on his favourite subject, money reform. What a curse money is!

Yours fraternally,
S. T. WILLCOCK.

Newbury, June 11.

My dear Aldred, — Thanks for copies of "The Word" for June and for the copy of "Why Blunder On?" I have not yet been able to start on the latter, but "The Word" is an exceptionally good number.

A friend of ours, who has not yet thought out his position, was staying with us on Friday and Saturday. He picked up a copy of the April number, which was lying about and was so taken with it that he insisted on reading much of it aloud to his wife and ourselves. Then he had to get hold of the June number and it was impossible to dig him out of it, until he had read it all.

Every good wish.

Yours faithfully,
(Rev.) H. CHALMERS.

Warrington, Junes 2.

Dear Comrade Aldred,—The June issue of "The Word" is excellent. Thanks for printing my poor appreciations of your effort.

As an Anglican Padre I do what I can to promulgate the Gospel I believe in, which is very different from the Gospel the Churches appear to believe in, yet there are thousands who are I believe hungering to hear the truth. They are sickened and "fed up" with warmongering parsons and bragging politicians. The churches should be ashamed that the present bombing competition goes on while they stand and mumble pious platitudes over the bodies of the victors.

May the circulation of "The Word" increase and its message reach an ever wider public.

Yours fraternally,
CAMERON NEWELL.

Ipswich, June 6.

P.S. It looks as if SITWELL was an alias of mine!

[Our comrade is correct. Through an error, we printed one letter above his right name, and a second letter above the name "Sitwell." The printed error explains itself. The editor's bad correcting is unforgiveable.—Ed.]

Dear Guy,—Lohr has booked the Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, Holborn, for Tuesday, July 7th, speakers to be Middleton Murray, F. A. Ridley, M. Kavanagh, with F. Lohr in the Chair. As you will see from the speakers this is not an anarchist meeting. Lohr thinks that there should be a movement out-side of all parties, to discuss the present world-crisis, and the out-come of the war.

Lohr works entirely on his own. He has not started a group, though that may come later for he has quite a following in Hyde Park.

Gapes walked away with the S.P.G.B. debate. Cash cut a sorry figure. He dragged your name in, in a sneering way, and warned their young members against the anarchists, for it was impossible to tell the difference between a policeman and an anarchist, and so on ad nauseum.

Yours for Solidarity,
M. KAVANAGH.

London, N.W.3., June 9.

Dear Comrade Aldred,—About a year ago I sent for my first copy of "The Word." Since then I must say that I look forward to its monthly advent more than any other of the papers I take. Not only has its quality been maintained, it has improved. You have gathered around you writers representative of every school of thought, and the growing numbers who take the definitely Christian standpoint in their attitude towards war must go a long way to prove that, though the "leaders" of the Church may be timorous and even time-serving, more and more of the "rank and file" are becoming inspired by the faith that ultimately will prevail against the gates of hell. I was particularly pleased to see the article by Le Messurier. He belongs to the Anglo-Catholic wing, and was the first Secretary of the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship. In "New Vision" for the Spring Quarter he wrote a beautiful little story called "Kyrie Eleison." I believe he had quite a distinguished career in the 1914–18 war. Of course the Duke of Bedford's articles are always inspiring, and I rejoice that he is coming more into the public eye. Undoubtedly he has all the qualities of leadership.

Have you noticed the deplorable attitude of the "Church Times" towards this war? I don't think any paper has said "Yes" so obediently to the Government and especially to the Prime Minister. I don't know who the Editor is at present, but I should think he would get an O.B.E. at least for his services in dispensing dope to Church people. After the P.M.'s "Gas" speech I noticed the following gem:

"Hitler may intend to use poison gas against the Red Army. If he does . . . . the copious stocks of poison gas prepared for such an event will be employed by British bombers against the Germans. . . . It is a filthy war. Hitler has made it filthy. It is for him alone to say whether he will make it filthier yet."

The late Archbishop Davidson in 1915 wanted to know how far that line of reprisals would carry us. He visualised a situation in which there would be nothing to choose between the nations which were at war, and in which it would become a matter of small importance, and probably of disputed fact, who began the general course of adopting these vile usages. His protest was unavailing—his prophecy was correct. And history is repeating itself with the exception that no Archbishop of Canterbury has protested against the Prime Minister's speech.

Again last week commenting on the Cologne bombing: "There is no good pretending that raids on such a scale are anything but horrible. The casualties among operatives and their families . . . . cannot but be enormous. Such is the method of warfare enforced by the Nazis on the civilized world. . . . The one good thing that can be said is that the heavier the bombing the quicker it may be all over."

Again and again during the period 1914–18 Archbishop Davidson deprecated this spirit, and even the present Primate, who goes out of his way to justify this war (methinks he doth protest too much!) has thought it necessary to utter a mild warning against gloating over atrocities such as we have been committing. But, in company with his predecessor, he has been ignored. And the Church will be ignored until, throwing aside vested interests and pride of place, she flings the whole of her undoubted strength into the fight against Mars and Mammon.

All good wishes,

Yours in the struggle,
(Rev.) A. K. SHREWSBURY.

Chevington, June 9.

Dear Friend,—Your June issue, received to-day, suggests a heavy deficit and though I find appeals growing in number—P.P.U., Peace News, War Resisters, Friends' Peace Board, Civil Liberties, etc., etc.!! I feel your good work cannot be hampered by financial embarrassment.

The world needs a return to sanity and courageous leadership to secure it for us—this appears to be your "raison d'etre."

Thanks and good wishes,
JOHN BULLOUGH.

Grange-over-Sands, 4/6/42.

BOOKS TO READ TO-DAY

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Freedom for Colonial Peoples, by Dr. Rita Minden, A. Creech Jones, M.P., and others. **9d.** plus postage. National Peace Council, London.

DANIEL MULLIN
WITH
HIS WIFE
AND
YOUNGEST
CHILD

Anarchist and Socialist comrades throughout Lanarkshire were shocked recently to learn of the death of our active and vigorous comrade, Daniel Mullin. The Anti-Parliamentary movement throughout Lanarkshire owes a great deal to the loyal and disinterested activity of comrade Mullin. "The Gazette." Blantyre, recorded his death in its issue for May 9 last. Referring to our comrade as "a colourful personality," our contemporary writes:—

We regret to record the death, which occurred in London last week-end, of a former well-known Blantyre man, Mr. Dan Mullin who, before going South about nine years ago, resided at 80 Victoria Street.

Mr. Mullin, who was 48 years of age, suffered from an internal complaint and died in a London hospital on Thursday last. He is survived by his wife and a family of ten children.

"Big Dan," who stood over six feet, was well-known and highly respected in this district. He was a colourful personality and had led a really adventurous life in many respects. He served throughout the first World War; was decorated with the Military Medal for bravery in action on the Somme and latterly sustained a serious head wound which necessitated a trepanning operation. In this connection Dan often humorously remarked that no matter how hard the times were he would never be "broke"—that he always kept a silver plate in his head!

Dan's politics changed with the times and he was an enthusiast for whatever cause he sponsored. Like many people with progressive ideas, he was very frequently in the minority, but no matter who it was with whom he may have differed ,they all agreed that Dan was sincere, good, and whole-hearted. He was not always strictly orthodox in his methods and a rather good story is told regarding an incident which occurred during a period when he was keenly interested in mining affairs. There was an unofficial stoppage at one of the local pits and, as might be expected, Dan was on the side of the strikers. The Union officials for the area met one night to consider the matter and it was generally recognised that their decision (for or against the stoppage) would have an important bearing upon the strike. It was also known that their decision was almost a foregone conclusion—they were against the unofficial stoppage.

Dan was strong in his support of the strikers and to prevent any Union edict which might tell against them he adopted a novel method of ensuring "delayed action." The Union officials at that time met in a wooden hut on vacant ground between the Vics' Park and the two-storey building adjoining. While the meeting was in progress Dan got a few other lads together and between them they turned the hut over on its side while the Union officials were still in solemn conclave!

It would, perhaps, be discreet to pass over the scene which followed as the officials scrambled out of the overturned hut, but Dan had gained his point —there was no decision given against the strikers that night!

Dan was a soldier of fortune (some might say misfortune) in some respects. He fought well and truly in France against the Germans; he was in Ireland during the "troubles" over there and assisted in training some of the Sinn Fein army; later he fought with the Republicans against the new Irish Government and, in more recent times, he fought and was wounded in Spain when he supported the Republican forces against Franco.

Dan was big—in heart as well as in physique—and his passing is a loss to all who knew him.

Every word of tribute paid to Dan Mullin by our orthodox contemporary is merited. Dan Mullin was an Anarchist and his struggles represented a consistent unfolding of his purpose and character. He believed in equity and liberty. He was one of the most sincere, fearless, and utterly disinterested men who ever lived. Under conditions of extreme struggle and poverty, he retained a flair for ideals and the romance of living. His death is a great loss to the workers' struggle. To know him was to live in a world of freedom, humour, courage far removed from the sordid reality against which he battled. The workers have laid to rest a brave and loyal member of their class, a true fighter in the battle towards classless society.

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PROGRAMME

FRIDAY, 8.30 p.m.
Chairman: A. Creech Jones, M.P.
Speaker: Professor Eric A. Walker (Professor in Imperial History, University of Cambridge) "The Future of Trusteeship."

SATURDAY, 10.30 a.m.
Chairman: Lord Faringdon.
Speaker: Mr. J. S. Furnivall, "Problems of Tropical Economy."

SATURDAY, 4.30 p.m.
Chairman: Miss Susan Laurence.
Speaker: Mr. E. F. M. Durbin (Lecturer at the London School of Economics) "Economic Reconstruction."

SATURDAY, 8.30 p.m.
"The Political Evolution of the Colonies."
A symposium on this subject will be introduced by Lord Faringdon and Dr. Margaret Read (of the Colonial Department, Institute of Education, University of London). Mr. P. J. Johnson (of Malaya), Mr. F. O. Blaize (of West Africa) and Mr. Robert Adams (of the West Indies) will take part in the discussion.

SUNDAY, 10.30 a.m.
Chairman: Mrs. Margaret Cole.
Speaker: Mr. H. V. Meyerowitz (of Achimota College, Gold Coast) "Development of Backward Areas in the U.S.S.R."

SUNDAY, 4.30 p.m.
Chairman: John Parker, M.P.
Speaker: to be arranged, "Regeneration in China."

SUNDAY, 8.30 p.m.
Summing-Up.
The Summing-Up will be introduced by Dr. Rita Hinden (Secretary of the Fabian Colonial Bureau, and author of "Plan for Africa.")

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